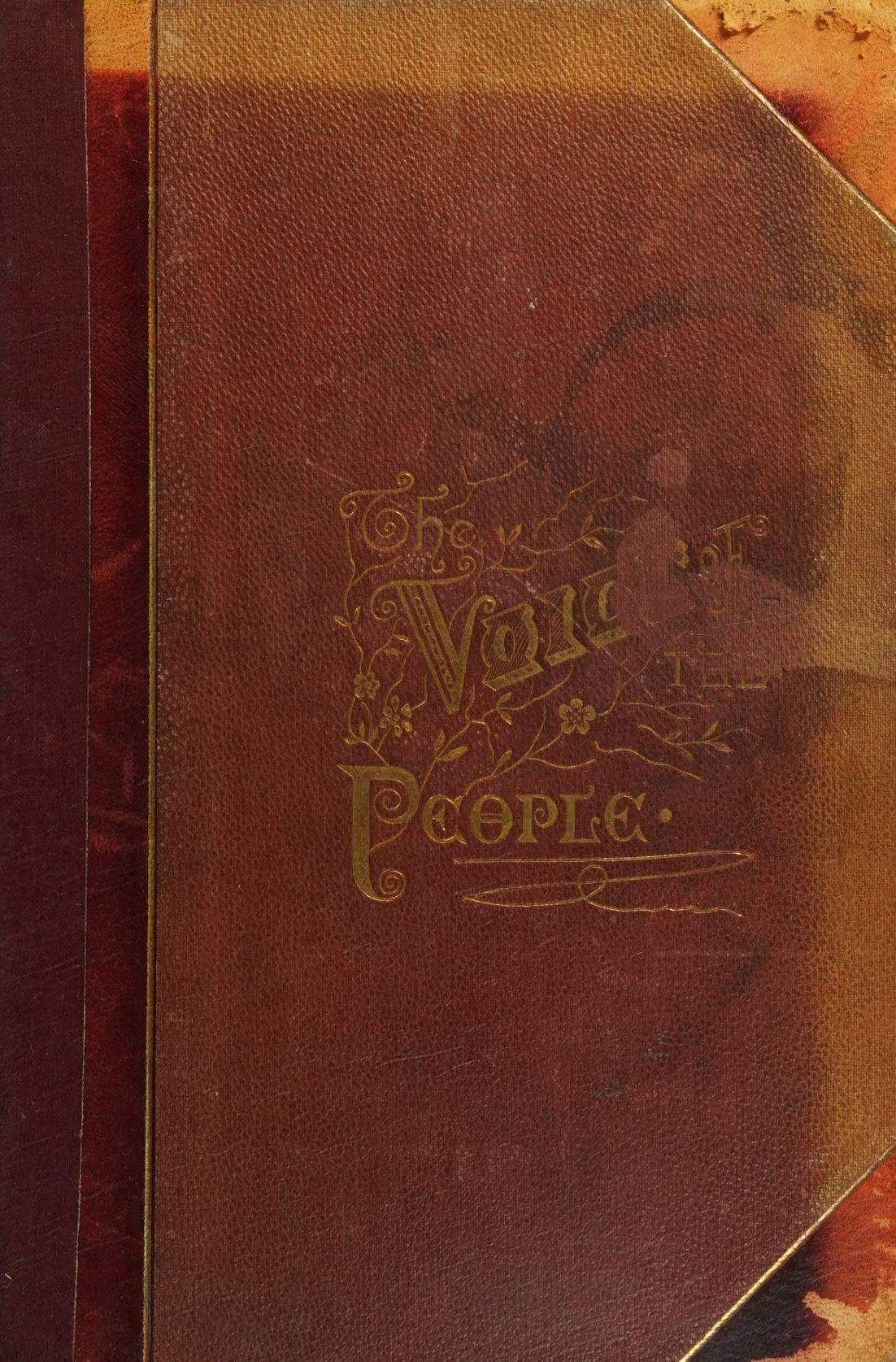
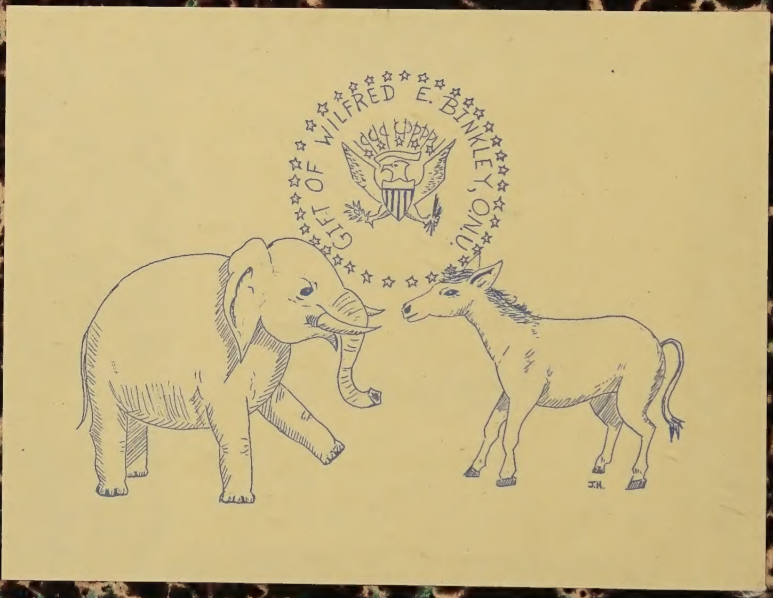
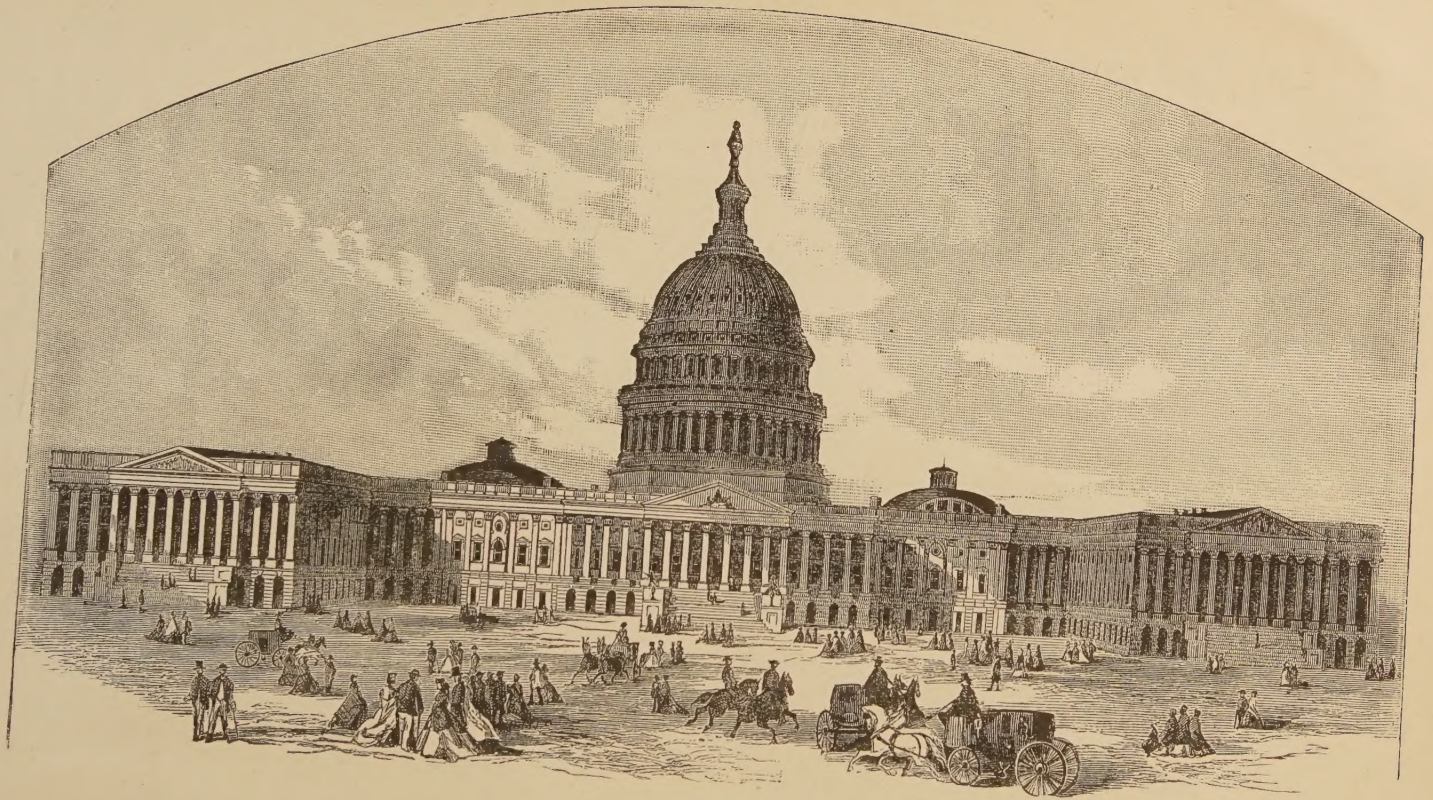

The Volk
People.



eterick Memorial Library
io Northern University
a, Ohio 45810

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_T3-CBS-932



CAPITOL BUILDING.

THE

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE;

OR,

THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL ISSUES

IN THE

UNITED STATES,

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE PRESENT TIME: GIVING HISTORICAL DATA OF POLITICAL PARTIES BEARING UPON EACH PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION,

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND SPEECHES OF AMERICAN STATESMEN WHO HAVE GIVEN SHAPE TO THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY.

By W. H. F. HENRY,

AUTHOR OF THE "NORMAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," "GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD," "MANUAL OF PARLIAMENTARY LAW," ETC.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA:
J. E. SHERRILL, PUBLISHER.
1885.

COPYRIGHT BY

J. E. SHERRILL.

1884.

CARLON & HOLLENBECK,
PRINTERS AND BINDERS,
INDIANAPOLIS.

ELECTROTYPED
AT
INDIANAPOLIS ELECTROTYPE FOUNDRY.

320.973
H525f

PREFACE.

THIS work is the product of much labor of investigation and careful discrimination. Much of the data herein presented was gleaned from official sources; and though the work is in the main a compilation, yet the author would claim originality for conception and manner of presentation.

Herein are embraced facts that every intelligent citizen desires to have at ready command. A large number of the community are interested in political issues,—at no time, perhaps, more than now. The articles from the daily press and speeches bearing upon any measure likely to be brought before Congress are considered by the public with increasing interest. There are few thinking men of any class who are not tolerably well versed at least in the outlines of the principal political questions of the hour. The careers, and characters, also, of our leading statesmen are pretty generally known. But, comparatively speaking, there is great ignorance of the past, particularly of those times which lie just beyond the memory of persons now living.

It is the purport of this work to trace the progressive order of political issues from the foundation of our Republic to the present time; also to call attention to some of those who have taken leading parts in the various national questions that have from time to time sprung up, and left their impress upon the history of the country. To enhance the interest, there are given biographies of men conspicuous in the history of the nation, in shaping the lines of political thought and development.

The First Part of the work embraces a record of Colonial issues forerunning the establishment of the Republic. The Second Part traces the influences which brought about the rise of the several national issues, and the effect produced upon the political history of the country. In detail are given the political issues advocated in each Presidential campaign, with the vote of each candidate, and historical data bearing upon each Administration.

A copious INDEX is added, that the subject matter of the text may be readily available. The topical divisions of the work and the suggestive marginal indices indicate the page contents, and attract the reader's attention

JUNE, 1884. W. H. F. HENRY.

CONTENTS.

PART FIRST.

FORERUNNERS OF THE REPUBLIC.

[*For complete Alphabetical Index, see end of book.*]

I.

Puritan Ideas of Freedom.—Early Dawn of Liberty.—The Mayflower Compact. 11–13

II.

First Written Constitutions.—First Elective Body.—Vote by Ballot, ... 13–14

III.

Incipient Unions.—Union of the New England Colonies.—Franklin's Plan of Union. 14–18

IV.

Biography and Portrait of Benjamin Franklin, Philosopher and Patriot. 19–21

V.

Oppressive Acts of Britain.—Declaration of Rights.—First Continental Congress.—Biography and Portrait of Patrick Henry. 22–25

VI.

Speech of Patrick Henry in the Convention of Virginia Delegates (1775). 25–28

VII.

Confederation.—Presidents of the Continental Congress.—Seats of Government.—Declaration of Independence.—"Liberty Bell," its history.—Signers of the Declaration. 28–39

VIII.

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. . 40–47

IX.

Washington's Acceptance and Resignation of Military Command. 47–49

X.

History of the Constitution.—The Constitutional Convention of 1787. 49–52

XI.

History of the Northwest Territory.—Ordinance of 1787. . 52–56

XII.

Constitution of the United States.—Ratification.—Amendments. 57–71

XIII.

Two Great Speeches on the Constitution. 72–105

XIV.

Comments on the Constitution.—Basis of Written Constitutions. 105–106

PART SECOND.

THE NATION.

I.

Our Government.—A Federal Republic.—The Executive.—The National Legislature.—The Judiciary.—State Governments.—Territorial Governments.—Mode of Electing the Executive.—The Cabinet and their Duties.—Qualifications of Voters. . . 107–112

II.

The First Administration.—First Congress under the Constitution.—Washington's Inaugural Address.—Biography and Portrait of Washington.—Political Parties of the First Administration.—Washington's Cabinet.—Beginning of Party Organization.—The Second Congress—A National Bank Created.—First Amendments to the Constitution. 113–126

III.

The Second Administration.—The IIId and IVth Congresses. The Republic in Danger.—The Attitude of Great Britain.—The XIth Amendment.—The Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—First States Admitted.—Washington's Farewell Address.—Results of his Administration. 127–146

IV.

American Politics.—About Political Parties.—Who Vote and Why.—Officers that should be Elected.—Political Constitutions.—Law-making Branch.—Speech of Fisher Ames on the British Treaty.—Sketch of Ames. 146–182

V.

The Third Administration.—The Vth and VIth Congresses.—First Contested Presidential Election.—Biography and Portrait of John Adams.—Difficulties with France.—The Alien and Sedition Laws.—Adams's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—Speech of Edward Livingston on the Alien Bill.—Sketch of Livingston. 183–199

VI.

The Fourth Administration.—The VIIth and VIIIth Congresses.—The Tie Vote for President.—Purport of the XIIth Amendment.—Biography and Portrait of Jefferson.—His Cabinet.—Speakers of the House—State Admitted.—First Great Party Revolution.—Origin of President's Message.—Fall of the Federal Party.—Louisiana Purchase.—Biography and Portrait of Hamilton.—Republican (Democratic) Platform (1800). . 200–214

VII.

The Fifth Administration.—The IXth and Xth Congresses.—Burr's Conspiracy.—Causes of War of 1812.—The Embargo Act. Speech of John Randolph on Importation of British Goods.—Sketch of Randolph.—Speech of Josiah Quincy on late Edicts of Great Britain.—Sketch of Quincy. 215–237

VIII.

The Sixth Administration.—XIth and XIIth Congresses.—Presidential Issues and Nominations in 1808.—Biography and Portrait of Madison.—Madison's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—States Admitted.—Message Declaring War against Great Britain. 238–248

IX.

The Seventh Administration.—XIIIth and XIVth Congresses. Presidential Nominations in 1812.—Condition of the Country (1813).—The Hartford Convention.—Treaty of Ghent.—The "American System."—The Protective Tariff (1816).—Results of the Second War with England. 249–258

X.

The Eighth Administration.—XVth and XVIth Congresses.—Condition of Politics (1816).—Biography and Portrait of Monroe. Monroe's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—States Admitted. The "Era of Good Feeling."—Clay and Calhoun.—Monroe's First Message.—The Cession of Florida.—Slavery Question Looms Up (1820).—Text of the Missouri Compromise. . . 253–265

XI.

The Ninth Administration.—XVIIth and XVIIIth Congresses. The Monroe Doctrine.—Congressional Transactions.—Revision of the Tariff (1824).—The Electoral College to be Criticised.—Speech of John Randolph on Tariff (1824). 266–279

XII.

The Tenth Administration.—XIXth and XXth Congresses.—Election of 1824.—Biography and Portrait of J. Q. Adams.—Adams's Cabinet.—Speaker of the House.—Party Spirit.—Origin of the Whigs.—Policy of the Administration.—High Protective Tariff (1828).—Address of Daniel Webster at Bunker Hill Monument.—His Discourse on John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. 280–306

XIII.

The Eleventh Administration.—XXIst and XXIId Congresses. Presidential Nominations and Election of 1828.—Biography and

Portrait of Jackson.—His Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—States Admitted.—Results of Jackson's Administration.—Rise of the Whigs.—The Anti-Masonic Party.—Indian Policy (1832). Nullification.—United States Bank.—National Democratic Platform (1832).—Biography and Portrait of Calhoun.—Speech of Calhoun on Rights of the States.—Speech of Clay in Defense of his "American System."—The Great Debate between Webster and Hayne.—Biography and Portrait of Webster.—Sketch of Hayne. 307–377

XIV.

The Twelfth Administration.—XXIIId and XXIVth Congresses.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1832).—Bank Troubles.—The Specie Circular.—The Government and Abolition.—Character of Jackson's Administration.—Whig Resolutions (1836).—"Locofoco" Platform (1836). 378–385

XV.

The Thirteenth Administration.—XXVth and XXVIth Congresses.—Van Buren's Policy.—Biography and Portrait of Van Buren.—His Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—Financial Panic of 1837.—The Sub-Treasury Scheme.—Slavery Question in 1840. Condition of Parties (1840).—Presidential Nominations and Election (1840).—A Warm Contest.—Political Platforms (1840). Henry Clay's Speech on his Public Lands Bill. 386–400

XVI.

The Fourteenth Administration.—XXVIIth and XXVIIIth Congresses.—President's Death.—Tyler Becomes President.—Biography and Portrait of Harrison.—Biography and Portrait of Tyler.—Harrison's Cabinet.—Speaker of the House.—Tyler's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—States Admitted.—Tyler and his Party.—Proceedings of Congress (1841).—Tyler's Vetoes.—Renounced by his Party.—Biography and Portrait of Clay.—Tariff of 1842.—Congressional Proceedings (1843–'44.—The Texan Question.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1844).—Party Platforms (1844). 401–424

XVII.

The Fifteenth Administration.—The XXIXth and XXXth Congresses.—Biography and Portrait of Polk.—His Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—Annexation of Texas.—The Northern Boundary Question.—War with Mexico.—The Wilmot Proviso. Calhoun's Slavery Resolutions.—Status of Politics (1847).—Secession Threatened.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1848).—Political Platforms (1848). 425–441

XVIII.

The Sixteenth Administration.—XXXIst and XXXIId Congresses.—Biography and Portrait of Taylor.—Taylor's Cabinet. Speaker of the House.—Political Convulsions (1850).—The Omnibus Bill.—The Fugitive Slave Law.—Biography and Portrait of Fillmore.—Fillmore's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—State Admitted.—The Nashville Slavery Convention.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1852).—Political Platforms (1852). 442–458

XIX.

The Seventeenth Administration.—XXXIIId and XXXIVth Congresses.—Biography and Portrait of Pierce.—Pierce's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—Character of Pierce's Administration.—The Gadsden Purchase.—The Martin Koszta Affair. The Ostend Manifesto.—Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—Civil War in Kansas.—The "Know Nothings."—Rise of the Republican Party.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1856).—Political Platforms (1856).—Speech of Lewis Cass on the Missouri Compromise.—Sketch of Cass.—Speech of Clement L. Vallandigham on Slavery.—Sketch of Vallandigham.—Speech of Henry A. Wise Against Knownothingism.—Sketch of Wise.—Speech of Robert Toombs on Slavery.—Sketch of Toombs. . . . 459–485

XX.

The Eighteenth Administration.—XXXVth and XXXVIth Congresses.—Buchanan's Message.—Biography and Portrait of Buchanan.—His Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—Three Free States Admitted.—The "Dred Scott" Decision.—The Lecompton Convention (1857).—Bitter Debates in Congress.—Kansas Admitted.—The John Brown Raid.—The Homestead Bill.—The Party Conventions of 1860, Nominations and Election.—Secession.—The Civil War.—Summary of Causes.—The Situation (1860–1861).—Political Platforms (1860).—Speech of Judah P. Benjamin on Slave Property.—Sketches of Benjamin, Garrison, Davis, Douglas, Taney, Everett, Breckenridge, and Seward.—Speech of William Loyd Garrison on Slavery.—Speech of Jefferson Davis on Retiring from the U. S. Senate.—Speech of Stephen A. Douglas on Secession. 486–523

XXI.

The Nineteenth Administration.—XXXVIIth and XXXVIIIth Congresses.—Biography and Portrait of Abraham Lincoln.—Lincoln's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—States Admitted.—Lincoln's Inaugural Address.—Civil War Begins.—Border State Conspiracies.—The Trent Affair.—The Situation at Close of 1861.—Slavery Enactments.—Emancipation Proclamation.—The Situation 1862–'63.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1864).—The Thirteenth Amendment.—Political Platforms (1864).—The Homestead Law. 524–545

XXII.

The Twentieth Administration.—XXXIXth and XLth Congresses.—Civil War Ends.—Assassination of Lincoln.—Andrew Johnson, President.—Biography and Portrait of Johnson.—Johnson's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—States Admitted.—Political Results of the War.—Reconstruction and Amnesty.—The Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Bill.—Congress and the President.—The President and Secretary Stanton.—Impeachment Trial.—Amnesty.—Treaty with the North German Confederation.—Purchase of Alaska.—Mexico and Maximilian. Seceded States Re-admitted.—Fourteenth Amendment.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1868).—Text of the Amnesty Proclamation, Peace Proclamation, Civil Rights Bill of 1867, and Tenure of Office Bill.—Political Platforms (1868). 546–575

XXIII.

The Twenty-First Administration.—XLIst and XLIId Congresses.—Biography and Portrait of Grant.—Grant's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—State Admitted.—The Fifteenth Amendment.—The Ku-Klux-Klans.—Reconstruction Completed.—The Alabama Claims.—Northwestern Boundary Settled.—The Credit Mobilier Investigation.—Political Disabilities Removed.—The Force Bill.—The Issues of 1872.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1872).—Platforms (1872).—The Salary Grab Act.—Biography and Portraits of Horace Greeley, and Salmon P. Chase.—Speech of Henry Wilson in the Canvass Against Greeley.—Sketch of Wilson. 576–613

XXXIV.

The Twenty-second Administration.—XLIIId and XLIVth Congresses.—Grant's Indian Policy.—Financial Panic (1873).—Troubles in Louisiana.—Signal Service Bureau.—Specie Resumption.—The Centennial.—The Morton Amendment.—Speech of Oliver P. Morton on the National Idea.—Biography and Portrait of Morton.—The Whisky Ring.—Politics in 1876.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1876).—The Electoral Count.—Political Platforms (1876).—Text of the Civil Rights Bill of 1875.—Text of the Specie Resumption Act.—Speech of R. G. Ingersoll, nominating James G. Blaine (1876).—Sketch of Ingersoll. 614–651

XXV.

The Twenty-third Administration.—XLVth and XLVIth Congresses.—Biography and Portrait of Hayes.—Hayes's Cabinet.—Speakers of the House.—Hayes's Southern Policy.—Troubles in Louisiana and South Carolina.—Civil Service Reform.—Railroad "Strikers."—The Bland Silver Bill.—The "Cipher Dispatches."—Resumption.—The Chinese Question.—The Negro Exodus.—The Warner Silver Bill.—General Election Law.—Indian Policy.—Presidential Nominations and Election (1880). Platforms (1880).—Speech of James G. Blaine, on a False Issue. Speech of James A. Garfield, nominating John Sherman 1880). Speech of Daniel Dougherty, nominating Winfield S. Hancock (1880).—Speech of Mr. Frye, nominating Blaine. . . . 652–691

XXVI.

The Twenty-fourth Administration.—XLVIIth and XLVIIIth Congresses.—Republican Discord.—Garfield's and Arthur's Cabinets.—The President Shot.—Biography and Portraits of Garfield, Arthur, Conkling, Chase, and the several candidates for the Presidency (1884).—Edmunds' Anti-Polygamy Bill.—Mahone and the Readjusters.—The Star Route Scandal.—Chinese Question again.—Civil Service Reform Bill.—The Fitz John Porter Case.—The Lasker Resolutions.—Morrison's Tariff Bill. Civil Government for Alaska.—Presidential Nominations and Party Platforms (1884). 692–742

THE

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE;

OR,

THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL ISSUES

IN

THE UNITED STATES.

PART FIRST.

FORERUNNERS OF THE REPUBLIC.

I.

PURITAN IDEAS OF FREEDOM.

The intelligent reader of American history, who traces the philosophical sequences of events, their causes and effects, and duly considers their influences upon civil and political affairs, can discern in the leading events of colonial times, the tendency of the people toward liberal government and *republican* ideas. A patient and industrious population was laying the corner-stone of liberty and the foundation of the greatest nation the world has ever produced.

Early dawn of liberty.

The **Puritans** in the *Mayflower*, while anchored in the bay on the bleak shore of New England, organized under a solemn compact. Though exiled from the mother country, they were still loyal to the English Crown. In the little cabin of their

vessel, they "covenanted together to live in peace and harmony, with equal rights to all, obedient to just laws made for the common good."

We may search the records of the world, and fail to find a nobler document than the instrument to which the forty-one heads of the Puritan families solemnly set their names:

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT.

In the Name of God, Amen:

A noble document.

We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc., having undertaken for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia; do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together in a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the Eighteenth, and of Scotland the Fifty-fourth, Anno Domini, 1620.

Among the signatures are those of Miles Standish, Edward Winslow, John Bradford, William Bradford, William Brewster, John Carver, etc.

John Carver was chosen by his associates to be the first governor of Plymouth. This compact of the "Pilgrim

Fathers" was the first embodiment of the American idea that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

II.

THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTIONS.

The "Council of Burgesses," consisting of delegates from each of the eleven plantations in Virginia, which met at Jamestown, in July, 1619, was the *first elective body* in America which was chosen by the people. In July, 1621, an ordinance was passed creating a *written constitution* for the colony, the first of the kind in America, which secured representative government and trial by jury.

First elective body.

By the liberal zeal of the governor, SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY, it was granted that a general assembly should be held once every year, at which were to be present the governor and council, with two burgesses from each plantation, who were to be elected by the free vote of the people. This assembly "was to have power to make and ordain whatsoever laws should by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistence."

A Royal Charter, granted (1629) for all the new settlements on Massachusetts Bay, gave them leave to make their own laws and choose their own rulers, so long as they did nothing contrary to the statutes of England. Some of these settlers were men of wealth, influence, and high education, who, distrusting their king, thought to build up better homes for their children in the New World. Each separate settlement had its town meeting, in which every "freeman" voted for magistrates and delegates to the General Court.

A liberal charter.

A Constitution was framed for the Connecticut colony in 1639. The new instrument was simple and liberal. An oath of allegiance was the only qualification of citizenship. No recognition of the English king or of any foreign authority was required. All the officers of the colony were to be chosen by ballot at an annual election. The law-making power was vested in a general assembly, and the representatives were apportioned among the towns according to population.

Vote by ballot.

A "**body of liberties**,"—a code of well-tried laws, securing to every person, whether resident or stranger, prompt and equal justice in the courts—was adopted by Massachusetts in 1641.

III.

INCIPIENT UNIONS.

A Union of the New England Colonies was effected in 1643. Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven united for mutual protection under the title of the "UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND." By the articles of union each colony retained its distinct and separate government. No two colonies might be united into one, nor any colony be received into the confederacy without the consent of the whole. Each colony was to elect two commissioners, who should meet annually, and at other times, if necessary, and should determine "all affairs of war and peace, of leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men of war," etc. Upon notice that any colony was invaded, the rest were immediately to dispatch assistance. This union subsisted more than forty years, until the charters of the colonies were either taken away, or suspended, by James II. and his commissioners. The effects of this union were very salutary. It was of great importance as a PRECE-

An ominous Union.

EDENT for a MORE EXTENSIVE UNION,—a manifest *forerunner* of the mighty UNION of the Nineteenth Century!

The Voice of the People is again heard, when, in 1644, Roger Williams obtained from Parliament "a free and absolute charter of civil government for the plantations on Narragansett Bay" (Rhode Island), with full power to rule themselves "by such laws as they should find most suitable to their estate and condition." The system chosen was a PURE DEMOCRACY; farmers and shepherds met on the sea-shore, or under some spreading tree, and discussed plans for the general good; and though all shades of opinion were represented in the colony, and debate was often violent, the result was one of the most wise, liberal, and merciful governments that the world has ever seen. The best men were elected to office. It was found that all religious sects could live together in harmony, and that difference of opinion was not a bar to friendship. The supreme authority was lodged with the whole body of freemen. The vote of the majority should always rule. A seal of State was ordered, having for its design a sheaf of arrows and a motto of AMOR VINCET OMNIA. Thus was a model republic organized under the name "PLANTATION OF RHODE ISLAND."

Voice of the People in 1644.

Plans for the union of the American colonies by means of a general congress were drawn up by William Penn (1681). The code was brief and simple. It rivaled the charter of Connecticut in the liberality and purity of its principles. Men of all races and of all religions were declared to be equal before the law. No superiority was conceded to rank or title, to wealth or royal birth. Imprisonment for debt was forbidden. Taxes were to be voted by the representatives of the people. The form of government thus adopted was essentially a representative democracy. The leading officers were the governor, a council consisting of a limited number of members chosen for three years, and a larger popular assembly, to

Quaker liberality.

be annually elected. Thus everything was conceded TO THE PEOPLE.

A Plan of Union for the colonies was proposed by Benjamin Franklin in 1754, during the pending of the French and Indian war. This was unanimously adopted by the Colonial Convention at Albany but rejected by the British Board of Trade as too *democratic*.

This document—which we here present—contains the germ of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States:

A PLAN OF

PERPETUAL UNION,

FOR

HIS MAJESTY'S COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA

PROPOSED BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

AND

ADOPTED BY THE COLONIAL CONVENTION AT

ALBANY, JULY 10TH, 1754.

THAT the general government of His Majesty's Colonies in North America be administered by a President-General, to be appointed by the crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective Assemblies;

Germ of liberty.

Who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, being called by the President-General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment,

That there shall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the colony he represented;

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion, yet so as that the number

to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two;

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet by the President-General on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole;

That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey;

That the assent of the President-General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution;

That the President-General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations;

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade;

That they make all purchases, from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds, when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions;

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury;

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall see fit to form them into particular governments;

That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defense of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony without the consent of the Legislature;

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies), and such as may be collected with the

least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury than loading industry with unnecessary burthens;

That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury, or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient; yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-General and Grand Council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums;

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several assemblies;

That a quorum of the Grand Council, empowered to act with the President-General, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies;

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passage; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force;

That, in case of the death of the President-General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities to continue till the King's pleasure be known;

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President-General; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained before they receive their commissions; and all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President-General's approbation before they officiate;

But, in case of vacancy by death or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the Governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint, till the pleasure of the President-General and Grand Council can be known;

That the particular military, as well as civil establishments in each colony, remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the President-General and General Council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

IV.

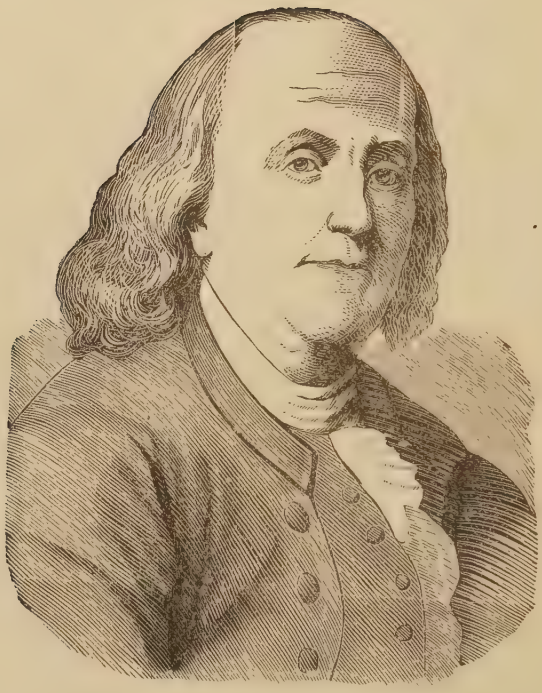
PHILOSOPHER AND PATRIOT.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston in 1706. His schooling was limited to the common English branches. At the age of ten he was taken from school and placed in the shop of his father, a tallow-chandler, and set "at cutting wicks for the candles, filling moulds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands," etc. The occupation was so distasteful that he formed the design of going to sea. To prevent such a result, he was apprenticed to learn the trade of a printer with an older brother, who had a printing office in Boston. This employment was congenial to Franklin's tastes, and he acquired a knowledge of the art with great rapidity. The work also brought him into communication with books, and he spent his leisure hours in eagerly reading whatever he could find that suited his tastes. Among the books which he thus read, and which exerted a powerful influence over him, were Pilgrim's Progress, Plutarch's Lives, an odd volume of the Spectator, and Cotton Mather's Way to Do Good.

A self-made man.

The brother and he not getting on pleasantly together, Benjamin, at the age of seventeen, left Boston and went to Philadelphia. At the latter place he found employment as a journeyman printer. Meeting with some encouragement, he determined, when about twenty-one years of age, to open a printing office on his own account, and proceeded to London to procure the type and other necessary materials. Not being able to effect the purchase, he remained nearly two years in London, practicing his trade as a journeyman printer. While there he published a Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, which attracted some attention.

On returning to Philadelphia, Franklin, by the aid of some friends, established a printing office, and at the same time



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

bought out a newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, which he continued for many years to publish, and which, by his business sagacity and his talents as a writer, he made a source both of profit and influence.

By his paper and his other publications, and by his personal character, Franklin acquired a great and constantly growing influence, both social and political. He had accustomed himself from boyhood to write on public affairs, and his pamphlets on the interests of England and the rights of the colonies were read with great attention on both sides of the ocean.

Franklin held various important public offices, both in Pennsylvania and under the general government, and was one of the leaders of public opinion in all the controversies between the colonies and the mother country; and he was, on different occasions, sent to England as agent for the colonial Assembly. Examined by Parliament, in 1765, concerning the probable effect of the Stamp Act in America, he replied with so much firmness, dignity, and intelligence that even the bitterest enemies of the colonies were forced to respect his arguments. He was, no doubt, the greatest diplomatist of the eighteenth century.

He was a prominent member of the Continental Congress, and was one of a committee of five to draft the Declaration of Independence; he negotiated the Treaty with France, which contributed largely to the achievement of independence; he was one of the three commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Peace, in 1783; and, finally, he was a delegate to the convention by whom the Constitution of the United States was drafted, after the war was over.

Among his great services to his country was his organization of its postal service as early as 1754. "Every penny stamp is a monument to Franklin." His simple experiment with the kite, proving that lightning and thunder are caused by electric currents, and his subsequent invention of the lightning-rod (1752), gave him a high place among scientific

men. During all the time that he was engaged in public affairs, he found the leisure to pursue the philosophical investigations which have made his name famous, and also to write those numerous essays on familiar subjects which, by their simplicity and wisdom, have excited the marvel of mankind.

Franklin died in 1790. Twenty thousand Americans attended his funeral.

V.

OPPRESSIVE ACTS.

The Revolution was brought about by the people asserting their privileges and contending for them. The oppressive measures of the "STAMP ACT" (1765), the "BOSTON PORT BILL," and the "MUTINY ACT" (1774), were preceded by the "NAVIGATION ACT," passed by Parliament in 1661, securing to English shipping the monopoly of the carrying trade of England; also by the issuing of "WRITS OF ASSISTANCE," in 1761, which were general search-warrants empowering custom-house officers to break open shops, stores, and private dwellings, in search of merchandise on which it was suspected no duty had been paid.

Forerunners of the Revolution.

The people had become jealous of their rights of self-government, and the love of liberty was inherent and strong. The exercise of local government in all the colonies had been developing a latent feeling tending toward *independence*.

In the Virginia House of Burgesses PATRICK HENRY carried resolutions declaring that the right to tax the colonies rested solely with the representatives of the colonists, "and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American

Declaration of Rights.

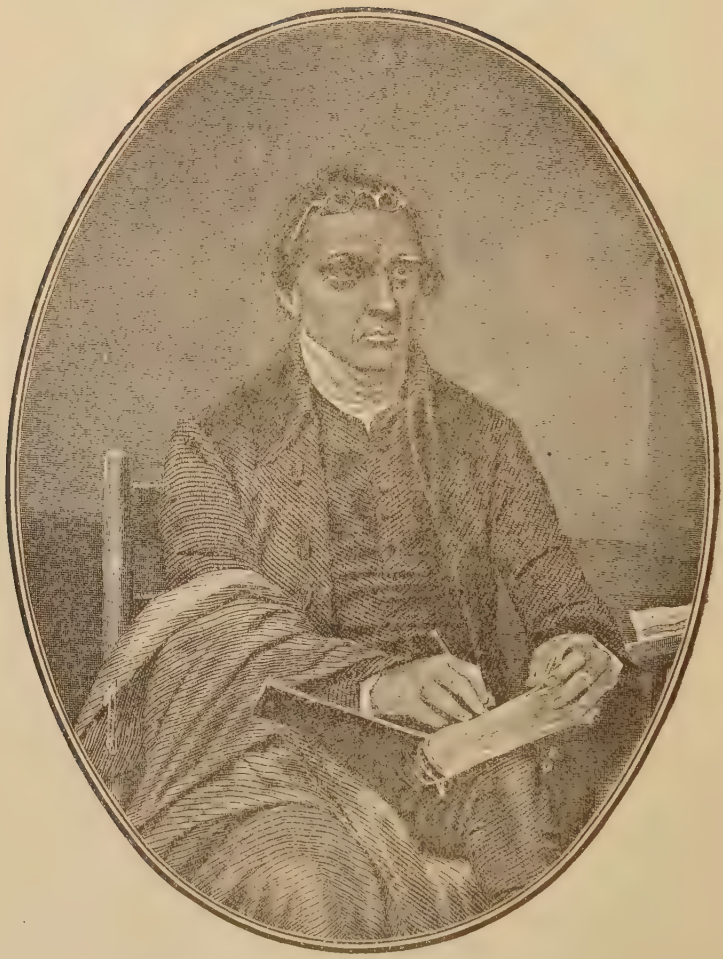
freedom." Delegates from nine colonies met at New York in October, 1765, and prepared a **Declaration of Rights** with remonstrances to king and Parliament.

The First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. Fifty-three of the best and ablest men in the country were there; men deeply versed in English law, and who knew well that England's king and Parliament were violating the constitution which they were sworn to maintain. The feeling of awe and responsibility which fell on all the members of the Assembly was broken by Patrick Henry,—the greatest orator of his day, and perhaps the greatest that America has yet produced,—who recited the wrongs of the colonies with magnificent eloquence, and yet with strict adherence to the truth.

The orator of Revolutionary times.

Patrick Henry, born in 1736, was a man of limited education, and in early years displayed few indications of his future greatness. He was exceedingly fond of fishing and hunting, and of social pleasures, all of which he allowed to interfere with his duties. He married at eighteen, failed twice in business, once in an attempt at farming, and finally, when twenty-four years of age, entered the profession of law after six weeks' study of the subject. Though ignorant of the simplest details of the profession, yet his wonderful gift of oratory stood him in good stead, and after the first trial in which he appeared, at the age of twenty-seven, he never lacked for business, although he was never considered remarkable as a lawyer.

He was a man of high moral courage, and the instinctive champion of the wronged and the oppressed. The opening scenes of the Revolution fired his patriotic soul; evidently the time and purpose for which he had been born had arrived. His speech before the Virginia House of Burgesses electrified the country, and gained him the reputation, at the age of twenty-nine, of being "the greatest orator and political thinker of a land abounding with public speakers and



P Henry

statesmen." From this time forth he was prominent in the political conventions and congresses of the colonies, and, in 1776, he was elected the first republican Governor of the State of Virginia. He held this office until 1779, when, being no longer eligible, he returned to the Legislature. At the close of the war he was again chosen Governor, and served until 1786, when he resigned. In 1794 he retired from the law, and removed to his estate. After this he declined several honorable positions in public life, but was finally persuaded by Washington and others to become a candidate for the Virginia Senate, in 1799, in order to oppose certain measures there. He was easily elected, but death interposed before he could take his seat.

VI.

THE TOCSIN OF WAR.

SPEECH OF PATRICK HENRY,

MARCH 23, 1775,

IN THE CONVENTION OF DELEGATES OF VIRGINIA,

On the following resolutions introduced by himself:

"*Resolved*, That a well-regulated militia, composed of gentlemen and yeomen, is the natural strength and only security of a free government; that such a militia in this colony would forever render it unnecessary for the mother country to keep among us, for the purpose of our defense, any standing army of mercenary soldiers, always subversive of the quiet, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, and would obviate the pretext of taxing us for their support.

"That the establishment of such a militia is, at this time, peculiarly necessary, by the state of our laws, for the protection and defense of the country, some of which are already expired, and others will shortly be so, and that the known remissness of government in calling us together in legislative capacity, renders it too insecure, in this time of danger and distress, to rely, that opportunity will be given of renewing them, in general assembly, or making any provision to secure our inestimable rights and liberties from those further violations with which they are threatened.

"*Resolved, therefore*, That this colony be immediately put into a state of defense, and that ——— be a committee to prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."

MR. PRESIDENT:—No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining, as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery; and in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason toward my country, and of an act of disloyalty toward the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

The Key-note of the Revolution.

Mr. President, it is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those, who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years to justify those hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy, in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British min-

istry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when the British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance, by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, Peace, peace—but there is no peace! The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle!

What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

VII.

SECTION 1.

CONFEDERATION OF THE COLONIES.

The first steps toward the organization of the *United States of America* dates back to an assembly of delegates from the several North American Colonies, which met at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and styled themselves a Congress. Its object was to discuss the grievances of Great Britain, and to enact measures for self-protection. Each colony was entitled to one vote. The Confederation constantly gained in strength and in public confidence. British aggressions became intolerable, and on July 2, 1776, the Continental Congress resolved "*That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be Free and Independent States,*" etc., and on Thursday, July 4, 1776, the *Declaration of Independence* was agreed upon, and read to the public on July 8th. On the 9th of September, 1776, by resolution of Congress, the words "*United Colonies*" was changed to "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

"United States of America."

The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America was agreed to November 15, 1777, subject to the ratification of the several State Legislatures, the last of which ratified the same March 1, 1781.

Here was a bond of union between thirteen independent States, whose delegates in Congress legislated for the general welfare, and executed certain powers so far as they were permitted by the articles aforesaid. The following are the

names of the Presidents of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1788:

Peyton Randolph	Virginia	September 5,	1774
Henry Middleton	South Carolina	October 22,	1774
Peyton Randolph	Virginia	May 10,	1775
John Hancock	Massachusetts	May 24,	1776
Henry Laurens	South Carolina	November 1,	1777
John Jay	New York	December 10,	1778
Samuel Huntington	Connecticut	September 28,	1779
Thomas McKean	Delaware	July 10,	1781
John Hanson	Maryland	November 5,	1781
Elias Boudinot	New Jersey	November 4,	1782
Thomas Mifflin	Pennsylvania	November 3,	1783
Richard Henry Lee	Virginia	November 30,	1784
Nathaniel Gorham	Massachusetts	January 6,	1786
Arthur St. Clair	Pennsylvania	February 2,	1787
Cyrus Griffin	Virginia	January 22,	1788

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MET

September 5, 1774, and May 10, 1775, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
December 20, 1776, at Baltimore, Maryland.
March 4, 1777, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
September 27, 1777, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
September 30, 1777, at York, Pennsylvania.
July 2, 1778, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
June 30, 1783, at Princeton, New Jersey.
November 26, 1783, at Annapolis, Maryland.
November 1, 1784, at Trenton, New Jersey.
January 11, 1785, at New York.

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES MET

From March 4, 1789, to August 12, 1790, at New York.
From December 6, 1790, to May 14, 1800, at Philadelphia.
From and since November 17, 1800, at Washington, D. C.

Seats of Government.

Thus New York city was the first seat of our government; thence it was transferred to Philadelphia; and in 1800 it was removed to Washington City, in the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia was formerly ten miles square, given to the United States in 1790, by Maryland and Virginia, for the purpose of a National Capital. In 1800 it became the

seat of the General Government and the residence of the President and other executive officers of the nation. In 1846, by an act of Congress, the part given by Virginia was restored to that State. Consequently, the District is now confined to the Maryland side of the Potomac, and contains sixty-four square miles.

The government of the District is peculiar. The *legislative* power is retained by Congress, the *executive* is vested in three Commissioners, appointed by the President, and the *judicial* in a Supreme Court, a Circuit, a Criminal and a District Court. An appeal lies to the Supreme Court of the United States. There is no representation in Congress, and the people have no vote in national elections. The present form of government was adopted in June, 1878.

SECTION 2.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

[A RESOLUTION of the Congress of the United Colonies was passed June 11, 1776, appointing a committee of five to draft a Declaration—consisting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston.

THURSDAY, July 4, 1776.

Agreeable to the order of the day, Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the Declaration, President John Hancock, of Massachusetts, in the chair. The Secretary, Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, reported that the committee had agreed upon a Declaration; which was read and adopted as follows:]

An immortal document.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people

to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government.

The history of the present King of Great Britian is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the right of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation—

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English law in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our government:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legisla-

ture to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of good right ought to be, *Free and Independent States;* that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *Free and Independent States*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which *Independent States* may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Attested: CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY—Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

DELAWARE—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean.

MARYLAND—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

This DECLARATION was written by Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and was published to the world on the 4th of July, 1776.

"It was two o'clock in the afternoon when the final decision was announced by Secretary Thomson to the assembled Congress in Independence Hall. It was a moment of solemn interest; and when the secretary sat down, a deep silence pervaded that august assembly. Thousands of anxious citizens had gathered in the streets of Philadelphia, for it was known that the final decision was to be made on that day. From the hour when Congress convened in the morning, the old bellman had been in the steeple. He placed a boy at the door below, to give him notice when the announcement should be made. As hour succeeded hour, the gray-beard shook his head, and said, 'They will never do it! They will never do it!' Suddenly a loud shout came up from below, and there stood the blue-eyed boy clapping his hands and shouting, 'Ring! Ring!' Grasping the iron tongue of the old bell, backward and forward he hurled it a hundred times, its loud voice proclaiming 'Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.' The excited multitude in the streets responded with loud acclamations, and with cannon-peals, bonfires, and illuminations, the patriots held a glorious carnival that night in the quiet city of Penn."—*Lossing.*

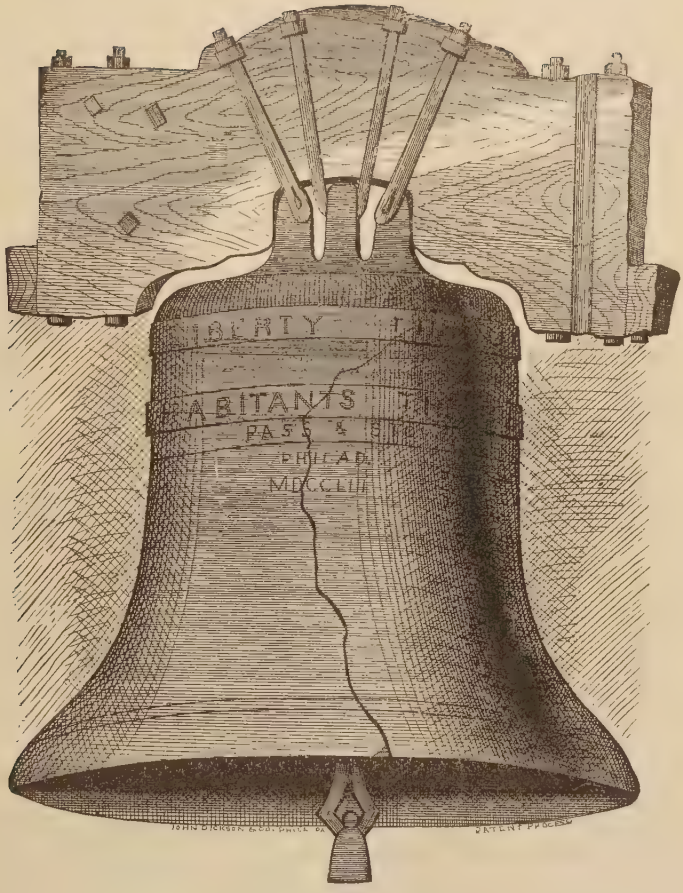
"LIBERTY BELL," cast twenty-three years before the Declaration of Independence, had around its crown the significant inscription, "*Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.*" Though now cracked and voiceless, this venerated bell still hangs above Independence Hall. Upon the approach of the British in 1777, it was removed to

LIBERTY HALL.

a place of safety; before replacing it, the old belfry, which had decayed, was torn down and a new one built.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION—THEIR BIRTHS AND PROFESSIONS.

Josiah Bartlett, born at Amesbury, Massachusetts, Nov., 1729—Physician.
William Whipple, born at Kittery, Maine—Sailor.
Matthew Thornton, born in Ireland, 1741—Physician.
John Hancock, born at Braintree, Massachusetts, 1737—Merchant.
Samuel Adams, born in Boston, 1722—Merchant.
John Adams, born at Quincy, Massachusetts, 1735—Lawyer.
Robert Treat Paine, born in Boston, 1731—Lawyer.
Elbridge Gerry, born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, 1744—Merchant.
Stephen Hopkins, born at Scituate, Massachusetts, 1707—Farmer.
John Morton, born in Ridley, Pennsylvania, 1724—Surveyor.
George Clymer, born in Philadelphia, 1739—Merchant.
James Smith, born in Ireland, 1715—Lawyer.
George Taylor, born in Ireland, 1716—Physician.
James Wilson, born in Scotland.
George Ross, born at Newcastle, Delaware, 1730—Lawyer.
Cæsar Rodney, born at Dover, Delaware, 1730.
George Read, born in Maryland, 1734—Lawyer.
Thomas McKean, born in Chester County, Pa., 1734—Lawyer.
Samuel Chase, born in Maryland, 1741—Lawyer.
William Paca, born in Maryland, 1740—Lawyer.
William Ellery, born at Newport, Rhode Island, 1727—Lawyer.
Roger Sherman, born at Newton, Massachusetts, 1721—Shoemaker.
William Williams, born in Lebanon, Connecticut, 1731.
Oliver Wolcott, born in Windsor, Connecticut, 1726—Physician.
William Floyd, born at Long Island, New York, 1734—Farmer.
Philip Livingston, born at Albany, New York, 1716—Merchant.
Francis Lewis, born at Llandaff, Wales, 1713.
Lewis Morris, born at Harlem, New York, 1726—Farmer.
Richard Stockton, born at Princeton, New Jersey, 1730—Lawyer.
John Witherspoon, born at Yester, Scotland, 1722—Minister.
Francis Hopkins, born in Philadelphia, 1737—Lawyer.
John Hart, born in Hopewell, New Jersey—Farmer.
Abraham Clark, born in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1726—Lawyer.
Robert Morris, born in England, 1734—Merchant.
Benjamin Rush, born in Byberry, Pennsylvania, 1735—Physician.
Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston, 1755—Printer.
Thomas Stone, born at Pointon, Maryland, 1744—Lawyer.
Charles Carroll of Carrollton, born at Annapolis, Maryland, 1737—Lawyer.
George Wythe, born at Elizabeth City Co., Va., 1726—Lawyer.
Richard Henry Lee, born at Stratford, Virginia, 1732—Soldier.



LIBERTY BELL.

Thomas Jefferson, born at Shadwell, Virginia, 1743—Lawyer.
Benjamin Harrison, born at Berkley, Virginia—Farmer.
Thomas Nelson, Jr., born at York, Virginia, 1738.
Francis Lightfoot Lee, born at Stratford, Virginia, 1734—Farmer.
Carter Braxton, born at Newington, Virginia, 1736.
William Hooper, born in Boston, 1742—Lawyer.
Joseph Hewes, born at Kingston, New Jersey, 1730—Lawyer.
John Penn, born in Virginia, 1741—Lawyer.
Edward Rutledge, born at Charleston, South Carolina, 1749—Lawyer.
Thomas Heyward, born at St. Luke's, South Carolina, 1746—Lawyer.
Thomas Lynch, Jr., born at St. George's, South Carolina, 1749—Lawyer.
Arthur Middleton, born on the banks of Ashley, South Carolina, 1743—Lawyer.

VIII.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION BETWEEN THE STATES.

[The Articles of Confederation were agreed to November 15th, 1777, and were ratified July 9th, 1778, by ten States; by New Jersey, on the 26th of November of the same year; and by Delaware, on the 23d of February following. Maryland, alone, held off two years more, acceding to them March 1st, 1781, and thus closing the obligation.]

The following are the Articles:

To all whom these Presents shall come, We, the undersigned Delegates of the States affixed to our names, send greeting:

WHEREAS, The Delegates of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, did, on the 15th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1777, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America, agree to certain Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in the words following, viz.:

"*Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.*

ARTICLE 1. The style of this Confederacy shall be "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

ARTICLE 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

The Antecedent of the Constitution.

ARTICLE 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attack made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

ARTICLE 4—SECTION 1. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States—paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property, imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or any of them.

SEC. 2. If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor, or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

SEC. 3. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States, to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE 5—SECTION 1. For the more convenient management of the general interest of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed, in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

SEC. 2. No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

SEC. 3. Each State shall maintain its own Delegates in any meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the Committee of the States.

SEC. 4. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

SEC. 5. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be im-

peached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 6—SECTION 1. No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send an embassy to, or receive an embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any King, Prince, or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever from any King, Prince, or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

SEC. 2. No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

SEC. 3. No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any King, Prince, or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress, to the Courts of France and Spain.

SEC. 4. No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

SEC. 5. No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such a State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the Kingdom or State, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue,

or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE 7. When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of, or under the rank of Colonel, shall be appointed by the Legislatures of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 9—SECTION 1. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the 6th article—of sending and receiving embassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally, appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

SEC. 2. The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise, between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following:

Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress, to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed

to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they can not agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner above prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall, nevertheless, proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the Supreme or Superior Court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:" provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

SEC. 3. All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants, are adjusted; the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

SEC. 4. The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States: provided that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing or regulating

post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of said office—appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

SEC. 5. The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "*A Committee of the States,*" and to consist of one Delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside: provided, that no person be allowed to serve in the office of President more than one year in any term of three years—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not be safely spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

SEC. 6. The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow

money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

SEC. 7. The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secresy; and the ayes and nays of the delegates of each State on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislature of the several States.

ARTICLE 10. The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress, as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with: provided, that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE 11. Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE 13. Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

AND WHEREAS, It hath pleased the GREAT GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Con-

federation and Perpetual Union: Know ye that we, the undersigned Delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every one of the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said Confederation are submitted to them. And that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Josiah Bartlett, John Wentworth, Jr.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.—John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana, James Lovel, Samuel Holton.

RHODE ISLAND, ETC.—William Ellery, Henry Marchant, John Collins.

CONNECTICUT.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, Andrew Adams.

NEW YORK.—James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris.

NEW JERSEY.—John Witherspoon, Nath. Scudder.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Robert Morris, Daniel Roberdeau, Jona Bayard Smith, William Clingan, Joseph Reed.

DELAWARE.—Thomas McKean, John Dickinson, Nicholas Van Dyke.

MARYLAND.—John Hanson, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.—Richard Henry Lee, John Banister, Thomas Adams, John Harvie, Francis Lightfoot Lee.

NORTH CAROLINA.—John Penn, Cons. Harnett, John Williams.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Henry Laurens, Wm. Henry Drayton, John Matthews, Richard Hutson, Thomas Heyward, Jr.

GEORGIA.—John Walton, Edward Telfair, Edward Langworthy.

IX.

WASHINGTON'S ACCEPTANCE AND RESIGNATION OF THE COMMAND IN THE ARMY.

His Election as Commander-in-Chief.

On the 15th of June, 1775, Washington was unanimously elected by the Continental Congress "to command all the

Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defense of American liberty," and when he appeared in his place the next day, the President of that body acquainted him with his election, in a well-timed address, "and requested that he should accept of that employment;" to which Washington replied as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me, in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

Modesty of a great man.

But lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.

WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION OF HIS COMMISSION.

The war of the Revolution having terminated auspiciously, Washington took leave of his officers and army at New York, and repaired to Annapolis, Md., where Congress was then in session. On the 20th of December, 1783, he transmitted a letter to that body, apprising them of his arrival, with the intention of resigning his commission, and desiring to know whether it would be most agreeable to receive it in writing or at an audience. It was immediately resolved that a public entertainment be given him on the 22d, and that he be admitted to an audience on the 23d at 12 o'clock. Accordingly, he attended at that time, and being seated, the President informed him that Congress was prepared to receive his communications. Whereupon he arose, and spoke as follows:

Resignation of Military Power.

MR. PRESIDENT: The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every view of the momentous contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible that the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

X.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Condition of the country.

The close of the Revolutionary War found the government of the young nation in a weak condition. The treasury was empty, and the country involved in debt. Many of the soldiers had not received their pay, and several acts of violence were committed by them,

under unprincipled leaders. It was found that by the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, under which the United States had existed since 1781, Congress had no power to raise money and pay the debts incurred by the war. The individual States were therefore called upon for funds, but their efforts to raise money by direct taxation produced great opposition.

Many persons thought that the people were incapable of self-government, and proposed that Washington should become *king*. This proposal he spurned with indignation.

Under the Articles of Confederation the government was a democratic republic. "It presented itself under the form of a LOOSE UNION OF INDEPENDENT COMMONWEALTHS—a confederacy of sovereign States. The executive and legislative powers of the general government were vested in Congress—a body composed of not less than two nor more than seven representatives from each State. But Congress could exercise no other than *delegated* powers; the sovereignty was reserved to the States. The most important of the exclusive privileges of Congress were the right of making war and peace, the regulation of foreign intercourse, the power to receive and send embassadors, the control of the coinage of money, the settlement of disputed boundaries and the care of the public domain. There was no Chief Magistrate of the Republic; and no general judiciary was provided for."

Defects of the Articles of Confederation.

The best statesmen of the time saw that adherence to the **Articles of Confederation** must tend naturally to anarchy. When the pressure of war was removed the symptoms of disintegration grew alarming. Congress was without dignity, power, or "local habitation." It was compelled to appeal repeatedly to the States before it could obtain a quorum of members to ratify the treaty of peace. There was no power in Congress to compel payment of interest upon the public debt. The national credit became worthless. Foreign nations refused to make commercial treaties with the United

States, preferring a condition of affairs in which they could lay any desired burden upon American commerce without fear of retaliation by an impotent Congress. Congress being unable to order the building of ships, the Algerines in 1785 were permitted to prey on American commerce with impunity. England still refused to carry out the treaty of 1783, or to send a minister to the United States.

The Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia, May 25, 1787, and comprised delegates from all the States except Rhode Island. Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, was chosen president of the convention. The importance of their work was indeed great. Other nations have had their constitutions gradually shaped by circumstances through a course of centuries; for the first time in the world's history four millions of people were, by their representatives, to choose a government for themselves. With Washington sat some of the wisest and best statesmen that the world has known: FRANKLIN, the patriot sage, now over four-score years, was there; ROBERT MORRIS, "the patriot financier," lent his counsel; and "there were HAMILTON, and LIVINGSTON, and MADISON, who by their profound study of English law had learned to supply universal principles of truth and justice to the needs of a free people."

The Constitutional Convention of 1787.

A body of wise men.

A desultory discussion followed until the 29th of the month, when EDMUND RANDOLPH introduced a resolution to set aside the Articles of Confederation and adopt a new constitution. After further debate, a committee was appointed to revise the Articles of Confederation. "Early in September the work was done; the report of the committee was adopted; and that report was THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES" (**September 17th, 1787**).

The government was organized under it the ensuing year, and in **1789**, it went into full operation.

(*For "Constitution of the United States," see XII.*)

XI.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

Ordinance of 1787.

While the Constitutional Convention was in session at Philadelphia the last Colonial Congress was sitting in New York. This Congress carried through a most important measure; it was, in fact, "the most notable law ever enacted by representatives of the American people." This was the organization of the Northwestern Territory. It comprised the great tract north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, out of which have been carved the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. A territorial government was here first introduced into the American system.*

First territorial government.

While the bill was pending, Mr. Jefferson introduced and had carried an amendment forever excluding slavery from that extensive region. It was ceded to the United States by Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. For the government of the territory, an ordinance, drawn up by Mr. Jefferson, was adopted on the 13th of July, 1787. General St. Clair was appointed military governor. By the terms of the ordinance it was stipulated that not less than three nor more than five States should be formed out of the great ter-

* **A Territory Defined.**—A *Territory* is a district, which, for the want at first of a sufficient population, is not admitted into the Union as an independent State. It may become a State when it can send one Representative to Congress. Every ten years a census of the whole United States is taken, and the number of inhabitants required to send one Representative to Congress is then determined for the succeeding ten years. The quotient arising from dividing the whole number of population of the United States by the number of Representatives in the House will entitle a State to one Representative in Congress. The Governor and other chief officers of a Territory are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Each organized Territory is represented in Congress by a delegate, who may debate, but can not vote. More than half the States were at first organized as Territories.

ritory thus brought under the dominion of civilization; that the States when organized should be admitted on terms of equality with the original members of the confederation. To insure the perpetual enforcement of this ordinance, it was not left as a mere act of Congress, which could be repealed at a subsequent session, but its six main provisions were made articles of a solemn compact between the inhabitants of the territory, present and to come, and the people of the thirteen States. No man was to be restricted of his liberty excepting as a punishment for crime; life, property, and religious freedom were protected by just and equal laws. A clause, which several Western States have copied in their constitutions, declared that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Following is the

ORDINANCE OF 1787.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 13, 1787.

Be it ordained, by the United States in Congress assembled, that the said Territory, for the purpose of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

A notable enactment.

Be it ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said Territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild, to take the share of their deceased parent, in equal parts, among them, and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts, among them, their deceased parent's share: and there shall in no case be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower shall remain in full force until altered by the Legislature of the district. And until the Governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said Territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and

attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease or release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose, and personal property may be transferred by delivery, saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, Saint Vincents, and neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them relative to descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a Governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office. There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a Secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside therein, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the Legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the Governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the Secretary of Congress. There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The Governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress, from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved by Congress; but afterward, the Legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The Governor, for the time being, shall be Commander-in-Chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers. All general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the Governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county, or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the General Assembly shall be organized,

the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said Assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the Governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made, shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of processes, criminal and civil, the Governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may hereafter be made by the Legislature.

So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the Governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the General Assembly: *Provided*, That for every five hundred free male inhabitants there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five, after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the Legislature: *Provided*, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years, and in either case shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same: *Provided, also*, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representative thus elected shall serve for the term of two years, and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the Governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The General Assembly, or Legislature, shall consist of the Governor, Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. The Legislative Council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress, any three of whom to be a quorum, and the members of the Council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the Governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the Coun-

cil, by death or removal from office, the House of Representatives shall nominate two persons qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress, one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term; and every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the Council, the said House shall nominate ten persons qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the Council five years, unless sooner removed. And the Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Representatives shall have authority to make laws in all cases for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills having passed by a majority in the House, and by a majority in the Council, shall be referred to the Governor for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatever shall be of any force without his assent. The Governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the Assembly, when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

The Governor, Judges, Legislative Council, Secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office—the Governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the Governor. As soon as a Legislature shall be formed in the district, the Council and House, assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with the right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government. And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; *to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which* FOREVER *hereafter shall be formed in the said Territory;* to provide also for the establishment of States, and for their admission to a share in the Federal Council on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said Territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, viz:

ARTICLE I. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in the said Territory.

ARTICLE II. The inhabitants of the said Territory shall always be entitled to the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* and of trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the Legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law; all persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offenses, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great; all fines shall be moderate, and no cruel or un-

usual punishments shall be inflicted; no man shall be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and should the public exigencies make it necessary for the common preservation to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same; and, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said Territory, that shall in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, *bona fide*, and, without fraud, previously formed.

ARTICLE III. Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ARTICLE IV. The said Territory and the States which may be formed therein shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation,* and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said Territory shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts contracted, or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of the government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes for paying their proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the District, or Districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The Legislatures of those Districts, or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said Territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the Confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ARTICLE V. There shall be formed in the said Territory not less than

* This ordinance was drawn up before the Constitution was formed.

three, nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincennes due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincennes to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the said territorial line, and by said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: *Provided*, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, and, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan; and whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such States shall be admitted, by their delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: *Provided*, the constitution and government so to be formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be, consistent with the general interest of the Confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

ARTICLE VI. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided*, always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed, and declared null and void.

XII.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.*

PREAMBLE.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The Bulwark of our Liberties.

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. *Congress in General.*

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II. *House of Representatives.*

Clause 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Clause 2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the State in which he shall be chosen.

Clause 3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

---

*For history of the Constitution see X.

Clause 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Clause 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III. *Senate.*

Clause 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof for six years, and each senator shall have one vote.

Clause 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Clause 3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

Clause 4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

Clause 5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Clause 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Clause 7. Judgment in case of impeachment shall not extend farther than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SECTION IV. *Both Houses.*

Clause 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators.

Clause 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and

such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V. *The Houses separately.*

Clause 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Clause 2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Clause 3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Clause 4. Neither house during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI. *Disabilities of Members.*

Clause 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Clause 2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII. *Mode of Passing Laws.*

Clause 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Clause 2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that

house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Clause 3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII. *Powers granted to Congress.*

The Congress shall have power—

Clause 1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

Clause 2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

Clause 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

Clause 4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States;

Clause 5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

Clause 6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

Clause 7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

Clause 8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

Clause 9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

Clause 10. To define and punish felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

Clause 11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

Clause 12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

Clause 13. To provide and maintain a navy;

Clause 14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

Clause 15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

Clause 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

Clause 17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and,

Clause 18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX. *Powers denied to the United States.*

Clause 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Clause 2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

Clause 3. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.

Clause 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

Clause 5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

Clause 6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

Clause 7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Clause 8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, with-

out the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X. *Powers denied to the States.*

Clause 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

Clause 2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

Clause 3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delays.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. *President and Vice President.*

Clause 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Clause 2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[*Clause* 3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a ma-

jority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.*]

Clause 4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Clause 5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Clause 6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

Clause 7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, nor any of them.

Clause 8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II. *Powers of the President.*

Clause 1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

Clause 2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of

*Altered by the 12th Amendment, which see.

the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

Clause 3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III. *Duties of the President.*

He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV. *Impeachment of the President.*

The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. *United States Courts.*

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II. *Jurisdiction of the United States Courts.*

Clause 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different

States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.*

Clause 2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Clause 3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III. *Treason.*

Clause 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Clause 2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I. *State Records.*

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II. *Privileges of Citizens, etc.*

Clause 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Clause 2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Clause 3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

*Altered by the 11th Amendment.

SECTION III. *New States and Territories.*

Clause. 1. New States may be admitted by Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

Clause 2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV. *Guarantee to the States.*

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. POWER OF AMENDMENT.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress: provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. PUBLIC DEBT, SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION, OATH OF OFFICE, RELIGIOUS TEST.

Clause 1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

Clause 2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Clause 3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound

by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President and Deputy from Virginia.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.—Wm. Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.—Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.—Wm. Livingston, Wm. Patterson, David Brearley, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Wilson, Thomas Mifflin, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Gouveneur Morris.

DELAWARE.—George Read, John Dickinson, Jacob Broom, Gunning Bedford, Jr., Richard Bassett.

MARYLAND.—Jas. M'Henry, Dan'l Carroll, Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer.

VIRGINIA.—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA.—William Blount, Hugh Williamson, Richard Dobbs Spaight.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. *Freedom of Religion, etc.*

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. *Right to Bear Arms.*

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. *Quartering Soldiers on Citizens.*

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. *Search Warrants.*

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. *Trial for Crime, etc.*

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in active service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offense, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. *Rights of Accused Persons.*

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII. *Suits of Common Law.*

In suits of common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined by any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. *Excessive Bail.*

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not granted to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII. *Mode of choosing the President and Vice President.*

Clause 1. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each States having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

Clause 2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

Clause 3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

The **Constitution** was ratified by the conventions of the several States, as follows:

Delaware	Dec. 7, 1787.
Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, 1787.
New Jersey	Dec. 18, 1787.
Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788.
Connecticut	Jan. 9, 1788.
Massachusetts	Feb. 6, 1788.
Maryland	April 28, 1788.
South Carolina	May 28, 1788.
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788.
Virginia	June 26, 1788.
New York	July 26, 1788.
North Carolina	Nov. 21, 1789.
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790.

The first ten of the amendments were proposed on the 25th of September, 1789, and ratified by the constitutional number of States on the 15th of December, 1791; the eleventh, on the 8th of January, 1798; the twelfth, on the 25th of September, 1804; the thirteenth, on the 1st of February, 1863; the fourteenth, on the 21st of July, 1868; and the fifteenth, on the 30th of March, 1870.

XIII.

TWO SPEECHES ON THE EXPEDIENCY OF ADOPTING THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

SPEECH OF PATRICK HENRY.

DELIVERED IN THE CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA, JUNE 5, 1788.

The preamble and the first two sections of the first article of the Constitution being under consideration, Mr. Henry thus addressed the Convention:

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I am much obliged to the very worthy gentleman* for his encomium. I wish I were possessed of talents, or possessed of anything, that might enable me to elucidate this great subject. I am not free from suspicion; I am apt to entertain doubts; I rose yesterday to ask a question, which arose in my own mind. When I asked that question, I thought the meaning of my interrogation was obvious; the fate of this question and of America may depend on this. Have they said, we, the States? Have they made a proposal of a compact between States? If they had, this would be a confederation; it is otherwise most clearly a consolidated government. The question turns, sir, on that poor little thing—the expression, we, the people, instead of, the States of America. I need not take much pains to show that the principles of this system are extremely pernicious, impolitic, and dangerous. Is this a monarchy, like England—a compact between prince and people; with checks on the former to secure the liberty of the latter? Is this a confederacy, like Holland—an association of a number of independent States, each of which retains its individual sovereignty? It is not a democracy, wherein the people retain all their rights securely. Had these principles been adhered to, we should not have been brought to this alarming transition, from a confederacy to a consolidated government. We have no detail of those great considerations, which, in my opinion, ought to have abounded before we should recur to a government of this kind. Here is a revolution as radical as that which separated us from Great Britain. It is as radical, if, in this transition, our rights and privileges are endangered, and the sovereignty of the States relinquished. And can not we plainly see that this is actually the case? The rights of conscience, trial by jury, liberty of the press, all your immunities and franchises, all pretensions to human rights and privileges, are rendered insecure, if not lost, by this change so loudly talked of by some, and inconsiderately by others. Is this tame relinquishment of rights worthy of freemen? Is it worthy of that manly fortitude that ought

*Mr. Lee, of Westmoreland.

to characterize republicans? It is said eight States have adopted this plan. I declare that if twelve States and an half had adopted it, I would, with manly firmness, and in spite of an erring world, reject it. You are not to inquire how your trade may be increased, nor how you are to become a great and powerful people, but how your liberties can be secured; for liberty ought to be the direct end of your government. Having premised these things, I shall, with the aid of my judgment and information, which I confess are not extensive, go into the discussion of this system more minutely. Is it necessary for your liberty that you should abandon those great rights by the adoption of this system? Is the relinquishment of the trial by jury, and the liberty of the press, necessary for your liberty? Will the abandonment of your most sacred rights tend to the security of your liberty? Liberty, the greatest of all earthly blessings —give us that precious jewel, and you may take everything else. But I am fearful I have lived long enough to become an old-fashioned fellow. Perhaps an invincible attachment to the dearest rights of man may, in these refined, enlightened days, be deemed old-fashioned; if so, I am contented to be so. I say the time has been when every pulse of my heart beat for American liberty, and which, I believe, had a counterpart in the breast of every true American. But suspicions have gone forth – suspicions of my integrity. It has been publicly reported that my professions are not real. Twenty-three years ago I was supposed to be a traitor to my country. I was then said to be a bane of sedition, because I supported the rights of my country. I may be thought suspicious when I say our privileges and rights are in danger; but, sir, a number of the people of this country are weak enough to think these things are too true. I am happy to find that the gentlemen on the other side declare they are groundless; but, sir, suspicion is a virtue as long as its object is the preservation of the public good, and as long as it stays within proper bounds; should it fall on me, I am contented; conscious rectitude is a powerful consolation. I trust there are many who think my professions for the public good to be real. Let your suspicion look to both sides; there are many on the other side, who, possibly, may have been persuaded of the necessity of these measures, which I conceive to be dangerous to your liberty. Guard with jealous attention the public liberty. Suspect every one who approaches that jewel. Unfortunately nothing will preserve it but downright force. Whenever you give up that force, you are inevitably ruined. I am answered by gentlemen, that though I may speak of terrors, yet the fact is that we are surrounded by none of the dangers I apprehend. I conceive this new government to be one of those dangers; it has produced those horrors which distress many of our best citizens. We are come hither to preserve the poor commonwealth of Virginia, if it can be possibly done; something must be done to preserve your liberty and mine. The confederation, this same despised government, merits, in my opinion, the highest encomium; it carried us through a long and dangerous war; it rendered us victorious

in that bloody conflict with a powerful nation; it has secured us a territory greater than any European monarch possesses; and shall a government which has been thus strong and vigorous be accused of imbecility, and abandoned for want of energy? Consider what you are about to do, before you part with this government. Take longer time in reckoning things; revolutions like this have happened in almost every country in Europe; similar examples are to be found in ancient Greece and ancient Rome—instances of the people losing their liberty by their own carelessness and the ambition of a few. We are cautioned by the honorable gentleman who presides, against faction and turbulence. I acknowledge that licentiousness is dangerous, and that it ought to be provided against; I acknowledge also the new form of government may effectually prevent it; yet there is another thing it will as effectually do: it will oppress and ruin the people. There are sufficient guards placed against sedition and licentiousness; for when power is given to this government to suppress these, or for any other purpose, the language it assumes is clear, express, and unequivocal; but when this Constitution speaks of privileges, there is an ambiguity, sir, a fatal ambiguity—an ambiguity which is very astonishing. In the clause under consideration, there is the strangest language that I can conceive. I mean when it says, that there shall not be more representatives than one for every 30,000. Now, sir, how easy is it to evade this privilege? "The number shall not exceed one for every 30,000." This may be satisfied by one representative from each State. Let our numbers be ever so great, this immense continent may, by this artful expression, be reduced to have but thirteen representatives. I confess this construction is not natural; but the ambiguity of the expression lays a good ground for a quarrel. Why was it not clearly and unequivocally expressed, that they should be entitled to have one for every 30,000? This would have obviated all disputes; and was this difficult to be done? What is the inference? When population increases, and a State shall send representatives in this proportion, Congress may remand them, because the right of having one for every 30,000 is not clearly expressed. This possibility of reducing the number to one for each State, approximates to probability by that other expression, "but each State shall at least have one representative." Now, is it not clear that, from the first expression, the number might be reduced so much, that some States should have no representative at all, were it not for the insertion of this last expression? And as this is the only restriction upon them, we may fairly conclude that they may restrain the number to one from each State. Perhaps the same horrors may hang over my mind again. I shall be told I am continually afraid; but, sir, I have strong cause of apprehension. In some parts of the plan before you, the great rights of freemen are endangered, in other parts absolutely taken away. How does your trial by jury stand? In civil cases gone—not sufficiently secured in criminal—this best privilege is gone. But we are told, that we need not fear, because those in power,

being our representatives, will not abuse the powers we put in their hands. I am not well versed in history; but I will submit to your recollection, whether liberty has been destroyed most often by the licentiousness of the people, or by the tyranny of rulers. I imagine, sir, you will find the balance on the side of tyranny. Happy will you be, if you miss the fate of those nations, who, omitting to resist their oppressors, or negligently suffering their liberty to be wrested from them, have groaned under intolerable despotism! Most of the human race are now in this deplorable condition. And those nations who have gone in search of grandeur, power, and splendor, have also fallen a sacrifice, and been the victims of their own folly. While they acquired those visionary blessings, they lost their freedom. My great objection to this government is, that it does not leave us the means of defending our rights, or of waging war against tyrants. It is urged by some gentlemen, that this new plan will bring us an acquisition of strength; an army, and the militia of the States. This is an idea extremely ridiculous; gentlemen can not be in earnest. This acquisition will trample on your fallen liberty. Let my beloved Americans guard against that fatal lethargy that has pervaded the universe. Have we the means of resisting disciplined armies, when our only defense, the militia, is put into the hands of Congress?

The honorable gentleman said, that great danger would ensue, if the convention rose without adopting this system. I ask, where is that danger? I see none. Other gentlemen have told us, within these walls, that the Union is gone—or that the Union will be gone. Is not this trifling with the judgment of their fellow citizens? Till they tell us the ground of their fears, I will consider them as imaginary. I rose to make inquiry where those dangers were; they could make no answer; I believe I never shall have that answer. Is there a disposition in the people of this country to revolt against the dominion of laws? Has there been a single tumult in Virginia? Have not the people of Virginia, when laboring under the severest pressure of accumulated distresses, manifested the most cordial acquiescence in the execution of the laws? What could be more awful than their unanimous acquiescence under general distresses? Is there any revolution in Virginia? Whither is the spirit of America gone? Whither is the genius of America fled? It was but yesterday, when our enemies marched in triumph through our country. Yet the people of this country could not be appalled by their pompous armaments; they stopped their career, and victoriously captured them; where is the peril now, compared to that?

Some minds are agitated by foreign alarms. Happily for us, there is no real danger from Europe; that country is engaged in more arduous business; from that quarter, there is no cause of fear; you may sleep in safety forever for them. Where is the danger? If, sir, there was any, I would recur to the American spirit to defend us—that spirit which has enabled us to surmount the greatest difficulties; to that illustrious spirit I address

my most fervent prayer, to prevent our adopting a system destructive to liberty. Let not gentleman be told, that it is not safe to reject this government. Wherefore is it not safe? We are told there are dangers; but those dangers are ideal; they can not be demonstrated. To encourage us to adopt it, they tell us, that there is a plain, easy way of getting amendments. When I come to contemplate this part, I suppose that I am mad, or that my countrymen are so. The way to amendment is, in my conception, shut. Let us consider this plain, easy way. "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: Provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808, shall, in any manner, affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." Hence it appears that three-fourths of the States must ultimately agree to any amendments that may be necessary. Let us consider the consequences of this. However uncharitable it may appear, yet I must express my opinion, that the most unworthy characters may get into power and prevent the introduction of amendments. Let us suppose (for the case is supposable, possible, and probable), that you happen to deal these powers to unworthy hands: will they relinquish powers already in their possession, or agree to amendments?

Two-thirds of the Congress, or of the State Legislatures, are necessary even to propose amendments. If one-third of these be unworthy men, they may prevent the application for amendments; but a destructive and mischievous feature is, that three-fourths of the State Legislatures, or of the State conventions, must concur in the amendments when proposed. In such numerous bodies there must necessarily be some designing, bad men. To suppose that so large a number as three-fourths of the States will concur, is to suppose that they will possess genius, intelligence, and integrity approaching to miraculous. It would, indeed, be miraculous that they should concur in the same amendments, or even in such as would bear some likeness to one another. For four of the smallest States, that do not collectively contain one-tenth part of the population of the United States, may obstruct the most salutary and necessary amendments. Nay, in these four States, six-tenths of the people may reject these amendments; and suppose that amendments shall be opposed to amendments (which is highly probable), is it possible that three-fourths can ever agree to the same amendments? A bare majority in these four small States may hinder the adoption of amendments; so that we may fairly and justly con-

clude that one-twentieth part of the American people may prevent the removal of the most grievous inconveniences and oppression by refusing to accede to amendments. A trifling minority may reject the most salutary amendments. Is this an easy mode of securing the public liberty? It is, sir, a most fearful situation, when the most contemptible minority can prevent the alteration of the most oppressive government; for it may, in many respects, prove to be such. Is this the spirit of republicanism? What, sir, is the genius of democracy? Let me read that clause of the Bill of Rights of Virginia which relates to this:

Third clause. "That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation, or community. Of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of mal-administration, and that whenever any government shall be found inadequate, or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."

This, sir, is the language of democracy—that a majority of the community have a right to alter their government when found to be oppressive; but how different is the genius of your new constitution from this! How different from the sentiments of freemen, that a contemptible minority can prevent the good of the majority! If, then, gentlemen standing on this ground, are come to that point, that they are willing to bind themselves and their posterity to be oppressed, I am amazed and inexpressibly astonished. If this be the opinion of the majority, I must submit; but to me, sir, it appears perilous and destructive; I can not help thinking so—perhaps it may be the result of my age; these may be feelings natural to a man of my years, when the American spirit has left him, and his mental powers, like the members of the body, are decayed. If, sir, amendments are left to the twentieth, or to the tenth part of the people of America, your liberty is gone forever.

We have heard that there is a great deal of bribery practiced in the House of Commons in England; and that many of the members raise themselves to preferments by selling the rights of the people. But, sir, the tenth part of that body can not continue oppressions on the rest of the people. English liberty is, in this case, on a firmer foundation than American liberty. It will be easily contrived to procure the opposition of one-tenth of the people to any alteration, however judicious.

The honorable gentleman who presides, told us, that to prevent abuses in our government, we will assemble in convention, recall our delegated powers, and punish our servants for abusing the trust reposed in them. Oh, sir, we should have fine times indeed, if, to punish tyrants, it were only sufficient to assemble the people. Your arms, wherewith you could defend yourselves, are gone; and you have no longer an aristocratical, no

longer a democratical spirit. Did you ever read of any revolution, in any nation, brought about by the punishment of those in power, inflicted by those who had no power at all? You read of a riot act in a country which is called one of the freest in the world, where a few neighbors can not assemble without the risk of being shot by a hired soldiery, the engines of despotism. We may see such an act in America. A standing army we shall have, also, to execute the execrable commands of tyranny; and how are you to punish them? Will you order them to be punished? Who shall obey these orders? Will your mace-bearer be a match for a disciplined regiment? In what situation are we to be?

The clause before you gives a power of direct taxation, unbounded and unlimited; exclusive power of legislation in all cases whatsoever, for ten miles square, and over all places purchased for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, etc. What resistance could be made? The attempt would be madness. You will find all the strength of this country in the hands of your enemies; those garrisons will naturally be the strongest places in the country. Your militia is given up to Congress, also, in another part of this plan; they will therefore act as they think proper; all power will be in their own possession; you can not force them to receive their punishment. Of what service would militia be to you, when most probably you will not have a single musket in the State? For, as arms are to be provided by Congress, they may, or may not, furnish them.

Let us here call your attention to that part which gives the Congress power "to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." By this, sir, you see that their control over our last and best defense is unlimited. If they neglect or refuse to discipline or arm our militia, they will be useless; the States can do neither, this power being exclusively given to Congress. The power of appointing officers over men not disciplined or armed is ridiculous; so that this pretended little remnant of power, left to the States, may, at the pleasure of Congress, be rendered nugatory. Our situation will be deplorable indeed; nor can we ever expect to get this government amended, since I have already shown that a very small minority may prevent it, and that small minority interested in the continuance of the oppression. Will the oppressor let go the oppressed? Was there ever an instance? Can the annals of mankind exhibit one single example where rulers, overcharged with power, willingly let go the oppressed, though solicited and requested most earnestly? The application for amendments will therefore be fruitless. Sometimes the oppressed have got loose by one of those bloody struggles that desolate a country. But a willing relinquishment of power is one of those things which human nature never was, nor ever will be, capable of.

The honorable gentleman's observations respecting the people's right of being the agents in the formation of this government, are not accurate, in my humble conception. The distinction between a national government and a confederacy is not sufficiently discerned. Had the delegates, who were sent to Philadelphia, a power to propose a consolidated government instead of a confederacy? Were they not deputed by States, and not by the people? The assent of the people, in their collective capacity, is not necessary to the formation of a federal government. The people have no right to enter into leagues, alliances, or confederations; they are not the proper agents for this purpose; States and sovereign powers are the only proper agents for this kind of government. Show me an instance where the people have exercised this business; has it not always gone through the legislatures? I refer you to the treaties with France, Holland, and other nations; how were they made? Were they not made by the States? Are the people, therefore, in their aggregate capacity, the proper persons to form a confederacy? This, therefore, ought to depend on the consent of the legislatures; the people having never sent delegates to make any proposition of changing the government. Yet I must say, at the same time, that it was made on grounds the most pure; and perhaps I might have been brought to consent to it, so far as the change of government; but there is one thing in it which I never would acquiesce in. I mean the changing it into a consolidated government, which is so abhorrent to my mind.

The honorable gentleman then went on to the figure we make with foreign nations; the contemptible one we make in France and Holland, which, according to the substance of my notes, he attributes to the present feeble government. An opinion has gone forth, we find, that we are a contemptible people; the time has been when we were thought otherwise. Under this same despised government we commanded the respect of all Europe; wherefore are we now reckoned otherwise? The American spirit has fled from hence—it has gone to regions where it has never been expected; it has gone to the people of France, in search of a splendid government—a strong, energetic government. Shall we imitate the example of those nations who have gone from a simple to a splendid government? Are those nations more worthy of our imitation? What can make an adequate satisfaction to them for the loss they have suffered in attaining such a government—for the loss of their liberty? If we admit this consolidated government, it will be because we like a great and splendid one. Some way or other we must be a great and mighty empire; we must have an army, and a navy, and a number of things. When the American spirit was in its youth, the language of America was different; liberty, sir, was then the primary object. We are descended from a people whose government was founded on liberty; our glorious forefathers of Great Britain made liberty the foundation of everything. That country is become a great, mighty and splendid nation; not because their government is strong

and energetic; but, sir, because liberty is its direct end and foundation. We drew the spirit of liberty from our British ancestors; by that spirit we have triumphed over every difficulty. But now, sir, the American spirit, assisted by the ropes and chains of consolidation, is about to convert this country into a powerful and mighty empire. If you make the citizens of this country agree to become the subjects of one great consolidated empire of America, your government will not have sufficient energy to keep them together; such a government is incompatible with the genius of republicanism. There will be no checks, no real balances, in this government. What can avail your specious, imaginary balances; your rope-dancing, chain-rattling, ridiculous, ideal checks and contrivances? But, sir, we are not feared by foreigners; we do not make nations tremble. Would this constitute happiness or secure liberty? I trust, sir, our political hemisphere will ever direct its operations to the security of those objects.

Consider our situation, sir; go to the poor man; ask him what he does; he will inform you that he enjoys the fruit of his labor, under his own fig tree, with his wife and children around him, in peace and security. Go to every other member of the society; you will find the same tranquil ease and content; you will find no alarms or disturbances! Why, then, tell us of dangers, to terrify us into an adoption of this new form of government? And yet who knows the dangers that this new system may produce? They are out of the sight of the common people; they can not foresee latent consequences. I dread the operation of it on the middling and lower classes of people; it is for them that I fear the adoption of this system. I fear I tire the patience of the committee; but I beg to be indulged with a few more observations.

When I thus profess myself an advocate for the liberty of the people, I shall be told I am a designing man, that I am to be a great man, that I am to be a demagogue; and many similar illiberal insinuations will be thrown out; but, sir, conscious rectitude outweighs these things with me. I see great jeopardy in this new government; I see none from our present one. I hope some gentleman or other will bring forth, in full array, those dangers, if there be any, that we may see and touch them. I have said that I thought this a consolidated government; I will now prove it. Will the great rights of the people be secured by this government? Suppose it should prove oppressive; how can it be altered? Our bill of rights declares, "that a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal." I have just proved, that one-tenth, or less, of the people of America—a most despicable minority—may prevent this reform, or alteration. Suppose the people of Virginia should wish to alter their government; can a majority of them do it? No, because they are connected with other men; or, in other words, consolidated with other States. When the people of Virginia, at a

future day, shall wish to alter their government, though they should be unanimous in this desire, yet they may be prevented therefrom by a despicable minority at the extremity of the United States. The founders of your own constitution made your government changeable; but the power of changing it is gone from you! Whither is it gone? It is placed in the same hands that hold the rights of twelve other States; and those who hold those rights have right and power to keep them. It is not the particular government of Virginia; one of the leading features of that government is, that a majority can alter it, when necessary for the public good. This government is not a Virginian, but an American government. Is it not therefore a consolidated government? The sixth clause of your Bill of Rights tells you, "that elections of members to serve as representatives of the people in assembly, ought to be free, and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent, common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and can not be taxed or deprived of their property, for public uses, without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good." But what does this Constitution say? The clause under consideration gives an unlimited and unbounded power of taxation. Suppose every delegate from Virginia opposes a law laying a tax, what will it avail? They are opposed by a majority; eleven members can destroy their efforts; those feeble ten can not prevent the passing the most oppressive tax law; so that, in direct opposition to the spirit and express language of your declaration of rights, you are taxed, not by your own consent, but by people who have no connection with you.

The next clause of the Bill of Rights tells you, "that all power of suspending law, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without the consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised." This tells us that there can be no suspension of government, or laws, without our own consent; yet this Constitution can counteract and suspend any of our laws that contravene its oppressive operation; for they have the power of direct taxation, which suspends our Bill of Rights; and it is expressly provided, that they can make all laws necessary for carrying their powers into execution; and it is declared paramount to the laws and constitutions of the States. Consider how the only remaining defense we have left is destroyed in this manner. Besides the expenses of maintaining the Senate and other house in as much splendor as they please, there is to be a great and mighty President, with very extensive powers—the powers of a king. He is to be supported in extravagant magnificence; so that the whole of our property may be taken by this American government, by laying what taxes they please, giving themselves what salaries they please, and suspending our laws at

their pleasure. I might be thought too inquisitive, but I believe I should take up but very little of your time in enumerating the little power that is left to the government of Virginia; for this power is reduced to little or nothing. Their garrisons, magazines, arsenals, and forts, which will be situated in the strongest places within the States—their ten miles square, with all the fine ornaments of human life, added to their powers, and taken from the States, will reduce the power of the latter to nothing.

The voice of tradition, I trust, will inform posterity of our struggles for freedom. If our descendants be worthy the name of Americans, they will preserve, and hand down to their latest posterity, the transactions of the present times; and though, I confess, my exclamations are not worthy the hearing, they will see that I have done my utmost to preserve their liberty; for I never will give up the power of direct taxation but for a scourge. I am willing to give it conditionally; that is, after non-compliance with requisitions; I will do more, sir, and what I hope will convince the most skeptical man that I am a lover of the American Union; that in case Virginia shall not make punctual payment, the control of our custom-houses, and the whole regulation of trade, shall be given to Congress; and that Virginia shall depend on Congress even for passports, till Virginia shall have paid the last farthing, and furnished the last soldier. Nay, sir, there is another alternative to which I would consent; even that they should strike us out of the Union, and take away from us all federal privileges, till we comply with federal requisitions; but let it depend upon our own pleasure to pay our money in the most easy manner for our people. Were all the States, more terrible than the mother country, to join against us, I hope Virginia could defend herself; but, sir, the dissolution of the Union is most abhorrent to my mind. The first thing I have at heart is American liberty; the second thing is American union; and I hope the people of Virginia will endeavor to preserve that union. The increasing population of the Southern States is far greater than that of New England; consequently, in a short time, they will be far more numerous than the people of that country. Consider this and you will find this State more particularly interested to support American liberty, and not bind our posterity by an improvident relinquishment of our rights. I would give the best security for a punctual compliance with requisitions; but I beseech gentlemen, at all hazards, not to grant this unlimited power of taxation.

The honorable gentleman has told us that these powers, given to Congress, are accompanied by a judiciary which will correct all. On examination you will find this very judiciary oppressively constructed, your jury trial destroyed, and the judges dependent on Congress. In this scheme of energetic government the people will find two sets of tax-gatherers—the State and the federal sheriffs. This, as it seems to me, will produce such dreadful oppression as the people can not possibly bear. The federal sheriff may commit what oppression, make what distresses, he pleases, and ruin you with impunity; for how are you to tie his hands?

Have you any sufficient, decided means of preventing him from sucking your blood by speculations, commissions, and fees? Thus thousands of your people will be most shamefully robbed. Our State sheriffs, those unfeeling blood-suckers, have, under the watchful eye of our Legislature, committed the most horrid and barbarous ravages on our people. It has required the most constant vigilance of the Legislature to keep them from totally ruining the people. A repeated succession of laws has been made to suppress their iniquitous speculations and cruel extortions; and as often has their nefarious ingenuity devised methods of evading the force of those laws; in the struggle they have generally triumphed over the Legislature. It is a fact that lands have sold for five shillings which were worth one hundred pounds.

If sheriffs, thus immediately under the eye of our State Legislature and judiciary, have dared to commit these outrages, what would they not have done if their masters had been at Philadelphia or New York? If they perpetrate the most unwarrantable outrage on your persons or property, you can not get redress on this side of Philadelphia or New York; and how can you get it there? If your domestic avocations could permit you to go thither, there you must appeal to judges sworn to support this Constitution in opposition to that of any State, and who may also be inclined to favor their own officers. When these harpies are aided by excisemen, who may search, at any time, your houses and most secret recesses, will the people bear it? If you think so, you differ from me. Where I thought there was a possibility of such mischiefs, I would grant power with a niggardly hand; and here there is a strong probability that these oppressions shall actually happen. I may be told that it is safe to err on that side, because such regulations may be made by Congress as shall restrain these officers, and because laws are made by our representatives, and judged by righteous judges; but, sir, as these regulations may be made, so they may not; and many reasons there are to induce a belief that they will not. I shall therefore be an infidel on that point till the day of my death.

This Constitution is said to have beautiful features; but when I come to examine these features, sir, they appear to me horribly frightful. Among other deformities, it has an awful squinting; it squints towards monarchy; and does not this raise indignation in the breast of every true American? Your President may easily become king. Your Senate is so imperfectly constructed, that your dearest rights may be sacrificed by what may be a small minority; and a very small minority may continue forever unchangeably this government, although horridly defective. Where are your checks in this government? Your strongholds will be in the hands of your enemies. It is on a supposition that your American governors shall be honest, that all the good qualities of this government are founded; but its defective and imperfect construction puts it in their power to perpetrate the worst of mischiefs, should they be bad men. And, sir, would not all the world, from the eastern to the western hemisphere, blame our

distracted folly in resting our rights upon the contingency of our rulers being good or bad? Show me that age and country where the rights and liberties of the people were placed on the sole chance of their rulers being good men, without a consequent loss of liberty. I say that the loss of that dearest privilege has ever followed, with absolute certainty, every such mad attempt. If your American chief be a man of ambition and abilities, how easy will it be for him to render himself absolute! The army is in his hands, and, if he be a man of address, it will be attached to him; and it will be the subject of long meditation with him to seize the first auspicious moment to accomplish his design. And, sir, will the American spirit solely relieve you when this happens? I would rather infinitely—and I am sure most of this convention are of the same opinion, have a king, lords and commons, than a government so replete with such insupportable evils. If we make a king, we may prescribe the rules by which he shall rule his people, and interpose such checks as shall prevent him from infringing them; but the President in the field, at the head of his army, can prescribe the terms on which he shall reign master, so far that it will puzzle any American ever to get his neck from under the galling yoke. I can not, with patience, think of this idea. If ever he violates the laws, one of two things will happen: he will come at the head of his army to carry everything before him; or, he will give bail, or do what Mr. Chief Justice will order him. If he be guilty, will not the recollection of his crimes teach him to make one bold push for the American throne? Will not the immense difference between being the master of everything, and being ignominiously tried and punished, powerfully excite him to make this bold push? But, sir, where is the existing force to punish him? Can he not, at the head of his army, beat down every opposition? Away with your President; we shall have a king; the army will salute him monarch; your militia will leave you, and assist in making him king, and fight against you; and what have you to oppose this force? What will then become of you and your rights? Will not absolute despotism ensue?

What can be more defective than the clause concerning the elections? The control given to Congress over the time, place and manner of holding elections, will totally destroy the end of suffrage. The elections may be held at one place, and the most inconvenient in the State; or they may be at remote distances from those who have a right of suffrage; hence, nine out of ten must either not vote at all, or vote for strangers; for the most influential characters will be applied to, to know who are the most proper to be chosen. I repeat that the control of Congress over the manner, etc., of electing, well warrants this idea. The natural consequence will be that this democratic branch will possess none of the public confidence; the people will be prejudiced against representatives chosen in such an injudicious manner. The proceedings in the northern conclave will be hidden from the yeomanry of this country. We are told that the

yeas and nays shall be taken and entered on the journals; this, sir, will avail nothing; it may be locked up in their chests, and concealed forever from the people; for they are not to publish what parts they think require secrecy; they may think, and will think, the whole requires it.

Another beautiful feature of this Constitution is the publication, from time to time, of the receipts and expenditures of the public money. This expression, from time to time, is very indefinite and indeterminate; it may extend to a century. Grant that any of them are wicked; they may squander the public money so as to ruin you, and yet this expression will give you no redress. I say they may ruin you; for where, sir, is the responsibility? The yeas and nays will show you nothing, unless they be fools as well as knaves; for, after having wickedly trampled on the rights of the people, they would act like fools indeed, were they to publish and divulge their iniquity, when they have it equally in their power to suppress and conceal it. Where is the responsibility—that leading principle in the British government? In that government, a punishment, certain and inevitable, is provided; but in this, there is no real, actual punishment for the grossest mal-administration. They may go without punishment, though they commit the most outrageous violation on our immunities. That paper may tell me they will be punished. I ask, by what law? They must make the law, for there is no existing law to do it. What—will they make a law to punish themselves? This, sir, is my great objection to the Constitution, that there is no true responsibility, and that the preservation of our liberty depends on the single chance of men being virtuous enough to make laws to punish themselves. In the country from which we are descended they have real, and not imaginary responsibility; for there mal-administration has cost their heads to some of the most saucy geniuses that ever were. The Senate, by making treaties, may destroy your liberty and laws for want of responsibility. Two-thirds of those that shall happen to be present, can, with the President, make treaties that shall be the supreme law of the land. They may make the most ruinous treaties, and yet there is no punishment for them. Whoever shows me a punishment provided for them, will oblige me. So, sir, notwithstanding there are eight pillars, they want another. Where will they make another? I trust, sir, the exclusion of the evils wherewith this system is replete in its present form, will be made a condition precedent to its adoption by this or any other State.

The transition from a general, unqualified admission to offices to a consolidation of government seems easy; for, though the American States are dissimilar in their structure, this will assimilate them; this, sir, is itself a strong consolidating feature, and is not one of the least dangerous in that system. Nine States are sufficient to establish this government over those nine. Imagine that nine have come into it. Virginia has certain scruples. Suppose she will consequently refuse to join with those States; may not they still continue in friendship and union with her? If she

sends her annual requisitions in dollars, do you think their stomachs will be so squeamish as to refuse her dollars? Will they not accept her regiments? They would intimidate you into an inconsiderate adoption, and frighten you with ideal evils, and that the Union shall be dissolved. 'Tis a bugbear, sir; the fact is, sir, that the eight adopting States can hardly stand on their own legs. Public fame tells us that the adopting States have already heart-burnings and animosity, and repent their precipitate hurry; this, sir, may occasion exceeding great mischief. When I reflect on these and many other circumstances, I must think those States will be found to be in confederacy with us. If we pay our quota of money annually, and furnish our ratable number of men when necessary, I can see no danger from a rejection. The history of Switzerland clearly proves that we might be in amicable alliance with those States without adopting this Constitution. Switzerland is a confederacy, consisting of dissimilar governments. This is an example which proves that governments of dissimilar structures may be confederated. That confederate republic has stood upwards of four hundred years; and, although several of the individual republics are democratic, and the rest aristocratic, no evil has resulted from this dissimilarity, for they have braved all the power of France and Germany during that long period. The Swiss spirit, sir, has kept them together; they have encountered and overcome immense difficulties with patience and fortitude. In the vicinity of powerful and ambitious monarchs they have retained their independence, republican simplicity and valor. Look at the peasants of that country, and of France, and mark the difference. You will find the condition of the former far more desirable and comfortable. No matter whether a people be great, splendid and powerful, if they enjoy freedom. The Turkish grand seignior, alongside of our President, would put us to disgrace; but we should be abundantly consoled for this disgrace, should our citizen be put in contrast with the Turkish slave.

The most valuable end of government is the liberty of the inhabitants. No possible advantages can compensate for the loss of this privilege. Show me the reason why the American Union is to be dissolved. Who are those eight adopting States? Are they averse to give us a little time to consider before we conclude? Would such a disposition render a junction with them eligible; or, is it the genius of that kind of government to precipitate people hastily into measures of the utmost importance, and grant no indulgence? If it be, sir, is it for us to accede to such a government? We have a right to have time to consider—we shall therefore insist upon it. Unless the government be amended, we can never accept it. The adopting States will doubtless accept our money and our regiments; and what is to be the consequence, if we are disunited? I believe that it is yet doubtful whether it is not proper to stand by awhile and see the effect of its adoption in other States. In forming a government, the utmost care should be taken to prevent its becoming oppressive; and this govern-

ment is of such an intricate and complicated nature that no man on this earth can know its real operation. The other States have no reason to think, from the antecedent conduct of Virginia, that she has any intention of seceding from the Union, or of being less active to support the general welfare. Would they not, therefore, acquiesce in our taking time to deliberate—deliberate whether the measure be not perilous, not only for us, but the adopting States? Permit me, sir, to say that a great majority of the people, even in the adopting States, are averse to this government. I believe I would be right to say that they have been egregiously misled. Pennsylvania has, perhaps, been tricked into it. If the other States, who have adopted it, have not been tricked, still they were too much hurried into its adoption. There were very respectable minorities in several of them; and, if reports be true, a clear majority of the people are averse to it. If we also accede, and it should prove grievous, the peace and prosperity of our country, which we all love, will be destroyed. This government has not the affection of the people at present. Should it be oppressive, their affection will be totally estranged from it, and, sir, you know that a government without their affections can neither be durable nor happy. I speak as one poor individual; but when I speak, I speak the language of thousands. But, sir, I mean not to breathe the spirit nor utter the language of secession.

I have trespassed so long on your patience, I am really concerned that I have something yet to say. The honorable member has said that we shall be properly represented: remember, sir, that the number of our representatives is but ten, whereof six are a majority. Will those men be possessed of sufficient information? A particular knowledge of particular districts will not suffice. They must be well acquainted with agriculture, commerce, and a great variety of other matters throughout the continent; they must know not only the actual state of nations in Europe and America, the situation of their farmers, cottagers, and mechanics, but also the relative situation and intercourse of those nations. Virginia is as large as England. Our proportion of representatives is but ten men. In England they have five hundred and thirty. The House of Commons in England, numerous as they are, we are told, is bribed, and have bartered away the rights of their constituents; what then shall become of us? Will these few protect our rights? Will they be incorruptible? You say they will be better men than the English commoners. I say they will be infinitely worse men, because they are to be chosen blindfolded; their election (the term, as applied to their appointment, is inaccurate), will be an involuntary nomination, and not a choice. I have, I fear, fatigued the committee, yet I have not said the one hundred thousandth part of what I have on my mind, and wish to impart. On this occasion I conceived myself bound to attend strictly to the interest of the State; and I thought her dearest rights at stake; having lived so long—been so much honored—my efforts, though small, are due to my country. I have found my mind

hurried on from subject to subject, in so general a manner, I trust you will indulge me another time. Before you abandon the present system, I hope you will consider not only its defects, most maturely, but likewise those of that which you are to substitute for it. May you be fully apprised of the dangers of the latter, not by fatal experience, but by some abler advocate than I.

SPEECH OF
EDMUND RANDOLPH,
ON THE EXPEDIENCY OF ADOPTING THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION,

DELIVERED IN THE CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA, JUNE 6, 1788.

[EDMUND RANDOLPH (born 1753, died, 1813) was the son of a Virginia royalist, and had been disinherited on account of his political principles. He served on Washington's staff during the Revolution, but was more active as a statesman than as a warrior. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention, where his conduct was rather inconsistent. He refused to sign the Constitution, and yet he afterwards worked for its adoption in the Virginia convention. In 1788, he was made Governor of Virginia. In the cabinet he pretended to hold a neutral position, but when any issue arose he usually sided with Jefferson against Hamilton and Knox. Upon Jefferson's withdrawal from the cabinet, in 1794, Randolph was made Secretary of State, but in the following year resigned his position, having been accused of an intrigue with the French envoy.]

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I am a child of the Revolution. My country, very early indeed, took me under her protection, at a time when I most wanted it, and by a succession of favors and honors, prevented even my most ardent wishes. I feel the highest gratitude and attachment to my country; her felicity is the most fervent prayer of my heart. Conscious of having exerted my faculties to the utmost in her behalf, if I have not succeeded in securing the esteem of my countrymen, I shall reap abundant consolation from the rectitude of my intentions; honors, when compared to the satisfaction accruing from a conscious independence and rectitude of conduct, are no equivalent. The unwearied study of my life shall be

to promote her happiness. As a citizen, ambition and popularity are no objects with me. I expect, in the course of a year, to retire to that private station which I most sincerely and cordially prefer to all others.* The security of public justice, sir, is what I most fervently wish—as I consider that object to be the primary step to the attainment of public happiness. I can declare to the whole world, that in the part I take in this very important question I am actuated by a regard for what I conceive to be our true interest. I can also, with equal sincerity, declare that I would join heart and hand in rejecting this system, did I conceive it would promote our happiness; but, having a strong conviction on my mind at this time that, by a disunion, we shall throw away all those blessings we have so earnestly fought for, and that a rejection of the constitution will operate disunion—pardon me if I discharge the obligation I owe to my country by voting for its adoption. We are told that the report of dangers is false. The cry of peace, sir, is false; say peace, when there is peace; it is but a sudden calm. The tempest growls over you—look around—wheresoever you look, you see danger. When there are so many witnesses, in many parts of America, that justice is suffocated, shall peace and happiness still be said to reign? Candor, sir, requires an undisguised representation of our situation. Candor, sir, demands a faithful exposition of facts. Many citizens have found justice strangled and trampled under foot, through the course of jurisprudence in this country. Are those who have debts due them, satisfied with your government? Are not creditors wearied with the tedious procrastination of your legal process—a process obscured by legislative mists? Cast your eyes to your seaports, see how commerce languishes; this country, so blessed by nature with every advantage that can render commerce profitable, through defective legislation, is deprived of all the benefits and emoluments she might otherwise reap from it. We hear many complaints on the subject of located lands, a variety of competitors claiming the same lands under legislative acts, public faith prostrated, and private confidence destroyed. I ask you if your laws are reverenced. In every well-regulated community the laws command respect. Are yours entitled to reverence? We not only see violations of the Constitution, but of national principles in repeated instances. How is the fact? The history of the violations of the Constitution extends from the year 1776 to this present time, violations made by formal acts of the Legislature; everything has been drawn within the legislative vortex. There is one example of this violation in Virginia of a most striking and shocking nature; an example so horrid that if I conceived my country would passively permit a repetition of it, dear as it is to me, I would seek means of expatriating myself from it. A man, who was then a citizen, was deprived of his life, thus: from a mere reliance on general reports, a gentleman in the house of delegates informed the house

* Mr. Randolph was at this time Governor of Virginia.

that a certain man (Josiah Phillips) had committed several crimes, and was running at large, perpetrating other crimes; he therefore moved for leave to attaint him. He obtained that leave instantly. No sooner did he obtain it, than he drew from his pocket a bill already written for that effect; it was read three times in one day, and carried to the Senate. I will not say that it passed the same day through the Senate; but he was attainted very speedily, and precipitately, without any proof better than vague reports! Without being confronted with his accusers and witnesses; without the privilege of calling for evidence in his behalf, he was sentenced to death, and was afterwards actually executed.* Was this arbitrary deprivation of life, the dearest gift of God to man, consistent with the genius of a republican government? Is this compatible with the spirit of freedom? This, sir, has made the deepest impression on my heart, and I can not contemplate it without horror.

There is still a multiplicity of complaints of the debility of the laws. Justice, in many instances, is so unattainable that commerce may, in fact, be said to be stopped entirely. There is no peace, sir, in the land; can peace exist with injustice, licentiousness, insecurity, and oppression? These considerations, independent of many others which I have not yet enumerated, would be a sufficient reason for the adoption of this Constitution, because it secures the liberty of the citizen, his person and property, and will invigorate and restore commerce and industry.

An additional reason to induce us to adopt it, is that excessive licentiousness which has resulted from the relaxation of our laws, and which will be checked by this government. Licentiousness has produced tyranny among many of them; it has contributed as much (if not more) as any other cause whatsoever, to the loss of their liberties. I have respect for the integrity of our legislators; I believe them to be virtuous; but as long as the defects of the Constitution exist, so long will laws be imperfect. The honorable gentleman went on further, and said, that the accession of eight States is not a reason for our adoption. Many other things have been alleged out of order—instead of discussing the system regularly, a variety of points is promiscuously debated, in order to make temporary impressions on the members. Sir, were I convinced of the validity of their arguments, I would join them heart and hand. Were I convinced that the accessions of eight States did not render our accession also necessary to preserve the Union, I would not accede to it till it should be previously amended; but, sir, I am convinced that the Union will be lost by our rejection. Massachusetts has adopted it; she has recommended subsequent amendments; her influence must be very considerable to obtain them; I trust my countrymen have sufficient wisdom and virtue to entitle them to equal respect.

Is it urged, that being wiser, we ought to prescribe amendments to the

*Mr. Wirt has satisfactorily shown that this statement is founded in error.—*Life of Patrick Henry.*

other States? I have considered this subject deliberately; wearied myself in endeavoring to find a possibility of preserving the Union without our unconditional ratification; but, sir, in vain; I find no other means. I ask myself a variety of questions applicable to the adopting States, and I conclude, will they repent of what they have done? Will they acknowledge themselves in an error? Or will they recede to gratify Virginia? My prediction is, that they will not. Shall we stand by ourselves, and be severed from the Union if amendments can not be had? I have every reason for determining within myself that our rejection must dissolve the Union, and that that dissolution will destroy our political happiness. The honorable gentleman was pleased to draw out several other arguments, out of order: that this government would destroy the State governments, the trial by jury, etc., etc., and concluded by an illustration of his opinion by a reference to the confederacy of the Swiss. Let us argue with unprejudiced minds: he says that the trial by jury is gone. Is this so? Although I have declared my determination to give my vote for it, yet I shall freely censure those parts which appear to me reprehensible. The trial by jury, in criminal cases, is secured; in civil cases it is not so expressly secured as I could wish it; but it does not follow that Congress has the power of taking away this privilege, which is secured by the Constitution of each State, and not given away by this Constitution. I have no fear on this subject—Congress must regulate it so as to suit every State. I will risk my property on the certainty that they will institute the trial by jury in such manner as shall accommodate the conveniences of the inhabitants in every State; the difficulty of ascertaining this accommodation was the principal cause of its not being provided for. It will be the interest of the individuals composing Congress to put it on this convenient footing. Shall we not choose men respectable for their good qualities? Or can we suppose that men tainted with the worst vices will get into Congress? I beg leave to differ from the honorable gentleman in another point. He dreads that great inconveniences will ensue from the federal court; that our citizens will be harassed by being carried thither. I can not think that this power of the federal judiciary will necessarily be abused. The inconvenience here suggested, being of a general nature, affecting most of the States, will, by general consent of the States, be removed; and, I trust, such regulations shall be made in this case as will accommodate the people in every State. The honorable gentleman instanced the Swiss cantons, as an example, to show us the possibility, if not expediency, of being in amicable alliance with the other States, without adopting this system. Sir, references to history will be fatal in political reasoning, unless well guarded. Our mental ability is often so contracted and powers of investigation so limited that sometimes we adduce as an example in our favor what, in fact, militates against us. Examine the situation of that country comparatively to us. Its extent and situation are totally different from ours; it is surrounded by powerful, ambitious, and reciprocally jealous

nations; its territory small, and the soil not very fertile. The peculiarity, sir, of their situation, has kept these cantons together, and not that system of alliance to which the gentleman seems to attribute the durability and felicity of their connection. * * * * * * * *

I have produced this example to show that we ought not to be amused with historical references which have no kind of analogy to the points under our consideration. We ought to confine ourselves to those points solely which have an immediate and strict similitude to the subject of our discussion. The reference made by the honorable gentleman over the way is extremely inapplicable to us. Are the Swiss cantons circumstanced as we are? Are we surrounded by formidable nations; or are we situated in any manner like them? We are not, sir. Then it naturally results that no such friendly intercourse as he flattered himself with, could take place in case of a dissolution of our Union. We are remotely situated from powerful nations, the dread of whose attack might impel us to unite firmly with one another; we are not situated in an inaccessible, strong position; we have to fear much from one another; we must soon feel the fatal effects of an imperfect system of union.

The honorable gentleman attacks the Constitution, as he thinks it contrary to our Bill of Rights. Do we not appeal to the people, by whose authority all government is made? That Bill of Rights is of no validity, because, I conceive, it is not formed on due authority. It is not a part of our Constitution; it has never secured us against any danger; it has been repeatedly disregarded and violated. But we must not discard the confederation, for the remembrance of its past services. I am attached to old servants. I have regard and tenderness for this old servant; but when reason tells us that it can no longer be retained without throwing away all it has gained us, and running the risk of losing everything dear to us, must we still continue our attachment? Reason and my duty tell me not. Other gentlemen may think otherwise. But, sir, is it not possible that men may differ in sentiments and still be honest? We have an inquisition within ourselves that leads us not to offend so much against charity.

The gentleman expresses a necessity of being suspicious of those who govern. I will agree with him in the necessity of political jealousy to a certain extent; but we ought to examine how far this political jealousy ought to be carried. I confess that a certain degree of it is highly necessary to the preservation of liberty; but it ought not to be extended to a degree which is degrading and humiliating to human nature—to a degree of restlessness and active disquietude sufficient to disturb a community or preclude the possibility of political happiness and contentment. Confidence ought also to be equally limited. Wisdom shrinks from extremes and fixes on a medium as her choice. Experience and history, the least fallible judges, teach us that, in forming a government, the powers to be given must be commensurate to the object. A less degree will defeat the intention and a greater will subject the people to the depravity of rulers,

who, though they are but the agents of the people, pervert their powers to their own emolument and ambitious views.

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to be obliged to detain the house; but the relation of a variety of matters renders it now unavoidable. I informed the house yesterday, before rising, that I intended to show the necessity of having a national government, in preference to the Confederation; also to show the necessity of conceding the power of taxation, and of distinguishing between its objects; and I am the more happy that I possess materials of information for that purpose. My intention, then, is to satisfy the gentlemen of this committee that a national government is absolutely indispensable, and that a confederacy is not eligible, in our present situation. The introductory step to this will be to endeavor to convince the house of the necessity of the Union, and that the present confederation is actually inadequate and unamendable. The extent of the country is objected to by the gentleman over the way as an insurmountable obstacle to the establishing a national government in the United States. It is a very strange and inconsistent doctrine to admit the necessity of the Union, and yet urge this last objection, which I think goes radically to the existence of the Union itself. If the extent of the country be a conclusive argument against a national government, it is equally so against a union with the other States. Instead of entering largely into a discussion of the nature and effect of the different kinds of government, or into an inquiry into the particular extent of country that may suit the genius of this or that government, I ask this question: Is this government necessary for the safety of Virginia? Is the Union indispensable for our happiness? I I confess it is imprudent for any nation to form alliance with another whose situation and construction of government are dissimilar with its own. It is impolitic and improper for men of opulence to join their interest with men of indigence and chance. But we are now inquiring particularly whether Virginia, as contradistinguished from the other States, can exist without the Union—a hard question, perhaps, after what has been said. I will venture, however, to say she can not. I shall not rest contented with asserting—I shall endeavor to prove. Look at the most powerful nations on earth. England and France have had recourse to this expedient. Those countries found it necessary to unite with their immediate neighbors, and this union has prevented the most lamentable mischiefs. What divine preëminence is Virginia possessed of, above other States? Can Virginia send her navy and thunder, to bid defiance to foreign nations? And can she exist without a union with her neighbors, when the most potent nations have found such a union necessary, not only to their political felicity, but their national existence? Let us examine her ability. Although it be impossible to determine with accuracy what degree of internal strength a nation ought to possess to enable it to stand by itself; yet there are certain sure facts and circumstances which demonstrate that a particular nation can not stand singly. I have spoken with

freedom, and I trust I have done it with decency; but I must also speak with truth. If Virginia can exist without the Union, she must derive that ability from one or the other of these sources, viz.: from her natural situation, or because she has no reason to fear from other nations. What is her situation? She is not inaccessible. She is not a petty republic, like that of St. Marino, surrounded with rocks and mountains, with a soil not very fertile, nor worthy the envy of surrounding nations. Were this, sir, her situation, she might, like that petty State, subsist separated from all the world. On the contrary, she is very accessible: the large, capacious bay of Chesapeake, which is but too excellently adapted for the admission of enemies, renders her very vulnerable. I am informed, and I believe rightly, because I derive my information from those whose knowledge is most respectable, that Virginia is in a very unhappy position with respect to the access of foes by sea, though happily situated for commerce. This being her situation by sea, let us look at land. She has frontiers adjoining the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina. Two of those States have declared themselves members of the Union. Will she be inaccessible to the inhabitants of those States? Cast your eyes to the western country, that is inhabited by cruel savages, your natural enemies. Besides their natural propensity to barbarity, they may be excited by the gold of foreign enemies to commit the most horrid ravages on your people. Our great, increasing population is one remedy to this evil; but being scattered thinly over so extensive a country, how difficult it is to collect their strength or defend the country! This is one point of weakness. I wish, for the honor of my countrymen, that it was the only one. There is another circumstance which renders us more vulnerable. Are we not weakened by the population of those whom we hold in slavery? The day may come when they may make an impression upon us. Gentlemen who have been long accustomed to the contemplation of the subject think there is a cause of alarm in this case. The number of those people, compared to that of the whites, is in an immense proportion; their number amounts to two hundred and thirty-six thousand; that of the whites only to three hundred and fifty-two thousand. Will the American spirit, so much spoken of, repel an invading enemy, or enable you to obtain an advantageous peace? Manufactures and military stores may afford relief to a country exposed. Have we these at present? Attempts have been made to have these here. If we shall be separated from the Union, shall our chance of having these be greater? Or will not the want of these be more deplorable? We shall be told of the exertions of Virginia under the confederation—her achievements when she had no commerce. These, sir, were necessary for her immediate safety; nor would these have availed without the aid of the other States. Those States, then, our friends, brothers, and supporters, will, if disunited from us, be our bitterest enemies.

If then, sir, Virginia, from her situation, is not inaccessible or invulnerable, let us consider if she be protected, by having no cause to fear

from other nations; has she no cause to fear? You will have cause to fear as a nation, if disunited. You will not only have this cause to fear from yourselves, from that species of population I before mentioned, and your once sister States, but from the arms of other nations. Have you no cause to fear from Spain, whose dominions border on your country? Every nation, every people, in our circumstances, have always had abundant cause to fear. Let us see the danger to be apprehended from France; let us suppose Virginia separated from the other States; as part of the former confederated States, she will owe France a very considerable sum—France will be as magnanimous as ever. France, by the law of nations, will have a right to demand the whole of her, or of the others. If France were to demand it, what would become of the property of America? Could she not destroy what little commerce we have? Could she not seize our ships, and carry havoc and destruction before her on our shores? The most lamentable desolation would take place. We owe a debt to Spain also; do we expect indulgence from that quarter? That nation has a right to demand the debt due to it, and power to enforce that right. Will the Dutch be silent about the debt due to them? Is there any one pretension that any one of these nations will be patient? The debts due the British are also very considerable; these debts have been withheld contrary to treaty; if Great Britain will demand the payment of these debts, peremptorily, what will be the consequence? Can we pay them if demanded? Will no danger result from a refusal? Will the British nation suffer their subjects to be stripped of their property? Is not that nation amply able to do its subjects justice? Will the resentment of that powerful and supercilious nation sleep forever? If we become one, sole nation, uniting with our sister States, our means of defense will be greater; the indulgence for the payment of those debts will be greater, and the danger of an attack less probable. Moreover, vast quantities of lands have been sold, by citizens of this country, to Europeans, and these lands can not be found. Will this fraud be countenanced or endured? Among so many causes of danger, shall we be secure, separated from our sister States? Weakness itself, sir, will invite some attack upon your country. Contemplate our situation deliberately, and consult history; it will inform you that people in our circumstances have ever been attacked, and successfully; open any page and you will there find our danger truly depicted. If such a people had any thing, was it not taken? The fate which will befall us, I fear, sir, will be, that we shall be made a partition of. How will these our troubles be removed? Can we have any dependence on commerce? Can we make any computation on this subject? Where will our flag appear? So high is the spirit of commercial nations that they will spend five times the value of the object to exclude their rivals from a participation in commercial profits; they seldom regard any expenses. If we should be divided from the rest of the

States, upon what footing would our navigation in the Mississippi be? What would be the probable conduct of France and Spain? Every gentleman may imagine, in his own mind, the natural consequences. To these considerations I might add many others of a similar nature. Were I to say that the boundary between us and North Carolina is not yet settled, I should be told, that Virginia and that State go together. But what, sir, will be the consequence of the dispute that may arise between us and Maryland, on the subject of the Potomac river? It is thought, Virginia has a right to an equal navigation with them in that river. If ever it should be decided on grounds of prior right, their charter will inevitably determine it in their favor. The country called the Northern Neck will probably be severed from Virginia. There is not a doubt but the inhabitants of that part will annex themselves to Maryland, if Virginia refuse to accede to the Union. The recent example of those regulations, lately made respecting that Territory, will illustrate that probability. Virginia will also be in danger of a conflict with Pennsylvania, on the subject of boundaries. I know that some gentlemen are thoroughly persuaded that we have a right to those disputed boundaries; if we have such a right, I know not where it is to be found.

Are we not borderers on States that will be separated from us? Call to mind the history of every part of the world, where nations have bordered on one another, and consider the consequences of our separation from the Union. Peruse those histories, and you find such countries as have ever been almost a perpetual scene of bloodshed and slaughter. The inhabitants of one escaping from punishment into the other—protection given them—consequent pursuit, robbery, cruelty, and murder. A numerous standing army, that dangerous expedient, would be necessary, but not sufficient for the defense of such borders. Every gentleman will amplify the scene in his own mind. If you wish to know the extent of such a scene, look at the history of England and Scotland before the union; you will see their borderers continually committing depredations and cruelties, of the most calamitous and deplorable nature, on one another.

Mr. Chairman, were we struck off from the Union, and disputes of the back lands should be renewed, which are of the most alarming nature, and which must produce uncommon mischiefs, can you inform me how this great subject would be settled? Virginia has a large, unsettled country; she has, at last, quieted it; but there are great doubts whether she has taken the best way to effect it. If she has not, disagreeable consequences may ensue. I have before hinted at some other causes of quarrel between the other States and us; particularly the hatred that would be generated by commercial competition. I will only add, on that subject, that controversies may arise concerning the fisheries, which must terminate in wars. Paper money may also be an additional source of disputes. Rhode Island has been in one continued train of opposition to national duties

and integrity; they have defrauded their creditors by their paper money. Other States have also had emissions of paper money to the ruin of credit and commerce. May not Virginia, at a future day, also recur to the same expedient? Has Virginia no affection for paper money, or disposition to violate contracts? I fear she is as fond of these measures as most other States in the Union. The inhabitants of the adjacent States would be affected by the depreciation of paper money, which would assuredly produce a dispute with those States. This danger is taken away by the present Constitution, as it provides "that no State shall emit bills of credit." Maryland has counteracted the policy of this State frequently, and may be meditating examples of this kind again. Before the Revolution, there was a contest about those back lands, in which even government was a party; it was put an end to by the war. Pennsylvania was ready to enter into a war with us for the disputed lands near the boundaries, and nothing but the superior prudence of the man who was at the head of affairs in Virginia, could have prevented it.

I beg leave to remind you of the strength of Massachusetts and other States to the North, and what would their conduct be to us if disunited from them. In case of a conflict between us and Maryland or Pennsylvania, they would be aided by the whole strength of the more Northern States; in short, by that of all the adopting States. For these reasons, I conceive, that if Virginia supposes she has no cause of apprehension, she will find herself in a fatal error. Suppose the American spirit in the fullest vigor in Virginia, what military preparations and exertions is she capable of making? The other States have upwards of three hundred and thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms; this will be a good army, or they can very easily raise a good army out of so great a number. Our militia amounts to fifty thousand; even stretching it to the improbable amount (urged by some) of sixty thousand—in case of an attack, what defense can we make? Who are militia? Can we depend solely upon these? I will pay the last tribute of gratitude to the militia of my country; they performed some of the most gallant feats during the last war, and acted as nobly as men inured to other avocations could be expected to do; but, sir, it is dangerous to look to them as our sole protectors. Did ever militia defend a country? Those of Pennsylvania were said to differ very little from regulars; yet these, sir, were insufficient for the defense of that State. The militia of our country will be wanted for agriculture; on this noblest of arts depend the virtue and the very existence of a country; if it be neglected, everything else must be in a state of ruin and decay. It must be neglected if those hands which ought to attend to it are occasionally called forth on military expeditions. Some, also, will be necessary for manufactures, and those mechanic arts which are necessary for the aid of the farmer and planter. If we had men sufficient in number to defend

ourselves, it could not avail without other requisites. We must have a navy, to be supported in time of peace as well as war, to guard our coasts and defend us against invasions. The impossibility of building and equipping a fleet in a short time constitutes the necessity of having a certain number of ships of war always ready in time of peace. The maintaining a navy will require money—and where, sir, can we get money for this and other purposes? How shall we raise it? Review the enormity of the debts due by this country; the amount of the debt we owe to the continent for bills of credit, rating at forty for one, will amount to between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. There is also due the continent the balance of requisitions due by us, and, in addition to this proportion of the old continental debt, there are the foreign, domestic, State military, and loan-office debts, to which when you add the British debt, where is the possibility of finding money to raise an army or navy? Review, then, your real ability. Shall we recur to loans? Nothing can be more impolitic: they impoverish a nation; we, sir, have nothing to repay them; nor, sir, can we procure them. Our numbers are daily increasing by immigration; but this, sir, will not relieve us when our credit is gone, and it is impossible to borrow money. If the imposts and duties in Virginia, even on the present footing, be very unproductive, and not equal to our necessities, what would they be if we were separated from the Union? From the first of September to the first of June the amount put into the treasury is only fifty-nine thousand pounds, or a little more. But, sir, if smuggling be introduced in consequence of high duties, or otherwise, and the Potomac should be lost, what hope is there of getting money from these?

Shall we be asked if the impost would be bettered by the Union? I answer that it will, sir. Credit being restored and confidence diffused in the country, merchants and men of wealth will be induced to come among us; immigration will increase, and commerce will flourish; the impost will therefore be more sure and productive. Under these circumstances can you find no men to defend you? If not men, where can you have a navy? It is an old observation, that he who commands at sea will command the land; and it is justified by modern experience in war. The sea can only be commanded by commercial nations. The United States have every means, by nature, to enable them to distribute supplies mutually among one another, to supply other nations with many articles, and to carry for other nations. Our commerce would not be kindly received by foreigners, if transacted solely by ourselves; as it is the spirit of commercial nations to engross, as much as possible, the carrying trade, this makes it necessary to defend our commerce; but how shall we encompass this end? England has arisen to the greatest height, in modern times, by her navigation act and other excellent regulations. The same means would produce the same effects. We have inland navigation. Our last exports did not exceed one million of pounds. Our ex-

port trade is entirely in the hands of foreigners. We have no manufactures—depend for supplies on other nations, and so far are we from having any carrying trade, that, as I have already said, our exports are in the hands of foreigners. Besides the profit that might be made by our natural materials, much greater gains would accrue from their being first wrought before they were exported. England has reaped immense profits by this, nay, even by purchasing and working up those materials which their country did not afford; her success in commerce is generally ascribed to her navigation act. Virginia would not, encumbered as she is, agree to have such an act. Thus, for the want of a navy, are we deprived of the multifarious advantages of our natural situation; nor is it possible that if the Union is dissolved, we ever should have a navy sufficient either for our defense or the extension of our trade. I beg gentlemen to consider these two things—our inability to raise and man a navy, and the dreadful consequences of the dissolution of the Union.

I will close this catalogue of the evils of the dissolution of the Union, by recalling to your mind what passed in the year 1781. Such was the situation of our affairs then, that the powers of a dictator were given to the commander-in-chief to save us from destruction. This shows the situation of the country to have been such as made it ready to embrace an actual dictator. At some future period will not our distresses impel us to do what the Dutch have done—throw all power into the hands of a stadtholder? How infinitely more wise and eligible than this desperate alternative, is a union with our American brethren! I feel myself so abhorrent to anything that will dissolve our Union, that I can not prevail with myself to assent to it directly or indirectly. If the Union is to be dissolved, what step is to be taken? Shall we form a partial confederacy? or is it expected that we shall successfully apply to foreign alliance for military aid? This last measure, sir, has ruined almost every nation that has used it; so dreadful an example ought to be most cautiously avoided; for seldom has a nation recurred to the expedient of foreign succor without being ultimately crushed by that succor. We may lose our liberty and independence by this injudicious scheme of policy. Admitting it to be a scheme replete with safety, what nation shall we solicit—France? She will disdain a connection with a people in our predicament. I would trust everything to the magnanimity of that nation; but she would despise a people who had, like us, so imprudently separated from their brethren; and, sir, were she to accede to our proposal, with what facility could she become mistress of our country! To what nation then shall we apply—to Great Britain? Nobody has as yet trusted that idea. An application to any other must be either fruitless or dangerous; to those who advocate local confederacies, and at the same time preach up for republican liberty, I answer, that their conduct is inconsistent; the defense of such partial confederacies will require such a degree of force and expense

as will destroy every feature of republicanism. Give me leave to say, that I see nought but destruction in a local confederacy. With what State can we confederate but North Carolina—North Carolina, situated worse than ourselves? Consult your own reason; I beseech gentlemen most seriously to reflect on the consequences of such a confederacy; I beseech them to consider whether Virginia and North Carolina, both oppressed with debts and slaves, can defend themselves externally, or make their people happy internally. North Carolina having no strength but militia, and Virginia in the same situation, will make, I fear, but a despicable figure in history. Thus, sir, I hope that I have satisfied you that we are unsafe without a Union, and that in union alone safety consists.

I come now, sir, to the great inquiry, whether the confederation be such a government as we ought to continue under; whether it be such a government as can secure the felicity of any free people. Did I believe the confederation was a good thread, which might be broken without destroying its unity entirely, I might be induced to concur in putting it together; but I am so thoroughly convinced of its incapacity to be mended or spliced, that I would sooner recur to any other expedient.

When I spoke last, I endeavored to express my sentiments concerning that system, and to apologize, (if an apology was necessary) for the conduct of its framers—that it was hastily devised, to enable us to repel a powerful enemy—that the subject was novel, and that its inefficacy was not discovered till requisitions came to be made by Congress. In the then situation of America, a speedy remedy was necessary to ward off the danger, and this sufficiently answered that purpose, but so universally is its imbecility now known that it is almost useless for me to exhibit it at this time. Has not Virginia, as well as every other State, acknowledged its debility by sending delegates to the general convention? The confederation is, of all things, the most unsafe, not only to trust to in its present form, but even to amend. The object of a federal government is to remedy and strengthen the weakness of its individual branches, whether that weakness arises from situation or any other external cause. With respect to the first, is it not a miracle that the confederation carried us through the last war? It was our unanimity, sir, that carried us through it. That system was not ultimately concluded till the year 1781, although the greatest exertions were made before that time. Then came requisitions of men and money. Its defects then were immediately discovered; the quotas of men were readily sent—not so those of money. One State feigned inability; another would not comply till the rest did, and various excuses were offered; so that no money was sent into the treasury—not a requisition was fully complied with. Loans were the next measure fallen upon; upwards of eighty millions of dollars were wanting, beside the emissions of dollars, forty for one. These things show the impossibility of relying on requisitions. * * * * If the American spirit is to be depended upon,

I call him to awake, to see how his Americans have been disgraced; but I have no hopes that things will be better hereafter. I fully expect things will be as they have been, and that the same derangements will produce similar miscarriages. Will the American spirit produce money or credit, unless we alter our system? Are we not in a contemptible situation—are we not the jest of other nations?

But it is insinuated by the honorable gentleman that we want to be a grand, splendid and magnificent people; we wish not to become so; the magnificence of a royal court is not our object. We want government, sir—a government that will have stability and give us security, for our present government is destitute of the one and incapable of producing the other. It can not perhaps, with propriety, be denominated a government, being void of that energy requisite to enforce its sanctions. I wish my country not to be contemptible in the eyes of foreign nations. A well-regulated community is always respected. It is the internal situation, the defects of government, that attract foreign contempt—that contempt, sir, is too often followed by subjugation. Advert to the contemptuous manner in which a shrewd politician speaks of our government. [Here Mr. Randolph quoted a passage from Lord Sheffield, the purport of which was that Great Britain might engross our trade on her own terms; that the imbecility and inefficacy of our general government were such that it was impossible we could counteract her policy, however rigid or illiberal towards us her commercial regulations might be.] Reflect but a moment on our situation. Does it not invite real hostility? The conduct of the British ministry to us is the natural effect of our unnerved government. Consider the commercial regulations between us and Maryland. Is it not known to gentlemen that this State and that have been making reprisals on each other, to obviate a repetition of which, in some degree, these regulations have been made? Can we not see from this circumstance, the jealousy, rivalship and hatred that would subsist between them in case this State was out of the Union? They are importing States, and importing States will ever be competitors and rivals. Rhode Island and Connecticut have been on the point of war on the subject of their paper money. Congress did not attempt to interpose. When Massachusetts was distressed by the late insurrection, Congress could not relieve her. Who headed that insurrection? Recollect the facility with which it was raised, and the very little ability of the ring-leader, and you can not but deplore the extreme debility of our merely nominal government. We are too despicable to be regarded by foreign nations.

The defects of the confederation consisted principally in the want of power. It had nominally powers—powers on paper—which it could not use. The power of making peace and war is expressly delegated to Congress: yet the power of granting passports, though within that of making peace and war, was considered by Virginia as belonging to herself. With-

out adequate powers vested in Congress, America can not be respectable in the eyes of other nations. Congress, sir, ought to be fully vested with power to support the Union, protect the interest of the United States, maintain their commerce, and defend them from external invasions and insults and internal insurrections; to maintain justice and promote harmony and public tranquillity among the States. A government not vested with these powers will ever be found unable to make us happy or respectable. How far the confederation is different from such a government is known to all America. Instead of being able to cherish and protect the States, it has been unable to defend itself against the encroachments made upon it by the States; every one of them has conspired against it—Virginia as much as any. This fact could be proved by reference to actual history. I might quote the observations of an able modern author (not because he is decorated with the name of author, but because his sentiments are drawn from human nature), to prove the dangerous impolicy of withholding necessary powers from Congress; but I shall at this time fatigue the house as little as possible. What are the powers of Congress? They have full authority to recommend what they please; this recommendatory power reduces them to the condition of poor supplicants. Consider the dignified language of the members of the American Congress—May it please your high mightinesses of Virginia to pay your just proportionate quota of our national debt; we humbly supplicate, that it may please you to comply with your federal duties! We implore, we beg your obedience! Is not this, sir, a fair representation of the powers of Congress? Their operations are of no validity when counteracted by the States. Their authority to recommend is a mere mockery of government.

But the amendability of the confederation seems to have great weight on the minds of some gentlemen. To what point will the amendments go? What part makes the most important figure? What part deserves to be retained? In it, one body has the legislative, executive and judicial powers; but the want of efficient powers has prevented the dangers naturally consequent on the union of these. Is this union consistent with an augmentation of their power? Will you then amend it, by taking away one of these three powers? Suppose, for instance, you only vested it with the legislative and executive powers, without any control on the judiciary, what must be the result? Are we not taught by reason, experience and governmental history, that tyranny is the natural and certain consequence of uniting these two powers, or the legislative and judicial powers exclusively, in the same body? If any one denies it, I shall pass him by as an infidel to be reclaimed. Wherever any two of these three powers are vested in one single body, they must, at one time or other, terminate in the destruction of liberty. In the most important cases, the assent of nine States is necessary to pass a law; this is too great a restriction, and whatever good consequences it may in some cases produce, yet it will prevent

energy in many other cases; it will prevent energy, which is most necessary on some emergencies, even in cases wherein the existence of the community depends on vigor and expedition. It is incompatible with that secrecy which is the life of execution and despatch. Did ever thirty or forty men retain a secret? Without secrecy no government can carry on its operations on great occasions; this is what gives that superiority in action to the government of one. If anything were wanting to complete this farce, it would be that a resolution of the Assembly of Virginia and the other Legislatures should be necessary to confirm and render of any validity the congressional acts; this would openly discover the debility of the general government to all the world. But, in fact, its imbecility is now nearly the same as if such acts were formally requisite. An act of the Assembly of Virginia, controverting a resolution of Congress, would certainly prevail. I therefore conclude that the confederation is too defective to deserve correction. Let us take farewell of it with reverential respect, as an old benefactor. It is gone, whether this house says so or not. It is gone, sir, by its own weakness.

I am afraid I have tired the patience of this house; but I trust you will pardon me, as I was urged by the importunity of the gentleman in calling for the reasons of laying the ground-work of this plan. It is objected by the honorable gentleman over the way (Mr. George Mason), that a republican government is impracticable in an extensive territory, and the extent of the United States is urged as a reason for the rejection of this Constitution. Let us consider the definition of a republican government as laid down by a man who is highly esteemed. Montesquieu, so celebrated among politicians, says, "that a republican government is that in which the body, or only a part of the people, is possessed of the supreme power; a monarchical, that in which a single person governs, by fixed and established laws; a despotic government, that in which a single person, without law and without rule, directs everything, by his own will and caprice." This author has not distinguished a republican government from a monarchy by the extent of its boundaries, but by the nature of its principles. He, in another place, contradistinguishes it, as a government of laws, in opposition to others, which he denominates a government of men. The empire, or government of laws, according to that phrase, is that in which the laws are made with the free will of the people; hence, then, if laws be made by the assent of the people, the government may be deemed free. When laws are made with integrity, and executed with wisdom, the question is, whether a great extent of country will tend to abridge the liberty of the people. If defensive force be necessary, in proportion to the extent of country, I conceive that, in a judiciously-constructed government, be the country ever so extensive, its inhabitants will be proportionably numerous, and able to defend it. Extent of country, in my conception, ought to be no bar to the adoption of a good government. No extent on earth

seems to me too great, provided the laws be wisely made and executed. The principles of representation and responsibility may pervade a large as well as a small territory; and tyranny is as easily introduced into a small as into a large district. If it be answered that some of the most illustrious and distinguished authors are of a contrary opinion, I reply, that authority has no weight with me till I am convinced that not the dignity of names, but the force of reasoning, gains my assent.

I intended to have shown the nature of the powers which ought to have been given to the general government, and the reason of investing it with the power of taxation; but this would require more time than my strength or the patience of the committee would now admit of. I shall conclude with a few observations which come from my heart. I have labored for the continuance of the Union—the rock of our salvation. I believe that as sure as there is a God in heaven, our safety, our political happiness and existence, depend on the union of the States; and that without this union the people of this and the other States will undergo the unspeakable calamities which discord, faction, turbulence, war and bloodshed have produced in other countries. The American spirit ought to be mixed with American pride—pride to see the Union magnificently triumph. Let that glorious pride which once defied the British thunder, reanimate you again. Let it not be recorded of Americans, that, after having performed the most gallant exploits, after having overcome the most astonishing difficulties, and after having gained the admiration of the world by their incomparable valor and policy, they lost their acquired reputation, their national consequence and happiness, by their own indiscretion. Let no future historian inform posterity that they wanted wisdom and virtue to concur in any regular, efficient government. Should any writer, doomed to so disagreeable a task, feel the indignation of an honest historian, he would reprehend and recriminate our folly with equal severity and justice. Catch the present moment; seize it with avidity and eagerness; for it may be lost, never to be regained. If the Union be now lost, I fear it will remain so forever. I believe gentlemen are sincere in their opposition, and actuated by pure motives; but when I maturely weigh the advantages of the Union, and dreadful consequences of its dissolution; when I see safety on my right and destruction on my left; when I behold respectability and happiness acquired by the one but annihilated by the other, I can not hesitate to decide in favor of the former. I hope my weakness, from speaking so long, will apologize for my leaving this subject in so mutilated a condition. If a further explanation be desired, I shall take the liberty to enter into it more fully another time.

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

NAME.	STATE.	BORN.	DIED.	INAUGURATED.
Peyton Randolph...	Virginia.....	1723	1775	Sept. 5, 1774
Henry Middleton...	S. Carolina...	.....	1846	Oct. 22, 1774
Peyton Randolph...	Virginia.....	.....	.....	May 10, 1775
John Hancock.....	Mass	1737	1793	May 24, 1775
Henry Laurens.....	S. Carolina...	1723	1792	Nov. 1, 1777
John Jay..... ..	New York....	1745	1829	Dec. 10, 1778
Samuel Huntington	Connecticut..	1732	1796	Sept. 28, 1779
Thomas McKean...	Delaware.....	1734	1817	July 10, 1781
John Hanson.....	Maryland.....	.....	1783	Nov. 5, 1781
Elias Boudinot.....	New Jersey...	1740	1821	Nov. 4, 1782
Thomas Mifflin.....	Penn'a	1744	1800	Nov. 3, 1783
Richard Henry Lee.	Virginia.....	1732	1794	Nov. 30, 1784
Nathaniel Gorham..	Mass	1738	1796	June 6, 1786
Arthur St. Clair....	Penn'a.....	1735	1818	Feb. 2, 1787
Cyrus Griffin.....	Virginia.....	1748	1810	Jan. 22, 1788

XIV.

COMMENTS ON THE CONSTITUTION.

The **Constitution**, the pride and glory of our country, and the wonder and admiration of the world, went into operation on the 4th of March, 1789.

God's fostering care.

In all the trials and conflicts of our forefathers, in coming to America, in battling for their freedom and independence, and in establishing their system of governments, both State and national, they seemed to have the especial fostering guidance, power, and counsel of Almighty God. For in vain may we search the annals of the world for any examples for them to follow calculated to produce the same glorious results. Nowhere on the pages of history do we find that mankind ever assembled in counsel as did our forefathers, and entered into written compacts or agreements with one another, thereby forming written Constitutions, to be the basis upon which their governments are founded and laws predicated.

Those Constitutions are to be permanent until changed by the SOVEREIGN PEOPLE of this great nation—to be the supreme law of the land, and intended to secure to all the citizens alike their inalienable rights as freemen. "And in their order and powers to be like unto the brilliant sun and the dancing planetary systems to each other in their centripetal and centrifugal influences—the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION and GOVERNMENT being the great CENTER, whence all power is derived for the national government, the State government, and the people under them; and the State Constitutions and governments preventing the concentration of all power to this center; that consolidation of the whole into one may not take place by blotting out forever the glorious 'STARS AND STRIPES,' the beautiful and life-animating galaxy of American freedom, union, and independence, that is now waving in triumph over land and sea throughout the world."

Object of the Constitution.

No other governments before ours had written constitutions. They had only laws passed by their legislative departments, which could be changed at pleasure, as caprice or inclination might direct.

In the preceding pages of this work we have endeavored to show the source of this system of constitutional State governments, and also of our confederated constitutional national government. The first propelling power that led to them was the adoption of those written charters between the crown of England and our ancestors, who settled those colonies to be the foundations upon which the new governments under them were to be based; and we may say that those charters were *written constitutions* between the crown and our ancestors; and when those charters were violated and taken away by the authority of the mother country, their grievances found vent in such sentiments as are contained in the immortal DECLARATION.

Basis of written Constitutions.

PART SECOND.

THE NATION.

I.

OUR GOVERNMENT.

The several States of our country are united under one General Government, called a FEDERAL REPUBLIC; that is, a republic in which several separate republics are united in one—E PLURIBUS UNUM—*one composed of many.*

A Federal Republic.

Each State is a **republic** by itself; for it has a government of its own, and is at liberty to make laws relative to its own peculiar interests; but the more general concerns of the nation, as the regulation of commerce, the declaration of war, the coining of money, etc., are entrusted to the General Government.

The **Government** consists of three branches, namely: the LEGISLATIVE, the EXECUTIVE, and the JUDICIAL.

The NATIONAL LEGISLATURE consists of a **Congress**, composed of a *Senate* and *House of Representatives.* The SENATE consists of two Senators from each State, chosen by the respective Legislatures for six years, in such a way that one-third of the whole body goes out of office every two years. The Vice President of the United States is President of the

The National Legislature.

Senate *ex officio*, and the Senate elects a President *pro tempore* to serve in his absence; the Vice President has only a casting vote. The Senate has sole power to try all impeachments. The members of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES are chosen for two years by the people of each State. They are apportioned among the several States according to their representative population, excluding Indians not taxed. Every State is entitled to at least one Representative. There are also *Delegates*, one from each organized Territory, who are entitled to speak in the House, but not to vote. The election for Representatives and Delegates to Congress is held biennially on the Tuesday next after the first Monday of November in even years. The House of Representatives chooses its own Speaker and other officers; has the sole power of impeachment; and originates all bills relating to revenue. Members of both Senate and House receive five thousand dollars a year, and mileage at the rate of twenty cents for each mile of travel in going to and returning from the seat of government; also allowance for stationery and newspapers, one hundred and twenty-five dollars *per annum*. The pay of the Speaker of the House is eight thousand dollars a year. The regular sessions of Congress begin on the first Monday of December in each year, and extra sessions may be called by the President. The term of office of Representatives, and consequently the duration of each Congress, expires by law on the 4th day of March of every odd year.

Powers of Congress.

Congress has power to levy and collect taxes, imposts, and excises, which must be uniform throughout the United States; to borrow money on the credit of the United States; to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes; to coin money; to define and punish piracy and offenses against the law of nations; to declare war; to raise and support an army and navy; to provide for calling forth the militia when required; and to exercise exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia.

The Executive.

The EXECUTIVE power is vested in a PRESIDENT, who, together with a VICE PRESIDENT, is elected for four years by a *college of electors*, each State returning as many electors as it is entitled to have Senators and Representatives in Congress. They are designated in all the States by popular vote at an election held every four years (counting for this century from 1800), on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November. The electors meet in each State on the first Wednesday in December and cast their votes for President and Vice President. On the second Wednesday in February the certificates of the votes thus cast are opened by the President of the Senate in presence of the two Houses of Congress, when the votes are counted and the result declared. The official term of the officers declared elected begins on the 4th of March following.

Mode of electing the Executive.

In case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of the President, the Vice President succeeds to the presidency, and, if the disability be not temporary, serves the remainder of the presidential term; and in case of failure of both President and Vice President, the President of the Senate *pro tempore*, or in case there be no President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives is to act as President, and a new President is to be elected if the vacancy occur more than five months before the end of the existing presidential term. When there is no election of President by the people for want of a majority of electoral votes for any one candidate, the House of Representatives chooses the President from the three having the highest number of votes, the body of Representatives from each State casting a single vote. When the election results in no choice for Vice President, that officer is chosen by the Senate from the two who have received the highest number of votes. The President may be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Duties of the Executive.

He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the militia of the several States when they are called into the actual service of the General Government; and he has power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, and to appoint Ministers and other public officers of the United States whose appointment is not otherwise provided for. He receives a salary of fifty thousand dollars (until 1873, twenty-five thousand dollars) a year, and the Vice President eight thousand dollars. All acts of Congress, over which he has a veto, must be presented to him before they can become law. Laws can be passed over his veto by a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress.

The Cabinet and their duties.

The President is assisted by a **Cabinet** of seven, namely: the Secretaries of STATE, of the TREASURY, of the INTERIOR, of WAR, and of the NAVY; the ATTORNEY GENERAL, and the POSTMASTER GENERAL; who are nominated by him and confirmed by the Senate, and are the HEADS of the seven executive departments of the Government. They receive eight thousand dollars a year each. The principal duties of the Secretary of State relate to foreign affairs. Besides other matters relating more directly to finance, the Secretary of the Treasury superintends the collection of duties and internal revenue. There are in the department of the Treasury, a Treasurer, Commissioners of Customs, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and Comptrollers of the Currency; also a Bureau of Statistics, and a Bureau of the Mint, which has under its control all the mints and assay offices of the United States. The Secretary of the Interior is charged, among other things, with the supervision of public business relating to the census, public lands (including mines), Indians, pensions and bounty lands, patents, custody and distribution of publications, education, and certain duties relating to the Territories. The most important of the functions are intrusted to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Commissioner of Indian

Affairs, Commissioner of Pensions, Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Patents, Superintendent of Public Documents, and Commissioner of Education, who are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The Department of Agriculture (which is not an executive department), under the charge of a Commissioner of Agriculture, is designed to obtain and diffuse useful information relating to agriculture, and to procure and distribute new and valuable seeds and plants.

The Judiciary. The **Judiciary** comprises a SUPREME COURT of the District of Columbia, and the Territorial Courts, the judges of which are appointed by the President. Besides these, each State has its own independent judiciary. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice (salary ten thousand five hundred dollars) and eight Associate Justices (salary ten thousand dollars each). It holds one session annually in Washington, beginning on the second Monday in October. The United States is divided into nine judicial circuits. There is a Circuit Judge (salary six thousand dollars) resident in each circuit, and Justices of the Supreme Court visit each circuit for the purpose of holding Circuit Court. Circuit Courts are held by the Justice of the Supreme Court assigned to the circuit, or by the Circuit Judge of the circuit, or by the District Judge of the district, or by any two of them sitting together. The United States is also divided into fifty-seven districts, in each of which there is a District Court composed of one judge, who resides in the district for which he is appointed. All the judges of the Federal Courts are appointed for life by the President with the consent of the Senate.

State Governments. The STATE GOVERNMENTS are like the General Government in form. Each State has its own Constitution. The States are generally divided into Counties, and the Counties into Townships. In most of the States the executive power is vested in a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Secretary

of State, a Comptroller or Treasurer, an Attorney-General, and a Superintendent of Schools, all of whom are generally elected by the people. Some of the States have, besides, an Auditor, a Land Commissioner, and other executive officers.

Territorial Government.

The executive power of each organized **Territory** is vested in a Governor, who is appointed for four years by the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate. The legislative power is vested in a Council and House of Representatives, chosen by the people for two years. A delegate to Congress is elected by the people in each Territory for two years. The legislation of the Territories is subject to revision by Congress. The Judges of the Supreme Court of each Territory are also appointed by the President. All ministers to foreign countries are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Qualifications of Voters.

The **qualifications of voters** in the United States are prescribed by the States respectively; the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Federal Constitution provides that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

CONGRESS.

The **first** Congress met on the 4th of March, 1789, at the beginning of Washington's Administration. The **duration** of each Congress is **two years**, corresponding with the terms of the Representatives. Thus the IId Congress began in 1791, the IIId in 1793, the XLVIIIth in 1883, and the XLIXth will begin in 1885. There are two regular sessions of each Congress; the first begins on the first Monday of December of the odd year, and closes on the 4th of the next March; the second begins in December of the even year, and closes in March of the odd year. Additional sessions can be called by the President whenever business demands it.

As soon as Congress meets for a session each House pro-

ceeds to organize. The House must first elect a **Speaker**, or chairman. The Vice President is always **President of the Senate.** Each chairman then proceeds to appoint committees to attend to the various business. There are Committees on APPROPRIATIONS, on PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, FINANCE, COMMERCE, NAVAL AFFAIRS, POST-OFFICES, etc. In the Senate, committees are usually chosen by ballot. In the House, they are appointed by the Speaker.

As soon as the business of organization is over, the presentation of bills is in order. There are always hundreds more of these than can be attended to. Each member is anxious to get the first chance to introduce his favorite one. As these are introduced they are referred to the committees under whose department they fall. Sometimes one party is anxious that a bill from the other side shall not pass, and delays the business as long as possible.

II.

FIRST ADMINISTRATION—1789-1793.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT. JOHN ADAMS, VICE PRESIDENT.

Ist and IId Congresses.

SECTION 1.

First Congress under the Constitution.

The FIRST CONGRESS under the Constitution was convened at the "Federal Hall," situated at the head of Broad, fronting on Wall street (where the Custom-House now stands), in the city of New York, on the first Wednesday, being March 4, 1789—Senators and Representatives having been elected from the eleven States which had ratified the Constitution; but, owing to the absence of a quorum, the House was not organized till the 1st of April, and, for a like reason, the Senate was not organized till the 6th; when the latter body "proceeded by ballot to

the choice of a President, for the sole purpose of opening and counting the (electoral) votes for President of the United States." John Langdon, of New Hampshire, was chosen President *pro tem.* of the Senate, and Samuel Alyne Otis, of Massachusetts, Secretary; after which, proper measures were taken to notify the successful individuals of their election.

Former mode of electing President.

At that time, and until 1804, no electoral votes were cast distinctively for President and Vice President. Each elector voted by ballot for two persons. If a majority of all the votes were cast for any person, he who received the greatest number of votes became President, and he who received the next greatest number became Vice President.

Present mode of electing President.

The **Presidential election** takes place on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, every fourth year after a President has been elected. Since 1804 each political party nominates and votes for a certain set of electors, who, in case of their election, are to vote for the candidates of the party that elected them. On the first Wednesday in December, after the Presidential election, the electors meet at the capitals of their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President. The vote of each State is then sealed and transmitted to Washington. On the second Wednesday of the following February the certificates of the votes thus cast by the electors are opened by the President of the Senate, in presence of Congress, and the candidate who has received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes cast is declared President for the ensuing term. If no one has a majority, then, from the three highest on the list, the House of Representatives elects a President.*

* Questions having arisen as to what votes should be counted under conflicting returns, the joint convention of 1877 referred these questions to an *Electoral Commission*, organized under a special statute, and consisting of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court; and the decisions of this Commission were adopted by the convention.

The VICE PRESIDENT, who is *ex-officio* President of the Senate, has the casting vote in all measures in case of a tie. To be eligible to the presidency a candidate must be a native born citizen and thirty-five years of age, and must have resided in the country for at least fourteen years.

Washington and Adams elected.

When the votes were counted in 1789, they were found to be, for GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Virginia, sixty-nine (each of the electors having given him one vote), for JOHN ADAMS, of Massachusetts, thirty-four, and thirty-five for various other candidates.

Washington received notice of his election, and, after a triumphal progress northward from his home at Mount Vernon, was sworn into office, April 30, 1789. The Vice President had taken his place as presiding officer of the Senate a few days before.

The oath of office having been administered by the Chancellor of the State of New York, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, the President delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

Washington's Inaugural Address.

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years—a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken, in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondency one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emo-

tion, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States—a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes—and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, can not be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from not entering into that subject further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me,

to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to advise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that as, on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the preëminence of free government be exemplied by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for, I assure myself, that while you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the questions how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will, therefore, be as brief as possible: When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed, and, being still under the impressions

which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave, but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their Union and the advancement of their happiness, so his Divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

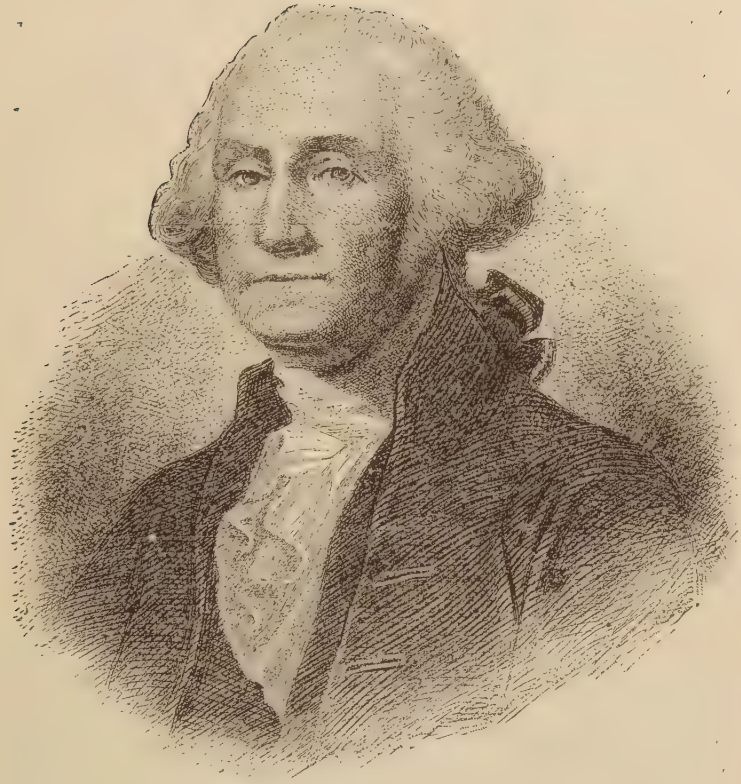
The ancestors of George Washington emigrated from England to Virginia, in 1657, and settled in Westmoreland county, on the banks of the Potomac. His father's name was Augustine, and he is said to have been a wealthy planter in the Old Dominion. He died April, 1743, leaving large possessions to be distributed among his children.

The maiden name of Washington's mother was Mary Ball, a lady of refined taste and noble character.

Washington was born on the 22d of February, 1732. His early education was acquired under the immediate inspection of his devoted mother, and such instructors as she saw fit to employ. At the age of sixteen he had completed his studies, and was eager to enter upon a career of activity and usefulness. He would probably have been sent to England to complete his education, had his father lived; for it was customary among wealthy planters of the South to send their sons to Europe for this purpose.

Had this been done, it might possibly have changed Washington's whole career, and even seriously affected the destiny of the American nation.

In his boyhood he was distinguished for his ardent love



G. Washington

of military life; and when only nineteen years of age he was placed over a militia district, with the rank of major. His subsequent military career was eventful and thrilling in its character. In 1759 he was united in marriage to Mrs. Martha Custis, an accomplished lady of Welsh descent. At about this time he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, and evinced rare judgment and fidelity in the discharge of his duties. The second Continental Congress elected him Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, and he accepted the solemn trust with all the modesty and dignity of his great nature.

Congress had already fixed the pay of the Commander-in-Chief at six thousand dollars a year; but, in accepting the position, Washington showed that he was uninfluenced by mercenary motives. He scorned the idea of making the position minister to his personal emolument. He distinctly assured Congress that he would accept no remuneration, and would only ask that the expenses actually incurred in the service should be paid. "I do not wish," said he, "to make any profit out of it." And when, in 1797, President Adams, anticipating war with France, called him once more to the command of the American Army, he reiterated the same sentiment. "I must decline," said he, "having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public; or that I can receive any emolument annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense." How generous and self-sacrificing the conduct of this great chieftain appears, especially when contrasted with the grasping, self-seeking spirit of the most of men! On the 3d of July, 1775, he assumed command of the army at Cambridge, Mass. The evacuation of Boston by the British; the transfer of the war to New York; the masterly retreat through the Jerseys; and the subsequent brilliant career of Washington as a military leader, are familiar to all readers of history.

In 1789 he was unanimously elected to the Presidency, and inaugurated amid great demonstrations of popular favor, on the 30th of April, 1789.

In 1794 he was re-elected, and served the nation with the same fidelity and success that had so pre-eminently distinguished his previous career.

He died on the 14th of December, 1799, at Mount Vernon. Distant nations were smitten with sorrow when he died, and wept with his own beloved nation, as her tears fell upon the grave of the citizen and soldier. "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

SECTION 3.

POLITICAL PARTIES DURING THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

Parties were yet in a state of utter confusion. On the question of the adoption of the Constitution, the people had divided into opposing parties—*Federalists* and *Anti-Federalists*—though both parties varied these formal titles by the use of opprobrious epithets. The extreme Federalists were anxious for a strong government, and, if possible for a monarchy. They regarded the confederacy of States as weak and temporary. In place of it they wanted a strong republican government, fitted to make itself respected abroad and obeyed at home. The extreme Anti-Federalists wished for no federal government whatever, but for a continuance of the league between thirteen independent republics. Between the extreme Anti-Federalists, who considered the Constitution a long step toward a despotism, and the extreme Federalists, who desired a monarchy modeled on that of England, there were all varieties of political opinions. The union between the moderate members of both parties in support of the new form of government still existed. The extreme importance of Washington lay in his ability, through the universal confidence in his integrity and good judgment, to hold together this alliance of moderate men for a time, and to prevent party contest upon the interpretation of Federal powers until the Constitution should show its merit and be assured of existence.

Washington was judicious in the selection of his officers of

Washington's Cabinet.

government. He selected his Cabinet with a careful regard to the opposite opinions of his supporters. He appointed Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia—an *Anti-Federalist*—Secretary of State. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, and had the confidence of all the factions of his divided party. The Treasury Department was given to Alexander Hamilton, of New York, a *Federalist*, and a lawyer of distinguished ability, who had served with credit in the Revolutionary War, and was considered the ablest man of his party. General Knox, also a *Federalist*, was made Secretary of War. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, an *Anti-Federalist*, was appointed Attorney-General. The offices of Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior, and Postmaster-General were not then created. John Jay, of New York, a *Federalist*, was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

First Amendments to the Constitution.

To meet the conscientious objections of many moderate Anti-Federalists, and to take the place of a "Bill of Rights," twelve AMENDMENTS were adopted by this session of Congress. Ten of these, having received the assent of the necessary number of States, became a part of the Constitution, and now stand the first ten of the Amendments. They were intended to guarantee freedom of religion, speech, person, and property. The positive requests of so many States, and the continued refusal of two States to enter the Union, were strong incentives to their adoption, and the opposition to them came mainly from the extreme Anti-Federalists, who considered them delusive and insufficient, and only calculated to create a fatal feeling of security against centralized government.

Commerce and Financial Affairs.

The first attention of the new Congress was to financial matters, and the regulations of commerce. During the debate some of the Anti-Federalists made attempt to arrange a TARIFF so as to discriminate against

England and in favor of other nations, but the attempt failed in the Senate. A tariff act was passed by both Houses, and approved July 4. Its preamble stated one of its objects to be "the encouragement and protection of manufactures." The language is notable as stating the main object of the "American," or High Protective Tariff system, thirty years before it became a party tenet.

The Public Debt discussed.

The national debt early became the subject of discussion in Congress. The first Congress met at Philadelphia, January 4, 1790.* On January 9, Hamilton offered his famous REPORT ON THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT. It consisted of three recommendations, *first*, that the General Government assume and pay in full the foreign debt of the Confederacy; *second*, that the domestic debt of the Confederacy, which had fallen far below par and had become worthless, should also be paid at its par value; and *third*, that the debts incurred by the States during the Revolution, and still unpaid, should be assumed and paid in full by the General Government.

The first recommendation of the report was adopted unanimously. The second was opposed, even by Madison and many moderate Anti-Federalists, on the ground that the domestic debt was held by speculators, who had bought it at a heavy discount, and would thus gain usurious interest on their investment. "Hamilton's supporters argued that, if only for that reason, they should be paid in full, that holders of United States securities might learn not to sell them at a discount, and that the national credit might thus be strengthened for all times to come." After long debate the second recommendation was also adopted.

The discussion of the third recommendation involved a question of the powers of the Federal Government, and united all the Anti-Federalists in opposition to it. They

*On April 6, 1789, an *extra* session had been held at New York to inaugurate the First Administration.

feared that the "money power" would, by this measure, be permanently attached to the Federal Government; and that the States would be made of no importance. This recommendation was, however, adopted, though only by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-six in the House. A few days later, however, the Anti-Federalists received a reinforcement of seven newly arrived members. The third resolution was at once reconsidered and voted down by a majority of two. Hamilton secured the final adoption of the third resolution by a bargain which excited the deep indignation of the Anti-Federalists. In the selection of a national capital, the Federalists agreed to vote that it should be fixed upon the Potomac river, after remaining ten years in Philadelphia, and two Anti-Federalist members from the Potomac agreed in return to vote for the third resolution, which was then finally adopted. Thus Hamilton's entire report was successful. "Its immediate effects were to appreciate the credit of the United States, and to enrich the holders of the Continental debt. Its further effect was to make Hamilton so much disliked by Anti-Federalists that, despite his acknowledged talents, his party never ventured to nominate him for any elective office." There were no other decided party contests during this first session of the First Congress, which adjourned August 12, 1790.

National Bank created.

On the meeting of Congress in second session, December 6, 1790, its debates were mostly on finance. Another project was recommended by Hamilton as an aid to the finances and to the business of the country. This was the establishment of a NATIONAL BANK. The bill for its creation was opposed as unconstitutional, but was passed (Jan., 1791). The bill involved another question of Federal powers, and renewed party contest. The Federalists claimed that Congress, having the undoubted power to pass all laws necessary for the collection of revenue and taxes, might constitutionally charter a bank for that purpose. The Anti-Federalists claimed that such a bank was not *necessary*, though it might be *con-*

venient, and hence was beyond the power of Congress. This difference of opinion, trivial at first sight, continued to be the subject of bitter party feeling, at intervals, for fifty years. The bill passed both Houses, and the President was importuned to veto it. He demanded the written opinions of his Cabinet. Hamilton's argument in favor of the constitutionality of a National Bank has hardly been improved upon, or added to. The President approved and signed the bill. This bank continued in existence till 1811, when the opposite party, then in power, refused to recharter it.

While these measures had been under discussion, other grave matters had been considered. A petition for the emancipation of the negroes was presented to Congress, with the signature of Dr. Franklin, as president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery (Feb. 12, 1790). It was resolved, "That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves or in the treatment of them in any of the States." The question was brought up again on the acceptance of the cession of territory by North Carolina. But "the Territory south of the Ohio" was put on the same footing with the territory north of that river, except that slavery was not excluded.

The Excise Laws.

At this session of Congress the unpopular EXCISE LAWS, to provide funds for the debts assumed by the Government, passed both Houses of Congress against the opposition of most of the Anti-Federalists. Congress adjourned March 3, 1791.

The Second Congress. (First Session.)

The Second Congress in First Session met Oct. 24, 1791. The number of Federalists was slightly reduced, but the Administration was supported generally by a large majority of both parties. The Anti-Federalists opposed an increase of the army and of the tariff, but both bills became law. An Apportionment Bill was also passed at this session, which had no party interest. It increased the number of Representa-

tives to one hundred and five. Congress adjourned May 8, 1792.

The **organization** of parties properly began about this time (1792). The people began to entertain a more defined estimate of the new scheme of government, and to have positive and settled opinions of its powers, and of the policy which should be followed in managing it. Affairs were beginning to settle into a more natural order. The various Anti-Federalist factions, by union in resisting the Federalists, had learned to forget minor differences, and had been welded into one party which lacked only a name.

Democratic-Republicans.

After the French Revolution had fairly begun—the outgrowth of the American Revolution—the Anti-Federalists evinced much sympathy for the Republicans of France. Guided by Thomas Jefferson—a man of the highest practical ability, and familiar with all the arts of popularity, whose tastes, principles, studies, and associations inspired a partiality for the Revolutionists of France—the Anti-Federalists adopted the name **Democratic-Republican**, which seemed sufficiently comprehensive for a full indication of their principles. This has always been the official party title. "It is now abbreviated to Democratic, though the name Democrat was at first used by Federalists as one of contempt, and the party called itself Republican, a title which it could hardly claim with propriety, for its tendency has always been toward a strong democracy, as that of its opponents has been toward a strong republic." The name Republican, therefore, belongs most properly to its present possessors (1884).

Hamilton was the prime leader of the Federal party, and Thomas Jefferson was the great head of the Anti-Federal (Democratic-Republican) party.

III.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION—1793-1797.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT. JOHN ADAMS, VICE PRESIDENT.

IIId and IVth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Washington was a second time unanimously elected to the Presidency, both Federalists and Republicans (Democrats) supporting him. The Vice Presidency only was an object of party contest. For this office the Federalists supported John Adams, and the Anti-Federalists (Democratic-Republicans) supported George Clinton, of New York. The election—November 6, 1792—resulted in the success of the Federalists.

Washington re-elected.

In February (1793) the electoral votes were counted, and were found to be for George Washington, 132 (each of the electors having given him one vote); for John Adams, 77; for George Clinton, 50; for Thomas Jefferson, 4; and for Aaron Burr, 1. Washington was therefore declared elected President, and Adams, Vice President.

The Second Congress (Second Session).

The measures of the second session of Congress had reference mainly to the raising and expenditure of the revenue, in regard to which the Republicans had not yet settled upon any united course of action. The only party contest of the session was an unsuccessful attempt of the Republicans to pass a vote of censure upon their enemy, Hamilton, for his management of the Treasury, and for his indignant and somewhat discourteous language in a message to the House. Congress adjourned on March 2, 1793, and on March 4, Washington and Adams were sworn into office.

The Republic in danger.

The French Revolution had broken out in the same year in which the United States commenced its existence; and the arrival of CITIZEN GENET, the revolutionary envoy of France (April, 1793), inflamed the controversy between the American factions. The sympathies of the American people were excited for their sister republic, even though that republic was the aggressor. Many considered the treaty of 1778 still in force, which bound France and the United States to offensive as well as defensive alliance. Washington, by the unanimous advice of his Cabinet, issued a proclamation of neutrality between the French Republic and her enemies. This proclamation aroused much ill-feeling toward the Administration. Washington was accused of being an enemy to republican institutions, and of setting at naught a solemn treaty, to whose observance the faith of the country was pledged. Citizen Genet came with instructions to draw the country into active co-operation with the Revolutionary Republic; and he attempted to execute his commission in the most lawless and insulting manner, sending out privateers from American harbors, capturing British vessels in American waters, preparing on American soil expeditions against the possessions of Spain, and directing party sentiment against Washington and the Government. He wholly ignored Washington's proclamation of neutrality. He received encouragement from the more violent Republicans, who had formed Democratic clubs, in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of France. Genet's flagrant disregard of neutrality obligations, and of the proprieties of a foreign embassy compelled a demand for his recall. Washington's firmness alone saved the country from a disastrous connection with the French Republic.

Citizen Genet.

Third Congress (First Session).

The Third Congress had a slight Republican majority in the House. The President's Proclamation of Neutrality was approved.

The relations with Great Britain were as unsatisfactory as those with France. The evident aim of England toward the young Commonwealth was to keep its commerce and industry in a state of inferiority and commercial dependence. Accusations were made by both governments of the infraction of the treaty of 1783; and its stipulations had not been carried out. The British Navigation Acts were strictly enforced; the vessels of the United States were excluded from the West India trade; they were boarded by British cruisers, and British seamen were impressed from them; provisions for French ports and colonies were declared contraband of war, and rendered the ships carrying them liable to seizure; the fortified posts in the western territory had not been given up, and no compensation had been made for the negroes taken from Savannah and other Southern harbors. Negotiation had failed to secure redress. England acted apparently under the belief that the United States was the concealed, but soon to be the avowed, ally of France, her enemy.

Attitude of Great Britain.

The debates of the first session of the Third Congress were mainly upon commercial matters. The Federalists advocated a navy and neutral relations between England and France. The Republican policy called for a prohibition of trade with England, and yet opposed any naval preparation for the war to which such a policy must have led. But owing to parties being so evenly divided, no decided result had been reached till April, 1794.

On April 16, the President nominated John Jay to be Envoy Extraordinary to England, for the purpose of preserving peace by a new treaty. The Senate confirmed the nomination; the Republicans of the House endeavored to balk the mission in advance by a resolution entirely prohibiting trade with England. The Senate rejected the resolution, and Jay went to England. A treaty

John Jay, Envoy Extraordinary to England.

was at length concluded by him. Much objection was made to it, as it left the most serious questions unsettled, and it was ratified by a constitutional majority only (June 24, 1795). The popular dissatisfaction was manifested at Boston by the plunder and burning of a British sloop, on the pretence that she was a privateer. Washington's policy in signing the treaty was severely criticised. Aspersions were even made upon his private character. "He was charged by the extreme Republicans with usurpation, treason to his country, and hostility to her interests. The continued sufferings of American prisoners in Algiers were ascribed to his criminal indifference. He was accused of having shown incapacity during the Revolution, and of having embezzled the public funds while President. He was threatened with impeachment, with assassination. Even the honored epithet so long given to him was burlesqued, and Washington was for a time known to the Republicans as 'The Step-Father of his Country.'" Yet Washington's unyielding common sense was justified by a revival of trade which gained friends for Jay's Treaty.

During this session of Congress the Federalists succeeded in passing a system of indirect taxation to provide for the increased expenses of the Government, the Republicans voting for direct taxes. The Supreme Court having decided that an action brought by a citizen of the United States would lie against a State, just as against any other corporation, an Amendment was adopted, securing States against suit in United States Courts. This was afterwards ratified by the necessary number of States, and became the XI. Amendment.

The XI. Amendment.

Other disturbances than the French Revolution tested the strength and solidity of the new Government. The Excise Laws met with extensive opposition, especially in Western Pennsylvania. In the country around Pittsburg it became a formidable insurrection, with which very respectable persons,

The Whisky Insurrection.

including Albert Gallatin, were connected. The Government had (1791) imposed a duty on domestic liquors, and in 1794 the resistance to the measure grew into an open rebellion in Pennsylvania, known as the "Whisky Insurrection." The people in Pennsylvania had been encouraged to this action by the course of Genet. Peaceful measures and proclamations proved unavailing to check disorder. Washington called out fifteen thousand of the militia, and placed the army under General Henry Lee, of Virginia, with General Morgan in command of the Virginia troops. This display of force, with the exercise of moderation, was effectual. When the army appeared the insurgents had disappeared, and "the Whisky Insurrection" was at an end (October, 1794).

Third Congress (Second Session).

The second session of the Third Congress convened November 3, 1794. A plan of Internal Taxation, offered to Congress by Hamilton, furnished material for debate throughout the session. Though opposed by most of the Republicans, it was adopted. Congress adjourned March 3, 1795.

Fourth Congress (First Session).

The first session of the Fourth Congress met December 7, 1795, with a small Federal majority in the Senate, and a Republican majority in the House. The Senate endorsed the President's Message, but the Republican majority in the House voted their disapproval. The President's proclamation (March 1, 1796), announcing to the people that the treaty with England had become a law, caused dissatisfaction in the House, and, against the wishes of some of the moderate Republicans, "a resolution was passed calling upon the President to send to the House all papers relating to Jay's treaty. The President refused to do so, giving as his reason that the House was not a part of the treaty-making power of the Government. The House retorted by another resolution declaring its right to decide on the necessity of any treaty by which public money was to be ex-

pended." The Federalist side of the House offered a resolution declaring that provision ought to be made by law for carrying the treaty into effect. Much of the time of this session was taken up in debate upon this resolution, in which Fisher Ames led the Federalists. (*See his speech, page 158.*) The resolution was passed.

Washington's retirement.

Washington was importuned to accept a third term of office, but his decision to retire to private life could not be altered. On the 4th of March, 1797, he retired from office, having previously published his "FAREWELL ADDRESS" to his fellow citizens. This document was universally read, and its value has scarcely diminished with the lapse of time. (*See Washington's "Farewell Address," page 133.*)

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1789–'97—EIGHT YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732–'99), of Virginia, President	April 30, 1789
JOHN ADAMS (1735–1826), of Massachusetts, Vice President	April 30, 1789

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826), native of State of Virginia	Sept. 26, 1789
EDMUND RANDOLPH (1753–1813), of Virginia	Jan. 2, 1794
TIMOTHY PICKERING (1746–1829), of Massachusetts	Dec. 10, 1795

Secretaries of the Treasury.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1757–1804), of New York	Sept. 11, 1789
OLIVER WOLCOTT (1727–'97), of Connecticut	Feb. 3, 1795

Secretaries of War.

HENRY KNOX (1750–1806), of Massachusetts	Sept. 12, 1789
TIMOTHY PICKERING (1746–1829), of Massachusetts	Jan. 2, 1795
JAMES MCHENRY (1755), of Maryland	Jan. 27, 1796

Postmasters General.

SAMUEL OSGOOD (1748–1813), of Massachusetts	Sept. 26, 1789
TIMOTHY PICKERING (1746–1829), of Massachusetts	Nov. 7, 1791
JOSEPH HABERSHAM (1750–1815), of Georgia	Feb. 25, 1795

Attorneys General.

EDMUND RANDOLPH (1753–1813), of Virginia.....Sept. 26, 1789
WILLIAM BRADFORD (1755–'95), of Pennsylvania.....Jan. 28, 1794
CHARLES LEE (1757–1815), of Virginia.....Dec. 10, 1795

Speakers of the House.

FREDERICK A. MUHLENBERG (1750–1801), of Penn'a.....1st Congress 1789
JONATHAN TRUMBULL (1740–1809), of Connecticut.....2d Congress 1791
FREDERICK A. MUHLENBERG, of Pennsylvania.....1st Cong. 3d do. 1793
JONATHAN DAYTON (1756–1824), of New Jersey.....4th Congress 1795

STATES ADMITTED.

During Washington's Administration the following named States having, respectively, sufficient population, became members of the Union:

Vermont was admitted as the fourteenth State, March 4, 1791.

Kentucky was admitted as the fifteenth State, June 1, 1792.

Tennessee was admitted as the sixteenth State, June 1, 1796.

SECTION 3.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but I am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be

your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and I am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have with good intentions contributed toward the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes—perhaps still more in the eyes of others—has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amid appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands,

may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of our felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits,

and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest; here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of a maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds—and in the progressive improvement of interior communication by land and water, will more and more find—a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in UNION, all the parts combined can not fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionately greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military estabments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop

of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourself too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation of the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain, and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they could desire in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there be, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all time, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of

your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of Government; but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reigns of Government; destroying, afterward, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions, to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist, with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of

your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosities of one part against another; foments, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in Governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be

enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern, some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time, yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular Government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method to preserve it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasion of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at that time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it to be rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachment for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage,

and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence, in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient Government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of such a peculiar situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept

under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations—but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good, that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit to warn against the mischief of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and the world. To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of the measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to

that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free Government—the ever-favorite object of my heart—and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 17th September, 1796.

RESULTS OF WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Washington's ability.

Washington's eight years of Presidency had been, if possible, a yet greater service to his country than his eight years' command of her armies. No character was probably ever more free from selfish aims; none could have held together so many discordant interests until they had time to become harmonious. Under his faithful care, an era of great prosperity had begun. The honor of the Government had been sustained by a secure provision for the payment of its debts, confidence and order were established, commerce flourished, and the products of the soil had become a source of wealth. In spite of the complaints of restless politicians, the people loved their Government, for they found it well fitted to secure their peace and happiness. Washington had maintained the dignity of the Republic by his grave and

stately manners, and the style of his appearance in public. His own tastes were very simple; but some of his advisers doubted whether the people would respect and obey a Government which was destitute of the pomps and ceremonies that made an essential part of Old World customs.

Washington transmitted to his successors the Government firmly established, and the country rapidly increasing in population, prosperity, and wealth. The first census had been taken in 1790, and the number of the people found to be 3,925,827. They had been estimated at 2,803,000 in 1775; and were 5,305,925 at the second census in 1800. The revenue from customs and other sources had more than doubled; the imports had risen from fifty-two to eighty-one millions, and the exports were trebled. The tonnage had increased more than sixty per cent., notwithstanding the impediments due to British and French regulations. Agriculture was thriving, and was rapidly extending into the Western Territories.

The Country's progress.

IV.

AMERICAN POLITICS.*

SECTION 1.

OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

In a FREE STATE there are usually two political parties. These have different names, but their motives are independent of names; and it may be said that one of the two great parties in a free State is composed of men who desire change, and the other of men who cling to that which is. As temperaments differ, so men are either Whigs or Demo-

About Political Parties.

* The matter of these topics is from the writings of Charles Nordhoff.

crats, Democrats or Republicans, according as their characters lead them to be conservative, dreading change even when it is for the better, or progressive, welcoming change even if it is for the worse. There is, however, in every free State a third party, little heard of, without organization, which does not seek office, holds no meetings, and owns no banners. It holds the balance of power, and it silently decides the elections, and on the whole in the right way. This party is composed of the citizens who think for themselves, who look on at the strife little moved by partisan appeals, and on election day deposit their votes for the man or the policy which on the whole appears to them likely to best further the good of the State. This party is the terror of professional politicians, and often their confusion. The larger it is in any community, the better will public affairs be managed, for it is this party which punishes inefficiency, corruption, or maladministration of any kind, defeats the caucuses and scratches tickets when corrupt men are nominated. It is to this party the patriot should belong, whether Democrat or Republican. Party government is necessary in a free State. The organization of political parties is the only means by which the sense of the people can be got at elections upon questions of public policy; and by party government only can responsibility be fixed upon political leaders, so that these may receive approval or condemnation. A non-partisan Government is the dream of weak and amiable men; it belongs to an ideal condition, in which all men shall be unselfish, and sincerely desirous of the public good. In the present condition of mankind, a non-partisan Government—one in which both or all political party leaders should share—would be, and has been wherever it was tried, only an admirable and effective device to conceal corruption, because it becomes then the interest of the leaders of both parties to cover up wrong, both having their share of public plunder. Non-partisan boards were a favorite device of the New York City Ring. A political party appeals to the citizens with

what we call a platform, which means a statement of the policy it desires to see carried out. Necessarily it also nominates men to enforce this policy in case they are elected by the people. If party leaders always declared their opinions and intentions openly and honestly, and if they nominated only their most capable men, the duty of the citizen would be very simple. But a political platform is often an ingenious jumble of words, intended to attract men of opposite sentiments, and naturally candidates nominated on such platforms are not likely to be men famous for positive principles. In such cases the citizen has to choose the least of two evils, and take comfort in the thought that a country is not badly off in which the people do not find it necessary to decide upon vital principles. It is quite certain that in a free Government like ours inefficiency or corruption will be punished by the people just as soon as they become really dangerous to the nation. Reform of evils is a slow work in a free State; because the mass of the people are engrossed in their own affairs, and conservative in their habits of thought, which means that they dislike great and sudden changes, even if they appear to be improvements. This spirit is an admirable one; though often inconvenient and sometimes costly, it gives stability to political and social institutions; and *stability is a main condition of progress.* Thus the people of the United States came very slowly to the opinion that slavery ought to be extirpated. A beneficent despot might have set the slaves free by a simple mandate; but as he would have acted regardless of the opinions of the mass of the people, his edict would probably have caused a revolution, or at least grave and long-continued disorders; whereas, in our slow republican way, we discussed the question for thirty years; but when slavery struck at the national life, the nation presently consented to abolish the evil.

SECTION 2.

WHO VOTE, AND WHY.

WOMEN, MINORS, PAUPERS, and INSANE PERSONS have no vote in the United States. In some countries the electoral franchise, as the right to vote is called, is still further limited to persons who can read and write, or to persons possessing a specified amount of property, or paying a certain annual rent for the premises they occupy. Property qualifications originally obtained in a number of our States, but they have gradually been abolished. An educational qualification is proposed in some States, and will probably be adopted in many within the next few years. Where public or free schools are made accessible to the whole population, there would be no injustice in requiring that only those shall vote who can both read and write. Minors, or persons under age, and paupers are not allowed to vote because they are dependent; and it is presumable that they would vote under coercion, and not according to their independent judgment. Moreover, a person incapable of managing his private business ought not to have a voice or influence in public affairs. It is probable that women are denied the vote for the same reason—because the greater part of them are in a dependent condition; and the law takes no note of exceptions. Of late there has arisen in this country and England a vigorous discussion of the propriety of woman suffrage; at the same time that women have, in far greater numbers than ever before, become independent laborers—which is a calamity to themselves and to society. General manhood suffrage, which prevails in the United States, is required by justice, and is necessary to the perpetuation of peace in a community or nation. By his vote each man has his influence upon those affairs which are common to all the citizens; if he is outvoted, he is still satisfied, because it was his hope to outvote his opponents, and it is his hope to have the majority with him at another time. It is sometimes urged

Who vote, and why.

that only those who possess property ought to be allowed to vote taxes and appropriations for public purposes. This proposition has an appearance of justice; but, besides being impracticable, it rests upon a wrong view of society. It supposes a degree of meanness and bad spirit in the poor, and of intelligence and liberality in the wealthy, which we do not find in actual life; and it would facilitate a division of men into classes, the poor arrayed against the rich, which, if it existed, would make free government almost if not quite impossible. Suppose even the poor were not only the most numerous, but also the least intelligent and the most selfish, which is not true; it is still a fact that the rich and intelligent possess great influence over the poorer neighbors, by reason of their greater means and knowledge, which it is their duty to use for the general good. Any regulation which would make it unnecessary for them to use this influence, or to take that part in political affairs which is necessary to give them their natural and just predominance (arising from the possession of wealth and intelligence), would be an injury to the commonwealth. If general manhood suffrage any where leads the poor to vote money out of the pockets of the rich, wastefully, or for needless or corrupt purposes, the reason is that the rich have abdicated their proper place and influence in political society, and have selfishly given themselves to mere money-getting or a life of pleasure, by which they endanger not only themselves, but, what is of greater consequence, the stability of the community. It is an additional argument in favor of general suffrage if it compels the wealthy and intelligent, as an act of unavoidable self-defense, to exercise that influence in political affairs which justly and naturally belongs to them; and if it reminds them that their prosperous fortunes bring with them duties and responsibilities. Take notice that a free State or republic can not remain prosperous if the more fortunate of its citizens withdraw themselves from political duties to devote their lives to money-getting or to pleasure. Take notice, too, that when a rich

man complains that his poorer neighbors—many of whom he probably employs—vote against his interest, you will find that he conducts himself toward them selfishly, and thus loses the influence which his wealth naturally gives him if he rightly uses it. Under our system the States have the exclusive power of declaring, each for itself, which of the citizens shall vote; being prohibited only from excluding persons on account of race, color, or previous condition of slavery. They can not, however, give the franchise indiscriminately, for the Federal Government has the exclusive authority to declare who shall be citizens. Thus no State could allow Chinese to vote, because these people are not capable, under the laws of the Federal Government, of becoming citizens. But any State may adopt an educational or property franchise or condition, only making it equally applicable to all its citizens.

SECTION 3.

WHAT OFFICERS SHOULD NOT BE ELECTED.

In order to enable the people to take an intelligent and real interest in politics, it is necessary that they shall have to ELECT BUT FEW PERSONS.

The persons who compose the law-making body ought to be elected, and at frequent intervals, in order that they may come fresh from the people, and know their will; also, the law-making body should be numerous, so that responsibility may be more easily fixed upon each member by his constituents. The executive head of the community, be he President, Governor, or Mayor, ought to be elected by the people, and probably at less frequent intervals than the legislative body, as our Federal Constitution provides, because thus the Government gains in stability of purpose, without danger to liberty. The judges ought in no case to be elected, but should be appointed for life or good behavior by the Executive. Thus only can the majesty and dignity of

Offices that should not be elective.

the courts of justice be maintained. It is absurd and wicked to degrade a judge by forcing him to appeal to the voters for election; because justice has nothing to do with political parties, and ought to be beyond the influence of partisan strife. A court does not deal with policies, but with principles. It is sometimes urged that a President or Governor or Mayor may appoint an improper person as judge; and this is true; but even a bad man, placed for life in an exalted and *entirely independent* position, is likely to conduct himself well; and an executive officer, though he might make a careless or bad appointment to a temporary office, will think twice before he selects for a life office, and one so important as a judgeship, a man whose career, if it should be disgraceful, would be a constant reproach to him who created him judge. *The officers subordinate to the Executive ought not to be elected, but appointed by their chief.* Otherwise there is confusion in the Government, because chief and subordinates deriving their authority from the same source, election, there arise necessarily divisions of responsibility, and the public business is left undone or is corruptly done. The provisions of our Federal Constitution are very wise upon this point. The President may appoint and remove even so low a grade of officers as postmasters and minor revenue officers. It has sometimes been proposed to make the place of postmaster elective—but to do so would be to make these officers irresponsible; and as the President could not remove them for incompetency or corruption, because they would hold their places independently of him, and from the same source which gave him his, we can easily see that the Postoffice Department would be exposed to the grossest mismanagement, without the possibility of a remedy. What is true of this is true of all the executive departments. No officers charged with enforcing the laws ought to be elected, because they would thus be independent of their chief, be he President, Governor, or Mayor. The business of a Government does not differ in this respect from that of a merchant or a railroad company; and no merchant could suc-

cessfully conduct his business if his clerk, book-keeper, and porters were appointed and removable, not by himself, but by his customers. But in many of our States this blunder is made; and the people are obliged to elect many minor executive officers, and even those persons who form the cabinet of the Governor; and, as though to breed the extreme of confusion, in New York and some other States these subordinate officers are chosen at different times from their nominal chief, and are thus not merely independent of his will, but often his political opponents, disagreeing with his policy, and naturally inclined to make him inefficient by opposing or carelessly carrying out his orders. This foolish system makes government difficult, favors corruption, and screens inefficiency, because it divides responsibility among many persons; and it is the cause of almost all the misgovernment from which so many of our States and cities have suffered and are still suffering. It seems to have been the device of ingenious political demagogues, helped, as these usually are, by well-meaning but ignorant people, who were taken with the plausable appeal that to make the people elect all their officers would be to give them more power over public affairs. So long as it is tolerated in any part of our political system, so long the baser sort of politicians will continue to impose their "slates" upon the voters, disable these from exercising an intelligent control over their rulers, and make government a mockery. For, the people, busy with their own affairs, have not leisure to scrutinize the characters of a number of candidates presented to them on the same ticket; the press, occupied with a great variety of public interests and questions, is equally disabled. Every man, of perhaps a dozen, on a ticket, uses his influence to elect all the others, bad and good, as well as himself, and thus the popular vote is stultified. See how different is the case in a Presidential election. Then the people are asked to vote for but three persons—the President, Vice-President, and a member of Congress; and the character, abilities, political principles, and history of these three

individuals receive the closest scrutiny from the press and public speakers during the canvass, so that every fault or evidence of unfitness is brought to light, and the people have a fair chance to vote intelligently. Only the chief executive officer, in any system, ought to be elected by the people; and upon him should be placed the grave responsibility of selecting the subordinates by whose help he is to carry on the public business. If then he fails, he and his party may fairly be held responsible by the people, and punished at the next election.

SECTION 4.

OF POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Political Constitutions.

A POLITICAL CONSTITUTION is the instrument or compact in which the rights of the people who adopt it, and the powers and responsibilities of their rulers, are described, and by which they are fixed. *The chief object of a constitution is to limit the power of majorities.* A moment's reflection will tell us that mere majority rule, unlimited, would be the most grinding of tyrannies; the minority at any time would be mere slaves, whose rights to life, property, and comfort no one who chose to join the majority would be bound to respect. It is the object of constitutions to protect minorities in certain common rights, and to restrain the power of majorities, who may do, or enact, or cause to be done, only what in any case the Constitution permits; and have no right, no matter how numerically strong they may be, to invade the minority in those rights which the Constitution secures to all the citizens. Out of this thought grow all the provisions of a political Constitution—as, for instance, under our own, no majority can deprive a criminal of trial by jury, or elect its candidates for longer than a prescribed term, or deprive the minority of life or property by unequal laws, or enact laws contrary to the provisions or outside of the limitations of the Constitution. It is a merit in any constitution to be brief, and to state only

general rules or principles, to be applied practically by the law-making power; because thus this instrument, which ought to be but rarely and cautiously altered, is more elastic, and more easily applied to changing circumstances, and to a great variety of life. It is the proper function of a constitution, for instance, to declare the term during which a President, a Member of Congress, or a Governor shall hold office, for that may and ought to be a permanent regulation; but it would be an error to fix in the constitution the amount of salary either ought to receive; or even to prohibit the re-election of an officer, for circumstances may occur making it expedient to re-elect. For instance, had the so-called "one-term principle," which is not a principle at all, but a mere foolish expedient, been incorporated in our Constitution, we should not have re-elected Mr. Lincoln in 1864, an event which did more than any battle to bring the war to an end, by convincing the Southern people that the Federal policy would not suffer change. It has become a tradition having the force of a constitutional provision that the President shall not be chosen for a third term. The example set by General Washington, in this respect, is likely to be followed; for if any President desired a third term, this would be plain proof of inordinate and dangerous ambition in him, rendering him unfit for the office; and if in such a case a President used the power of his patronage to procure a nomination, it would be wise to vote against him at every hazard. But it is a proper constitutional regulation that salaries shall not be increased or diminished during the term of the incumbent; for a salary is in the nature of a contract, and ought to be beyond the reach of increase from corruption, or diminution from party malevolence. It is proper that the Constitution should prohibit human slavery; but it is better to declare by laws not only the penalties for smuggling, theft, etc., but also what constitutes these and other crimes — except treason, which, being a purely political offense, its definition ought to be immutably fixed, as it is in our Federal Constitution, and

not left to the political passions of any period. But even here Congress, in the Constitution, is wisely charged to declare the penalty of treason. Again, it is proper that the Constitution should create a Supreme Court, as ours does; but it would be unwise that it should also fix the number or location of minor courts, because as the country grows these may have to be increased; and accordingly our Constitution leaves Congress to establish these minor courts.

SECTION 5.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE, OR LAW-MAKING BRANCH

The Law-makers.

Legislative bodies have usually two Houses, as in our Congress and State Legislatures. In the Federal Congress, the Senators are chosen by the Legislatures of the different States, and are supposed to represent the States, while the Representatives are chosen directly by the people in the districts. Action in a law-making body means change; and laws ought to be changed seldom, and never without full discussion and consideration. All the arrangements of moddern legislative bodies in free nations are wisely made to secure these ends. Thus we have two Houses, each of which must separately discuss and agree to a bill before it can become a law; one of those Houses chosen by a different set of electors and for a longer term than the other; the Executive veto—which is solely to ask the two Houses to reconsider their bill, and not at all to obstruct or abrogate the law—for when it once becomes a law in spite of his veto, the Executive is bound to enforce it. To the same end are all the Parliamentary rules and forms which cause delay in the passage of new laws. All these are wholesome and necessary checks on the law-making power. It is therefore a great blunder to accuse Congress or a State Legislature, as inconsiderate people sometimes do, of "wasting time in debate." A representative body is never so usefully employed as when engaged in discussing the measures before

it; and it is never so dangerous to the people as when the majority are strong enough to prevent debate, and pass laws by the mere overwhelming force of votes; because laws so passed, without discussion—which means examination—are likely to be unwise. Another reproach which is sometimes cast at our legislative bodies is that the ablest men are not chosen to seats. But our Congress and Legislatures do not pretend to be collections of the ablest men in the nation. They are *representative* bodies; and the delegates are supposed to represent the constituencies. Of course we are to understand that a representative is not a mere delegate to utter the voice of his constituents. He is sent to exercise his independent judgment on pending questions, and not to record what their whims or temporary passions may dictate. He is their wise man, and not their slave. If the people of any district East or West send an unfit or dishonest person, that is their risk; they leave themselves without influence in the House. Our Congress does not contain the most brilliant men in the nation, nor *all* the ablest men; but it has a great body of solid ability always; and it is the better for containing little genius. Any one who is familiar with Washington or our State capitals knows that constituencies gain immensely in political power by sending able men as delegates, and lose when they send demagogues; and also that the influence of a political district may be very much increased by keeping the same man a long time in its service. But if the people in any district or State choose, negligently or perversely, to send only inexperienced or incapable men, that is their business and their loss. Ours is a *representative* Government, and not a Government of the ablest men; and that if there is anywhere a constituency composed mainly of foolish or ignorant or misguided people, they have a right to be heard, and their folly is likely to be the sooner exploded if it is officially displayed in Congress, and there subjected to the fire of open criticism.

SECTION 6.

SPEECH OF FISHER AMES,

ON THE BRITISH TREATY,

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 28, 1796.

[FISHER AMES was an American statesman, born in Dedham, Mass., in 1758 and died in 1808. He graduated at Harvard College in 1774, and began law practice in Dedham, in 1781. He published political essays in the Boston newspapers, under the signatures of Brutus and Camillus; was a member of the Massachusetts Convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution; and during Washington's Administration was a Representative in Congress, where he became famous for oratory.]

On the 28th October, 1794, a treaty between Great Britain and the United States (known as "Jay's Treaty") was concluded and subsequently ratified by the President of the United States. On the 1st March, 1796, it was communicated to the House of Representatives, in order that the necessary appropriations might be made to carry it into effect, in committee of the whole on the following resolution: *Resolved*, as the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient to pass the laws necessary for carrying into effect the treaty with Great Britain. Mr. Ames spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I entertain the hope, perhaps a rash one, that my strength will hold me out to speak a few minutes.

In my judgment, a right decision will depend more on the temper and manner with which we may prevail upon ourselves to contemplate the subject, than upon the development of any profound political principles, or any remarkable skill in the application of them. If we could succeed to neutralize our inclinations, we should find less difficulty than we have to apprehend in surmounting all our objections.

The suggestion, a few days ago, that the House manifested symptoms of heat and irritation, was made and retorted as if the charge ought to create surprise, and would convey reproach. Let us be more just to ourselves, and to the occasion. Let us not affect to deny the existence and the intrusion of some portion of prejudice and feeling into the debate, when, from the very structure of our nature, we ought to anticipate the circumstance as a probability, and when we are admonished by the evidence of our senses that it is the fact.

How can we make professions for ourselves, and offer exhortations to the House, that no influence should be felt but that of duty, and no guide respected but that of the understanding, while the peal to rally every passion of man is continually ringing in our ears?

Our understandings have been addressed, it is true, and with ability and effect; but, I demand, has any corner of the heart been left unexplored? It has been ransacked to find auxiliary arguments, and, when that attempt failed, to awaken the sensibilities that would require none. Every prejudice and feeling has been summoned to listen to some peculiar style of address; and yet we seem to believe and to consider a doubt as an affront, that we are strangers to any influence but that of unbiased reason.

It would be strange that a subject which has aroused in turn all the passions of the country should be discussed without the interference of any of our own. We are men, and, therefore, not exempt from those passions; as citizens and representatives, we feel the interests that must excite them. The hazard of great interests can not fail to agitate strong passions. We are not disinterested; it is impossible we should be dispassionate. The warmth of such feelings may becloud the judgment, and, for a time, pervert the understanding. But the public sensibility, and our own, has sharpened the spirit of enquiry, and given an animation to the debate. The public attention has been quickened to mark the progress of the discussion, and its judgment, often hasty and erroneous on first impressions, has become solid and enlightened at last. Our result will, I hope, on that account, be the safer and more mature as well as more accordant with that of the nation. . The only constant agents in political affairs are the passions of men. Shall we complain of our nature—shall we say that man ought to have been made otherwise? It is right already, because HE, from whom we derive our nature, ordained it so; and because thus made and thus acting, the cause of truth and the public good is the more surely promoted.

But an attempt has been made to produce an influence of a nature more stubborn and more unfriendly to truth. It is very unfairly pretended, that the constitutional right of this House is at stake, and to be asserted and preserved only by a vote in the negative. We hear it said that this is a struggle for liberty, a manly resistance against the design to nullify this assembly and to make it a cipher in the Government; that the President and Senate, the numerous meetings in the cities, and the influence of the general alarm of the country are the agents and instruments of a scheme of coercion and terror, to force the treaty down our throats, though we loathe it, and in spite of the clearest convictions of duty and conscience.

It is necessary to pause here and inquire whether suggestions of this kind be not unfair in their very texture and fabric, and pernicious in all their influences. They oppose an obstacle in the path of inquiry, not simply discouraging, but absolutely insurmountable. They will not yield to argument; for as they were not reasoned up, they can not be reasoned down. They are higher than a Chinese wall in truth's way, and built of materials that are indestructible. While this remains, it is vain to argue; it is vain to say to this mountain, Be thou cast into the sea. For, I ask

of the men of knowledge of the world, whether they would not hold him for a blockhead that should hope to prevail in an argument whose scope and object is to mortify the self-love of the expected proselyte? I ask, further, when such attempts have been made, have they not failed of success? The indignant heart repels a conviction that is believed to debase it.

The self-love of an individual is not warmer in its sense, nor more constant in its action, than what is called, in French, *l'esprit du corps*, or the self-love of an assembly; that jealous affection which a body of men is always found to bear towards its own prerogatives and power. I will not condemn this passion. Why should we urge an unmeaning censure or yield to groundless fears that truth and duty will be abandoned, because men in a public assembly are still men, and feel that *esprit du corps* which is one of the laws of their nature? Still less should we despond or complain, if we reflect, that this very spirit is a guardian instinct, that watches over the life of this assembly. It cherishes the principle of self-preservation, and without its existence, and its existence with all the strength we see it possess, the privileges of the representatives of the people, and mediately the liberties of the people, would not be guarded, as they are, with a vigilance that never sleeps, and an unrelaxed constancy and courage.

If the consequences, most unfairly attributed to the vote in the affirmative, were not chimerical, and worse, for they are deceptive, I should think it a reproach to be found even moderate in my zeal to assert the constitutional powers of this assembly; and whenever they shall be in real danger, the present occasion affords proof that there will be no want of advocates and champions.

Indeed, so prompt are these feelings, and when once roused, so difficult to pacify, that if we could prove the alarm was groundless, the prejudice against the appropriations may remain on the mind, and it may even pass for an act of prudence and duty to negative a measure which was lately believed by ourselves, and may hereafter be misconceived by others, to encroach upon the powers of the House. Principles that bear a remote affinity with usurpation on those powers will be rejected, not merely as errors, but as wrongs. Our sensibilities will shrink from a post where it is possible they may be wounded, and be inflamed by the slightest suspicion of an assault.

While these prepossessions remain, all argument is useless. It may be heard with the ceremony of attention, and lavish its own resources, and the patience it wearies, to no manner of purpose. The ears may be open; but the mind will remain locked up, and every pass to the understanding guarded.

Unless, therefore, this jealous and repulsive fear for the rights of the House can be allayed, I will not ask a hearing.

I can not press this topic too far; I can not address myself with too

much emphasis to the magnanimity and candor of those who sit here, to suspect their own feelings, and, while they do, to examine the grounds of their alarm. I repeat it, we must conquer our persuasion, that this body has an interest in one side of the question more than the other, before we attempt to surmount our objections. On most subjects, and solemn ones too, perhaps in the most solemn of all, we form our creed more from inclination than evidence.

Let me expostulate with gentlemen to admit, if it be only by way of supposition, and for a moment, that it is barely possible they have yielded too suddenly to their alarms for the powers of this House; that the addresses which have been made with such variety of forms and with so great dexterity in some of them, to all that is prejudice and passion in the heart, are either the effects or the instruments of artifice and deception, and then let them see the subject once more in its singleness and simplicity.

It will be impossible, on taking a fair review of the subject, to justify the passionate appeals that have been made to us to struggle for our liberties and rights, and the solemn exhortations to reject the proposition, said to be concealed in that on your table, to surrender them forever. In spite of this mock solemnity, I demand, if the House will not concur in the measure to execute the treaty, what other course shall we take? How many ways of proceeding lie open before us?

In the nature of things there are but three; we are either to make the treaty, to observe it, or break it. It would be absurd to say we will do neither. If I may repeat a phrase already so much abused, we are under coercion to do one of them, and we have no power, by the exercise of our discretion, to prevent the consequences of a choice.

By refusing to act, we choose. The treaty will be broken and fall to the ground. Where is the fitness, then, of replying to those who urge upon the House the topics of duty and policy, that they attempt to force the treaty down, and to compel this assembly to renounce its discretion, and to degrade itself to the rank of a blind and passive instrument in the hands of the treaty-making power? In case we reject the appropriation, we do not secure any greater liberty of action, we gain no safer shelter than before from the consequences of the decision. Indeed, they are not to be evaded. It is neither just nor manly to complain that the treaty-making power has produced this coercion to act. It is not the act or the despotism of that power—it is the nature of things that compels. Shall we, dreading to become the blind instruments of power, yield ourselves the blinder dupes of mere sounds of imposture? Yet that word, that empty word, coercion, has given scope to an eloquence that, one would imagine, could not be tired and did not choose to be quieted.

Let us examine still more in detail the alternatives that are before us,

and we shall scarcely fail to see, in still stronger lights, the futility of our apprehensions for the power and liberty of the House.

If, as some have suggested, the thing called a treaty is incomplete—if it has no binding force or obligation—the first question is, Will this House complete the instrument, and, by concurring, impart to it that force which it wants?

The doctrine has been avowed that the treaty, though formally ratified by the executive power of both nations, though published as a law for our own by the President's proclamation, is still a mere proposition submitted to this assembly, no way distinguishable, in point of authority or obligation, from a motion for leave to bring in a bill, or any other original act of ordinary legislation. This doctrine, so novel in our country, yet so dear to many, precisely for the reason that, in the contention for power, victory is always dear, is obviously repugnant to the very terms as well as the fair interpretation of our own resolutions (Mr. Blount's). We declare that the treaty-making power is exclusively vested in the President and Senate, and not in this House. Need I say that we fly in the face of that resolution when we pretend that the acts of that power are not valid until we have concurred in them? It would be nonsense, or worse, to use the language of the most glaring contradiction, and to claim a share in a power which we at the same time disdain as exclusively vested in other departments.

What can be more strange than to say, that the compacts of the President and Senate with foreign nations are treaties, without our agency, and yet those compacts want all power and obligation, until they are sanctioned by our concurrence? It is not my design, in this place, if at all, to go into the discussion of this part of the subject. I will, at least for the present, take it for granted, that this monstrous opinion stands in little need of remark, and if it does, lies almost out of the reach of refutation.

But, say those who hide the absurdity under the cover of ambiguous phrases, have we no discretion? and if we have, are we not to make use of it in judging of the expediency or inexpediency of the treaty? Our resolution claims that privilege, and we can not surrender it without equal inconsistency and breach of duty.

If there be any inconsistency in the case, it lies, not in making the appropriations for the treaty, but in the resolution itself (Mr. Blount's). Let us examine it more nearly. A treaty is a bargain between nations, binding in good faith; and what makes a bargain? The assent of the contracting parties. We allow that the treaty power is not in this House; this House has no share in contracting, and is not a party; of consequence, the President and Senate alone may make a treaty that is binding in good faith. We claim, however, say the gentlemen, a right to judge of the expediency of treaties; that is the constitutional province of our discretion. Be it so. What follows? Treaties, when adjudged by us to be inexpedient, fall to the ground, and the public faith is not hurt. This, incredi-

ble and extravagant as it may seem, is asserted. The amount of it, in plainer language, is this—the President and Senate are to make national bargains, and this House has nothing to do in making them. But bad bargains do not bind this House, and, of inevitable consequence, do not bind the nation. When a national bargain, called a treaty, is made, its binding force does not depend upon the making, but upon our opinion that it is good. As our opinion on the matter can be known and declared only by ourselves, when sitting in our legislative capacity, the treaty, though ratified, and, as we choose to term it, made, is hung up in suspense, till our sense is ascertained. We condemn the bargain, and it falls, though, as we say, our faith does not. We approve a bargain as expedient, and it stands firm and binds the nation. Yet, even in this latter case, its force is plainly not derived from the ratification by the treaty-making power, but from our approbation. Who will trace these inferences and pretend that we have no share, according to the argument in the treaty-making power? These opinions, nevertheless, have been advocated with infinite zeal and perseverance. Is it possible that any man can be hardy enough to avow them and their ridiculous consequences?

Let me hasten to suppose the treaty is considered as already made, and then the alternative is fairly presented to the mind, whether we will observe the treaty or break it. This, in fact, is the naked question.

If we choose to observe it with good faith, our course is obvious. Whatever is stipulated to be done by the nation, must be complied with. Our agency, if it should be requisite, can not be properly refused. And I do not see why it is not as obligatory a rule of conduct for the legislative as for the courts of law.

I can not lose this opportunity to remark that the coercion, so much dreaded and declaimed against, appears at length to be no more than the authority of principles, the despotism of duty. Gentlemen complain we are forced to act in this way; we are forced to swallow the treaty. It is very true, unless we claim the liberty of abuse, the right to act as we ought not. There is but one right way open for us; the laws of morality and good faith have fenced up every other. What sort of liberty is that which we presume to exercise against the authority of those laws? It is for tyrants to complain, that principles are restraints, and that they have no liberty, so long as their despotism has limits. These principles will be unfolded by examining the remaining question:

SHALL WE BREAK THE TREATY?

The treaty is bad, fatally bad, is the cry. It sacrifices the interest, the honor, the independence of the United States, and the faith of our engagements to France. If we listen to the clamor of party intemperance, the evils are of a number not to be counted, and of a nature not to be borne, even in idea. The language of passion and exaggeration may silence that of sober reason in other places; it has not done it here. The question

here is, whether the treaty be really so very fatal as to oblige the nation to break its faith. I admit that such a treaty ought not to be executed. I admit that self-preservation is the first law of society, as well as of individuals. It would, perhaps, be deemed an abuse of terms to call that a treaty which violates such a principle. I waive also, for the present, any inquiry, what departments shall represent the nation, and annul the stipulations of a treaty. I content myself with pursuing the inquiry, whether the nature of this compact be such as to justify our refusal to carry it into effect. A treaty is the promise of a nation. Now, promises do not always bind him that makes them.

But I lay down two rules which ought to guide us in this case. The treaty must appear to be bad, not merely in the petty details, but in its character, principle, and mass. And, in the next place, this ought to be ascertained by the decided and general concurrence of the enlightened public. I confess there seems to be something very like ridicule thrown over the debate by the discussion of the articles in detail.

The undecided point is, shall we break our faith? And while our country and enlightened Europe await the issue with more than curiosity, we are employed to gather piecemeal, and article by article, from the instrument, a justification for the deed by trivial calculations of commercial profit and loss. This is little worthy of the subject of this body or the nation. If the treaty is bad it will appear to be so in its mass. Evil to a fatal extreme, if that be its tendency, requires no proof; it brings it. Extremes speak for themselves, and make their own law. What if the direct voyage of American ships to Jamaica, with horses or lumber, might get one or two *per centum* more than the present trade to Surinam; would the proof of the fact avail anything in so grave a question as the violation of the public engagements?

It is in vain to allege that our faith, plighted to France, is violated by this new treaty. Our prior treaties are expressly saved from the operation of the British treaty. And what do those mean who say that our honor was forfeited by treating at all, and especially by such a treaty? Justice, the laws and practice of nations, a just regard for peace as a duty to mankind, and the known wish of our citizens, as well as that self-respect which required it of the nation to act with dignity and moderation, all these forbade an appeal to arms, before we had tried the effect of negotiation. The honor of the United States was saved, not forfeited, by treating. The treaty itself, by its stipulations for the posts, for indemnity, and for a due observation of our neutral rights, has justly raised the character of the nation. Never did the name of America appear in Europe with more lustre than upon the event of ratifying this instrument. The fact is of a nature to overcome all contradiction.

But the independence of the country—we are colonists again. This the cry of the very men who tell us that France will resent our exercise of the rights of an independent nation to adjust our wrongs with an aggressor,

without giving her the opportunity to say those wrongs shall subsist and shall not be adjusted. This is an admirable specimen of the spirit of independence. The treaty with Great Britain, it can not be denied, is unfavorable to this strange sort of independence.

Few men of any reputation for sense, among those who say the treaty is bad, will put that reputation so much at hazard as to pretend that it is so extremely bad as to warrant and require a violation of the public faith. The proper ground of the controversy, therefore, is really unoccupied by the opposers of the treaty, as the very hinge of the debate is on the point not of its being good or otherwise, but whether it is intolerably and fatally pernicious. If loose and ignorant declaimers have anywhere asserted the latter idea, it is too extravagant and too solidly refuted to be repeated here. Instead of any attempt to expose it still further, I will say, and I appeal with confidence to the candor of many opposers of the treaty to acknowledge, that if it had been permitted to go into operation silently, like our other treaties, so little alteration of any sort would be made by it in the great mass of our commercial and agricultural concerns, that it would not be generally discovered by its effects to be in force during the term for which it was contracted. I place considerable reliance on the weight men of candor will give to this remark, because I believe it to be true, and little short of undeniable. When the panic dread of the treaty shall cease, as it certainly must, it will be seen through another medium. Those who shall make search into the articles for the cause of their alarms, will be far from finding stipulations that will operate fatally, they will discover few of them that will have any lasting operation at all. Those which relate to the disputes between the two countries will spend their force upon the subjects in dispute and extinguish them. The commercial articles are more of a nature to confirm the existing state of things than to change it. The treaty alarm was purely an address to the imagination and prejudices of the citizens, and not on that account the less formidable. Objections that proceed upon error, in fact or calculation, may be traced and exposed; but such as are drawn from the imagination or addressed to it, elude definition, and return to domineer over the mind, after having been banished from it by truth.

I will not so far abuse the momentary strength that is lent to me by the zeal of the occasion as to enlarge upon the commercial operation of the treaty. I proceed to the second proposition, which I have stated as indispensably requisite to a refusal of the performance of a treaty—will the state of public opinion justify the deed?

No government, not even a despotism, will break its faith without some pretext; and it must be plausible; it must be such as will carry the public opinion along with it. Reasons of policy, if not of morality, dissuade even Turkey and Algiers from breaches of treaty in mere wantonness of perfidy, in open contempt of the reproaches of their subjects. Surely, a popular government will not proceed more arbitrarily as it is more free;

nor with ess shame or scruple in proportion as it has better morals. It will not proceed against the faith of treaties at all, unless the strong and decided sense of the nation shall pronounce, not simply that the treaty is not advantageous, but that it ought to be broken and annulled. Such a plain manifestation of the sense of the citizens is indispensably requisite; first, because, if the popular apprehensions be not an infallible criterion of the disadvantages of the instrument, their acquiescence in the operation of it is an irrefragable proof that the extreme case does not exist, which alone could justify our setting it aside.

In the next place, this approving opinion of the citizens is requisite as the best preventive of the ill consequences of a measure always so delicate and often so hazardous. Individuals would, in that case at least, attempt to repel the opprobrium that would be thrown upon Congress by those who will charge it with perfidy. They would give weight to the testimony of facts, and the authority of principles, on which the government would rest its vindication. And if war should ensue upon the violation, our citizens would not be divided from their government, nor the ardor of their courage be chilled by the consciousness of injustice, and the sense of humiliation—that sense which makes those despicable who know they are despised.

I add a third reason, and with me it has a force that no words of mine can augment, that a government, wantonly refusing to fulfill its engagements, is the corrupter of its citizens. Will the laws continue to prevail in the hearts of the people, when the respect that gives them efficacy is withdrawn from the legislators? How shall we punish vice while we practice it? We have no force, and vain will be our reliance, when we have forfeited the resources of opinion. To weaken government and to corrupt morals are effects of a breach of faith not to be prevented; and from effects they become causes, producing, with augmented activity, more disorder and more corruption; order will be disturbed and the life of the public liberty shortened.

And who, I would inquire, is hardy enough to pretend, that the public voice demands the violation of the treaty? The evidence of the sense of the great mass of the nation is often equivocal; but when was it ever manifested with more energy and precision than at the present moment? The voice of the people is raised against the measure of refusing the appropriations. If gentlemen should urge, nevertheless, that all this sound of alarm is a counterfeit expression of the sense of the public, I will proceed to other proofs. If the treaty is ruinous to our commerce, what has blinded the eyes of the merchants and traders? Surely they are not enemies to trade, or ignorant of their own interests. Their sense is not so liable to be mistaken as that of a nation, and they are almost unanimous. The articles, stipulating the redress of our injuries by captures on the sea, are said to be delusive. By whom is this said? The very men, whose fortunes are staked upon the competency of that redress, say no such thing.

They wait with anxious fear lest you should annul that compact on which all their hopes are rested.

Thus we offer proof, little short of absolute demonstration, that the voice of our country is raised not to sanction, but to deprecate the non-performance of our engagements. It is not the nation, it is one, and but one branch of the government, that proposes to reject them. With this aspect of things, to reject is an act of desperation.

I shall be asked why a treaty so good in some articles, and so harmless in others, has met with such unrelenting opposition, and how the clamors against it from New Hampshire to Georgia can be accounted for. The apprehensions so extensively diffused, on its first publication, will be vouched as proof, that the treaty is bad, and that the people hold it in abhorrence.

I am not embarrassed to find the answer to this insinuation. Certainly a foresight of its pernicious operation could not have created all the fears that were felt or affected. The alarm spread faster than the publication of the treaty. There were more critics than readers. Besides, as the subject was examined, those fears have subsided.

The movements of passion are quicker than those of the understanding. We are to search for the causes of first impressions, not in the articles of this obnoxious and misrepresented instrument, but in the state of the public feeling.

The fervor of the Revolutionary War had not entirely cooled, nor its controversies ceased, before the sensibilities of our citizens were quickened with a tenfold vivacity, by a new and extraordinary subject of irritation. One of the two great nations of Europe underwent a change which has attracted all our wonder, and interested all our sympathies. Whatever they did, the zeal of many went with them, and often went to excess. These impressions met with much to inflame, and nothing to restrain them. In our newspapers, in our feasts, and some of our elections, enthusiasm was admitted a merit, a test of patriotism, and that made it contagious. In the opinion of party, we could not love or hate enough. I dare say, in spite of all the obloquy it may provoke, we were extravagant in both. It is my right to avow that passions so impetuous, enthusiasm so wild, could not subsist without disturbing the sober exercise of reason, without putting at risk the peace and precious interests of our country. They were hazarded. I will not exhaust the little breath I have left, to say how much, nor by whom, or by what means they were rescued from the sacrifice. Shall I be called upon to offer my proofs? They are here. They are everywhere. No one has forgotten the proceedings of 1794. No one has forgotten the captures of our vessels, and the imminent danger of war. The nation thirsted not merely for reparation, but vengeance. Suffering such wrongs, and agitated by such resentments, was it in the power of any words of compact, or could any parchment with its seals prevail at once to tranquilize the people? It was impossible? Treaties in England

are seldom popular, and least of all when the stipulations of amity succeed to the bitterness of hatred. Even the best treaty, though nothing be refused, will choke resentment, but not satisfy it. Every treaty is as sure to disappoint extravagant expectations as to disarm extravagant passions. Of the latter, hatred is one that takes no bribes. They who are animated by the spirit of revenge will not be quieted by the possibility of profit. Why do they complain that the West Indies are not laid open? Why do they lament that any restriction is stipulated on the commerce of the East Indies? Why do they pretend that if they reject this, and insist upon more, more will be accomplished?

Let us be explicit—more would not satisfy. If all was granted, would not a treaty of amity with Great Britain still be obnoxious? Have we not this instant heard it urged against our envoy, that he was not ardent enough in his hatred of Great Britain? A treaty of amity is condemned because it was not made by a foe, and in the spirit of one. The same gentleman, at the same instant, repeats a very prevailing objection, that no treaty should be made with the enemy of France. No treaty, exclaim others, should be made with a monarch or a despot; there will be no naval security while these sea-robbers domineer on the ocean; their den must be destroyed; that nation must be extirpated.

I like this, sir, because it is sincerity. With feelings such as these, we do not pant for treaties. Such passions seek nothing, and will be content with nothing, but the destruction of their object. If a treaty left King George his island, it would not answer; not if he stipulated to pay rent for it. It has been said, the world ought to rejoice if Britain was sunk in the sea; if where there are now men, and wealth, and laws, and liberty, there was no more than a sand-bank for the sea-monsters to fatten on; a space for the storms of the ocean to mingle in conflict.

I object nothing to the good sense or humanity of all this. I yield the point, that this is a proof that the age of reason is in progress. Let it be philanthropy, let it be patriotism, if you will; but it is no indication that any treaty would be approved. The difficulty is not to overcome the objections to the terms; it is to restrain the repugnance to any stipulations of amity with the party.

Having alluded to the rival of Great Britain, I am not unwilling to explain myself; I affect no concealment, and I have practiced none. While those two great nations agitate all Europe with their quarrels, they will both equally desire, and with any chance of success, equally endeavor to create, an influence in America. Each will exert all its arts to range our strength on its own side. How is this to be effected? Our government is a democratic republic. It will not be disposed to pursue a system of politics, in subservience to either France or England in opposition to the general wishes of the citizens; and, if Congress should adopt such measures, they would not be pursued long, nor with much success. From the nature of our government, popularity is the instrument of foreign in-

fluence. Without it, all is labor and disappointment. With that mighty auxiliary foreign intrigue finds agents, not only volunteers, but competitors for employment, and anything like reluctance is understood to be a crime. Has Britain this means of influence? Certainly not. If her gold could buy adherents, their becoming such would deprive them of all political power and importance. They would not wield popularity as a weapon, but would fall under it. Britain has no influence, and, for the reasons just given, can have none. She has enough; and God forbid she ever should have more. France, possessed of popular enthusiasm, of party attachments, has had, and still has, too much influence on our politics—any foreign influence is too much, and ought to be destroyed. I detest the man and disdain the spirit that can bend to a mean subserviency to the views of any nation. It is enough to be Americans. That character comprehends our duties, and ought to engross our attachments.

But I would not be misunderstood. I would not break the alliance with France; I would not have the connection between the two countries even a cold one. It should be cordial and sincere; but I would banish that influence, which, by acting on the passions of the citizens, may acquire a power over the government.

It is no bad proof of the merit of the treaty, that, under all these unfavorable circumstances, it should be so well approved. In spite of first impressions, in spite of misrepresentation and party clamor, inquiry has multiplied its advocates; and at last the public sentiment appears to me clearly preponderating to its side.

On the most careful review of the several branches of the treaty, those which respect political arrangements, the spoliations on our trade, and the regulation of commerce, there is little to be apprehended. The evil, aggravated as it is by party, is little in degree, and short in duration; two years from the end of the European war. I ask, and I would ask the question significantly, What are the inducements to reject the treaty? What great object is to be gained, and fairly gained by it? If, however, as to the merits of the treaty, candor should suspend its approbation, what is there to hold patriotism a moment in balance, as to the violation of it? Nothing; I repeat confidently, nothing. There is nothing before us in that event but confusion and dishonor.

But before I attempt to develop those consequences, I must put myself at ease by some explanation.

Nothing is worse received among men than the confutation of their opinions; and, of these, none are more dear or more vulnerable than their political opinions. To say that a proposition leads to shame and ruin, is almost equivalent to a charge that the supporters of it intend to produce them. I throw myself upon the magnanimity and candor of those who hear me. I can not do justice to my subject without exposing, as forcibly as I can, all the evils in prospect. I readily admit, that in every science, and most of all in politics, error springs from other sources than the want

of sense or integrity. I despise indiscriminate professions of candor and respect. There are individuals opposed to me of whom I am not bound to say anything. But of many, perhaps a majority of the opposers of the appropriations, it gives me pleasure to declare they possess my confidence and regard. There are among them individuals for whom I entertain a cordial affection.

The consequences of refusing to make provision for the treaty are not all to be foreseen. By rejecting, vast interests are committed to the sport of the winds. Chance becomes the arbiter of events, and it is forbidden to human foresight to count their number, or measure their extent. Before we resolve to leap into this abyss, so dark and so profound, it becomes us to pause and reflect upon such of the dangers as are obvious and inevitable. If this assembly should be wrought into a temper to defy these consequences, it is vain, it is deceptive, to pretend that we can escape them. It is worse than weakness to say, that as to public faith our vote has already settled the question. Another tribunal than our own is already erected. The public opinion, not merely of our own country, but of the enlightened world, will pronounce a judgment that we can not resist, that we dare not even affect to despise.

Well may I urge it to men, who know the worth of character, that it is no trivial calamity to have it contested. Refusing to do what the treaty stipulates shall be done, opens the controversy. Even if we should stand justified at last, a character that is vindicated is something worse than it stood before, unquestioned and unquestionable. Like the plaintiff in an action of slander, we recover a reputation disfigured by invective, and even tarnished by too much handling. In the combat for the honor of the nation, it may receive some wounds, which, though they should heal, will leave scars. I need not say, for surely the feelings of every bosom have anticipated, that we can not guard this sense of national honor, this everlasting fire which alone keeps patriotism warm in the heart, with a sensibility too vigilant and jealous.

If, by executing the treaty, there is no possibility of dishonor, and if by rejecting, there is some foundation for doubt, and for reproach, it is not for me to measure, it is for your own feelings to estimate the vast distance that divides the one side of the alternative from the other.

If, therefore, we should enter on the examination of the question of duty and obligation with some feelings of prepossession, I do not hesitate to say, they are such as we ought to have; it is an after-inquiry to determine whether they are such as ought finally to be resisted.

The resolution (Mr. Blount's) is less explicit than the Constitution. Its patrons should have made it more so, if possible, if they had any doubts, or meant the public should entertain none. Is it the sense of that vote, as some have insinuated, that we claim a right, for any cause or no cause at all but our own sovereign will and pleasure, to refuse to execute, and thereby to annul the stipulations of a treaty—that we have nothing to re-

gard but the expediency or inexpediency of the measure, being absolutely free from all obligation by compact to give it our sanction? A doctrine so monstrous, so shameless, is refuted by being avowed. There are no words you could express it in that would not convey both confutation and reproach. It would outrage the ignorance of the tenth century to believe; it would baffle the casuistry of a papal council to vindicate. I venture to say it is impossible; no less impossible than that we should desire to assert the scandalous privilege of being free after we have pledged our honor.

It is doing injustice to the resolution of the House (which I dislike on many accounts) to strain the interpretation of it to this extravagance. The treaty-making power is declared by it to be vested exclusively in the President and Senate. Will any man in his senses affirm that it can be a treaty before it has any binding force or obligation? If it has no binding force upon us, it has none upon Great Britain. Let candor answer, Is Great Britain free from any obligation to deliver the posts in June, and are we willing to signify to her that we think so? Is it with that nation a question of mere expediency or inexpediency to do it, and that too even after we have done all that depends upon us to give the treaty effect? No sober man believes this. No one, who would not join in condemning the faithless proceedings of that nation, if such a doctrine should be avowed and carried into practice—and why complain, if Great Britain is not bound? There can be no breach of faith where none is plighted. I shall be told that she is bound. Surely it follows, that if she is bound to performance, our nation is under a similar obligation; if both parties be not obliged, neither is obliged; it is no compact, no treaty. This is a dictate of law and common sense, and every jury in the country has sanctioned it on oath.

It can not be a treaty, and yet no treaty; a bargain, yet no promise. If it is a promise, I am not to read a lecture to show why an honest man will keep his promise.

The reason of the thing, and the words of the resolution of the House imply, that the United States engage their good faith in a treaty. We disclaim, say the majority, the treaty-making power; we of course disclaim (they ought to say) every doctrine that would put a negative upon the doings of that power. It is the prerogative of folly alone to maintain both sides of a proposition.

Will any man affirm the American nation is engaged by good faith to the British nation, but that engagement is nothing to this House? Such a man is not to be reasoned with. Such a doctrine is a coat of mail, that would turn the edge of all the weapons of argument, if they were sharper than a sword. Will it be imagined, the King of Great Britain and the President are mutually bound by the treaty, but the two nations are free?

It is one thing for this House to stand in a position that presents an op-

portunity to break the faith of America, and another to establish a principle that will justify the deed.

We feel less repugnance to believe that any other body is bound by obligation than our own. There is not a man here who does not say that Great Britain is bound by treaty. Bring it nearer home. Is the Senate bound? Just as much as the House, and no more. Suppose the Senate, as part of the treaty power, by ratifying a treaty on Monday, pledges the public faith to do a certain act. Then, in their ordinary capacity as a branch of the legislature, the Senate is called upon on Tuesday to perform that act, for example, an appropriation of money—is the Senate (so lately under obligation) now free to agree or disagree to the act? If the twenty ratifying senators should rise up and avow this principle, saying, "We struggle for liberty; we will not be ciphers, mere puppets," and give their votes accordingly, would not shame blister their tongues? would not infamy tingle in their ears? would not their country, which they had insulted and dishonored, though it should be silent and forgiving, be a revolutionary tribunal, a rack on which their own reflections would stretch them?

This, sir, is a cause that would be dishonored and betrayed, if I contented myself with appealing only to the understanding. It is too cold, and its processes are too slow for the occasion. I desire to thank God, that since he has given me an intellect so fallible, he has impressed upon me an instinct that is sure. On a question of shame and honor, reasoning is sometimes useless, and worse. I feel the decision in my pulse—if it throws no light upon the brain, it kindles a fire at the heart.

It is not easy to deny, it is impossible to doubt, that a treaty imposes an obligation on the American nation. It would be childish to consider the President and Senate obliged, and the nation and the House free. What is the obligation—perfect or imperfect? If perfect, the debate is brought to a conclusion. If imperfect, how large a part of our faith is pawned? Is half our honor put at risk, and is that half too cheap to be redeemed? How long has this hair-splitting subdivision of good faith been discovered, and why has it escaped the researches of the writers on the law of nations? Shall we add a new chapter to that law, or insert this doctrine as a supplement to, or more properly a repeal of, the ten commandments?

The principles and the example of the British parliament have been alleged to coincide with the doctrine of those who deny the obligation of the treaty. I have not had the health to make very laborious researches into this subject. I will, however, sketch my view of it. Several instances have been noticed; but the treaty of Utrecht is the only one that seems to be at all applicable. It has been answered, that the conduct of parliament, in that celebrated example, affords no sanction to our refusal to carry the treaty into effect. The obligation of the treaty of Utrecht has been understood to depend on the concurrence of parliament, as a condition to its becoming of force. If that opinion should, however, appear incorrect, still the precedent proves, not that the treaty of Utrecht wanted obliga-

tion, but that parliament disregarded it; a proof, not of the construction of the treaty-making power, but of the violation of a national engagement. Admitting, still further, that the parliament claimed and exercised its power, not as a breach of faith, but as a matter of constitutional right, I reply, that the analogy between parliament and congress totally fails. The nature of the British government may require and justify a course of proceding in respect to treaties, that is unwarrantable here.

The British government is a mixed one. The king, at the head of the army, of the hierarchy, with an ample civil list, hereditary, unresponsible, and possessing the prerogative of peace and war, may be properly observed with some jealousy in respect to the exercise of the treaty-making power. It seems, and perhaps from a spirit of caution on this account, to be their doctrine, that treaties bind the nation, but are not to be regarded by the courts of law, until laws have been passed conformably to them. Our concurrence has expressly regulated the matter differently. The concurrence of parliament is necessary to treaties becoming laws in England, gentlemen say; and here the Senate, representing the States, must concur in treaties. The constitution and the reason of the case make the concurrence of the Senate as effectual as the sanction of parliament; and why not? The Senate is an elective body, and the approbation of a majority of the States affords the nation as ample security against the abuse of the treaty-making power, as the British nation can enjoy in the control of parliament.

Whatever doubt there may be to the parliamentary doctrine of the obligation of treaties in Great Britain (and perhaps there is some), there is none in their books, or their modern practice. Blackstone represents treaties as of the highest obligation, when ratified by the king; and for almost a century, there has been no instance of opposition by parliament to this doctrine. Their treaties have been uniformly carried into effect, although many have been ratified, of a nature most obnoxious to party, and have produced louder clamor than we have lately witnessed. The example of England, therefore, fairly examined, does not warrant—it dissuades us from a negative vote.

Gentlemen have said with spirit, Whatever the true doctrine of our Constitution may be, Great Britain has no right to complain or to dictate an interpretation. The sense of the American nation, as to the treaty power, is to be received by all foreign nations. This is very true as a maxim; but the fact is against those who vouch it. The sense of the American nation is not as the vote of the House has declared it. Our claim to some agency in giving force and obligation to treaties is, beyond all kind of controversy, novel. The sense of the nation is probably against it. The sense of the government certainly is. The President denies it on constitutional grounds, and therefore can not ever accede to our interpretation. The Senate ratified the treaty, and can not without dishonor adopt it, as I have attempted to show. Where, then, do they find the proof that this

is the American sense of the treaty-making power, which is to silence the murmurs of Great Britain? Is it because a majority of two or three, or at most of four or five, of this House will reject the treaty? Is it thus the sense of our nation is to be recognized? Our government may thus be stopped in its movements—a struggle for power may thus commence, and the event of the conflict may decide who is the victor, and the quiet possessor of the treaty power. But, at present, it is beyond all credibility that our vote, by a bare majority, should be believed to do anything better than to embitter our divisions, and to tear up the settled foundations of our departments.

If the obligation of a treaty be complete, I am aware that cases sometimes exist which will justify a nation in refusing a compliance. Are our liberties, gentlemen demand, to be bartered away by a treaty—and is there no remedy? There is. Extremes are not to be supposed; but when they happen, they make the law for themselves. No such extreme can be pretended in this instance; and if it existed, the authority it would confer to throw off the obligation would rest where the obligation itself resides—in the nation. This House is not the nation—it is not the whole delegated authority of the nation. Being only a part of that authority, its right to act for the whole society obviously depends on the concurrence of the other two branches. If they refuse to concur, a treaty, once made, remains in full force, although a breach on the part of a foreign nation would confer upon our own a right to forbear the execution. I repeat it; even in that case the act of this House can not be admitted as the act of the nation; and if the President and Senate should not concur, the treaty would be obligatory.

I put a case that will not fail to produce conviction. Our treaty with France engages that free bottoms shall make free goods; and how has it been kept? As such engagements will ever be in time of war. France has set it aside, and pleads imperious necessity. We have no navy to enforce the observance of such articles, and paper barriers are weak against the violence of those who are on the scramble for enemies' goods on the high seas. The breach of any article of a treaty by one nation gives an undoubted right to the other to renounce the whole treaty. But has one branch of the government that right, or must it reside with the whole authority of the nation? What if the Senate should resolve that the French treaty is broken, and therefore null and of no effect? The answer is obvious; you would deny their sole authority. That branch of the legislature has equal power in this regard with the House of Representatives. One branch alone can not express the will of the nation.

A right to annul a treaty, because a foreign nation has broken its articles, is only like the case of a sufficient cause to repeal a law. In both cases the branches of our government must concur in the orderly way, or the law and the treaty will remain.

The very cases supposed by my adversaries in this argument conclude

against themselves. They will persist in confounding ideas that should be kept distinct; they will suppose that the House of Representatives has no power unless it has all power. The House is nothing if it be not the whole government—the nation.

On every hypothesis, therefore, the conclusion is not to be resisted; we are either to execute this treaty, or break our faith.

To expatiate on the value of public faith may pass with some men for declamation—to such men I have nothing to say. To others I will urge, can any circumstance mark upon a people more turpitude and debasement? Can anything tend more to make men think themselves mean, or degrade to a lower point their estimation of virtue and their standard of action?

It would not merely demoralize mankind; it tends to break all the ligaments of society, to dissolve that mysterious charm which attracts individuals to the nation, and to inspire in its stead a repulsive sense of shame and disgust.

What is patriotism? Is it a narrow affection for the spot where a man was born? Are the very clods where we tread entitled to this ardent preference because they are greener? No, sir; this is not the character of the virtue, and it soars higher for its object. It is an extended self-love, mingling with all the enjoyments of life, and twisting itself with the minutest filaments of the heart. It is thus we obey the laws of society, because they are the laws of virtue. In their authority we see, not the array of force and terror, but the venerable image of our country's honor. Every good citizen makes that honor his own, and cherishes it not only as precious, but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defence, and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it. For what rights of a citizen will be deemed inviolable when a State renounces the principles that constitute their security? Or, if his life should not be invaded, what would its enjoyments be in a country odious in the eyes of strangers and dishonored in his own? Could he look with affection and veneration to such a country as his parent? The sense of having one would die within him; he would blush for his patriotism, if he retained any, and justly, for it would be a vice. He would be a banished man in his native land.

I see no exception to the respect that is paid among nations to the law of good faith. If there are cases in this enlightened period, when it is violated, there are none when it is decried. It is the philosophy of politics, the religion of governments. It is observed by barbarians—a whiff of tobacco smoke, or a string of beads, gives not merely binding force, but sanctity to treaties. Even in Algiers a truce may be bought for money; but, when ratified, even Algiers is too wise, or too just, to disown and annul its obligation. Thus, we see neither the ignorance of savages nor the principles of an association for piracy and rapine, permit a nation to despise its engagements. If, sir, there could be a resurrection from the foot

of the gallows, if the victims of justice could live again, collect together and form a society, they would, however loath, soon find themselves obliged to make justice, that justice under which they fell, the fundamental law of their State. They would perceive it was their interest to make others respect, and they would therefore soon pay some respect themselves to the obligations of good faith.

It is painful, I hope it is superfluous, to make even the supposition, that America should furnish the occasion of this opprobrium. No, let me not even imagine that a republican government, sprung as our own is, from a people enlightened and uncorrupted, a government whose origin is right, and whose daily discipline is duty, can, upon solemn debate, make its option to be faithless—can dare to act what despots dare not avow, what our own example evinces, the states of Barbary are unsuspected of. No, let me rather make the supposition that Great Britain refuses to execute the treaty, after we have done everything to carry it into effect. Is there any language of reproach pungent enough to express your commentary on the fact? What would you say, or rather what would you not say? Would you not tell them, wherever an Englishman might travel, shame would stick to him—he would disown his country. You would exclaim, England, proud of your wealth, and arrogant in the possession of power—blush for these distinctions, which become the vehicles of your dishonor. Such a nation might truly say to corruption, Thou art my father, and to the worm, Thou art my mother and my sister. We should say of such a race of men, their name is a heavier burden than their debt.

I can scarcely persuade myself to believe that the consideration I have suggested requires the aid of any auxiliary. But, unfortunately, auxiliary arguments are at hand. Five millions of dollars, and probably more, on the score of spoliations committed on our commerce, depend upon the treaty. The treaty offers the only prospect of indemnity. Such redress is promised as the merchants place some confidence in. Will you interpose and frustrate that hope; leaving to many families nothing but beggary and despair? It is a smooth proceeding to take a vote in this body; it takes less than half an hour to call the yeas and nays and reject the treaty. But what is the effect of it? What, but this? The very men formerly so loud for redress; such fierce champions that even to ask for justice was too mean and too slow, now turn their capricious fury upon the sufferers and say, by their vote, to them and their families, No longer eat bread; petitioners, go home and starve; we can not satisfy your wrongs and our resentments.

Will you pay the sufferers out of the treasury? No. The answer was given two years ago, and appears on our journals. Will you give them letters of marque and reprisal to pay themselves by force? No; that is war. Besides, it would be an opportunity for those who have already lost much to lose more. Will you go to war to avenge their injury? If you do, the war will leave you no money to indemnify them. If it should be

unsuccessful, you will aggravate existing evils; if successful, your enemy will have no treasure left to give our merchants; the first losses will be confounded with much greater, and be forgotten. At the end of a war there must be a negotiation, which is the very point we have already gained; and why relinquish it? And who will be confident that the terms of the negotiation, after a desolating war, would be more acceptable to another House of Representatives than the treaty before us? Members and opinions may be so changed that the treaty would then be rejected for being what the present majority say it should be. Whether we shall go on making treaties and refusing to execute them, I know not. Of this I am certain, it will be very difficult to exercise the treaty-making power on the new principles, with much reputation or advantage to the country.

The refusal of the posts (inevitable if we reject the treaty) is a measure too decisive in its nature to be neutral in its consequences. From great causes we are to look for great effects. A plain and obvious one will be the price of the western lands will fall. Settlers will not choose to fix their habitation on a field of battle. Those who talk so much of the interest of the United States should calculate how deeply it will be affected by rejecting the treaty; how vast a tract of wild land will almost cease to be property. The loss, let it be observed, will fall upon a fund expressly devoted to sink the national debt. What, then, are we called upon to do? However the form of the vote and the protestations of many may disguise the proceeding, our resolution is in substance, and it deserves to wear the title of a resolution to prevent the sale of the western lands and the discharge of the public debt.

Will the tendency to Indian hostilities be contested by any one? Experience gives the answer. The frontiers were scourged with war till the negotiation with Great Britian was far advanced, and then the state of hostility ceased. Perhaps the public agents of both nations are innocent of fomenting the Indian war, and perhaps they are not. We ought not, however, to expect that neighboring nations, highly irritated against each other, will neglect the friendship of the savages; the traders will gain an influence and will abuse it; and who is ignorant that their passions are easily raised, and hardly restrained from violence? Their situation will oblige them to choose between this country and Great Britain, in case the treaty should be rejected. They will not be our friends, and at the same time the friends of our enemies.

But am I reduced to the necessity of proving this point? Certainly the very men who charged the Indian war on the detention of the posts, will call for no other proofs than the recital of their own speeches. It is remembered with what emphasis, with what acrimony, they expatiated on the burden of taxes, and the drain of blood and treasure into the western country, in consequence of Britain's holding the posts. Until the posts are restored, they exclaimed, the treasury and the frontiers must bleed.

If any, against all these proofs, should maintain that the peace with the Indians will be stable without the posts, to them I will urge another reply. From arguments calculated to produce conviction, I will appeal directly to the hearts of those who hear me, and ask, whether it is not already planted there. I resort especially to the convictions of the western gentlemen, whether, supposing no posts and no treaty, the settlers will remain in security. Can they take it upon them to say, that an Indian peace, under these circumstances, will prove firm? No, sir; it will not be peace, but a sword; it will be no better than a lure to draw victims within the reach of the tomahawk.

On this theme, my emotions are unutterable. If I could find words for them—if my powers bore any proportion to my zeal—I would swell my voice to such a note of remonstrance, it should reach every log house beyond the mountains. I would say to the inhabitants, Wake from your false security; your cruel dangers, your more cruel apprehensions, are soon to be renewed; the wounds, yet unhealed, are to be torn open again; in the day time, your path through the woods will be ambushed; the darkness of midnight will glitter with the blaze of your dwellings. You are a father—the blood of your sons shall fatten your cornfield; you are a mother—the war-whoop shall wake the sleep of the cradle.

On this subject you need not suspect any deception on your feelings. It is a spectacle of horror, which can not be overdrawn. If you have nature in your hearts, it will speak a language compared with which all I have said or can say will be poor and frigid.

Will it be whispered that the treaty has made a new champion for the protection of the frontiers? It is known that my voice as well as vote have been uniformly given in conformity with the ideas I have expressed. Protection is the right of the frontiers; it is our duty to give it.

Who will accuse me of wandering out of the subject? Who will say that I exaggerate the tendencies of our measures? Will any one answer by a sneer, that all this is idle preaching? Will any one deny, that we are bound, and I would hope to good purpose, by the most solemn sanctions of duty, for the vote we give? Are despots alone to be reproached for unfeeling indifference to the tears and blood of their subjects? Are republicans unresponsible? Have the principles, on which you ground the reproach upon cabinets and kings, no practical influence, no binding force? Are they merely themes of idle declamation, introduced to decorate the morality of a newspaper essay, or to furnish pretty topics of harangue from the windows of that state house? I trust it is neither too presumptuous nor too late to ask, Can you put the dearest interest of society at risk without guilt, and without remorse?

It is vain to offer as an excuse, that public men are not to be reproached for the evils that may happen to ensue from their measures. This is very true, where they are unforseen or inevitable. Those I have depicted are not unforseen; they are so far from inevitable, we are going to bring them

into being by our vote. We choose the consequences, and become as justly answerable for them as for the measure that we know will produce them.

By rejecting the posts, we light the savage fires—we bind the victims. This day we undertake to render account to the widows and orphans whom our decision will make, to the wretches that will be roasted at the stake, to our country, and I do not deem it too serious to say, to conscience and to God. We are answerable, and if duty be any thing more than a word of imposture, if conscience be not a bugbear, we are preparing to make ourselves as wretched as our country.

There is no mistake in this case; there can be none. Experience has already been the prophet of events, and the cries of our future victims have already reached us. The western inhabitants are not a silent and uncomplaining sacrifice. The voice of humanity issues from the shade of their wilderness. It exclaims, that while one hand is held up to reject this treaty, the other grasps a tomahawk. It summons our imagination to the scenes that will open. It is no great effort to the imagination to conceive that events so near are already begun. I can fancy that I listen to the yells of savage vengeance, and the shrieks of torture. Already they seem to sigh in the west wind—already they mingle with every echo from the mountains.

It is not the part of prudence to be inattentive to the tendencies of measures. Where there is any ground to fear that these will be pernicious, wisdom and duty forbid that we should underrate them. If we reject the treaty will our peace be as safe as if we executed it with good faith? I do honor to the intrepid spirit of those who say it will. It was formerly understood to constitute the excellence of a man's faith to believe without evidence and against it.

But as opinions on this article are changed, and we are called to act for our country, it becomes us to explore the dangers that will attend its peace, and to avoid them if we can.

Few of us here, and fewer still in proportion of our constituents, will doubt, that, by rejecting, all those dangers will be aggravated.

The idea of war is treated as a bugbear. This levity is at least unseasonable, and most of all unbecoming some who resort to it.

Who has forgotten the philippics of 1794? The cry then was reparation—no envoy—no treaty—no tedious delays. Now, it seems, the passion subsides, or at least the hurry to satisfy it. Great Britain, say they, will not wage war upon us.

In 1794 it was urged by those who now say no war, that if we built frigates, or resisted the piracies of Algiers, we could not expect peace. Now they give excellent comfort truly. Great Britain has seized our vessels and cargoes to the amount of millions; she holds the posts; she interrupts our trade, say they, as a neutral nation; and these gentlemen, formerly so fierce for redress, assure us, in terms of the sweetest consolation, Great Britain will bear all this patiently. But let me ask the late

champions of our rights, will our nation bear it? Let others exult because the aggressor will let our wrongs sleep forever. Will it add—it is my duty to ask—to the patience and quiet of our citizens to see their rights abandoned? Will not the disappointment of their hopes, so long patronized by the government, now in the crisis of their being realized, convert all their passions into fury and despair?

Are the posts to remain forever in the possession of Great Britain? Let those who reject them, when the treaty offers them to our hands say, if they choose, they are of no importance. If they are, will they take them by force? The argument I am urging would then come to a point. To use force is war. To talk of treaty again is too absurd. Posts and redress must come from voluntary good will, treaty or war.

The conclusion is plain, if the state of peace shall continue, so will the British possession of the posts.

Look again at this state of things. On the sea-coast, vast losses uncompensated; on the frontier, Indian war, actual encroachment on our territory; everywhere discontent—resentments tenfold more fierce because they will be impotent and humbled; national scorn and abasement.

The disputes of the old treaty of 1783, being left to rankle, will revive the almost extinguished animosities of that period. Wars, in all countries, and most of all in such as are free, arise from the impetuosity of the public feelings. The despotism of Turkey is often obliged by clamor to unsheath the sword. War might perhaps be delayed, but could not be prevented. The causes of it would remain, would be aggravated, would be multiplied, and soon become intolerable. More captures, more impressments would swell the list of our wrongs, and the current of our rage. I make no calculation of the arts of those whose employment it has been, on former occasions, to fan the fire. I say nothing of the foreign money and emissaries that might foment the spirit of hostility, because the state of things will naturally run to violence. With less than their former exertion, they would be successful.

Will our government be able to temper and restrain the turbulence of such a crisis? The government, alas! will be in no capacity to govern. A divided people—and divided councils! Shall we cherish the spirit of peace, or show the energies of war? Shall we make our adversary afraid of our strength, or dispose him, by the measures of resentment and broken faith, to respect our rights? Do gentlemen rely on the state of peace because both nations will be worse disposed to keep it; because injuries and insults still harder to endure will be mutually offered?

Such a state of things will exist, if we should long avoid war, as will be worse than war. Peace without security, accumulation of injury without redress, or the hope of it, resentment against the aggressor, contempt for ourselves, intestine discord and anarchy. Worse than this need not be apprehended, for if worse could happen, anarchy would bring it. Is this the peace gentlemen undertake with such fearless confidence to maintain?

Is this the station of American dignity, which the high-spirited champions of our national independence and honor could endure—nay, which they are anxious and almost violent to seize for the country? What is there in the treaty that could humble us so low? Are they the men to swallow their resentments, who so lately were choking with them? If, in the case contemplated by them, it should be peace, I do not hesitate to declare it ought not to be peace.

Is there anything in the prospect of the interior state of the country to encourage us to aggravate the dangers of a war? Would not the shock of that evil produce another, and shake down the feeble and then unbraced structure of our Government? Is this a chimera? Is it going off the ground of matter of fact to say, the rejection of the appropriation proceeds upon the doctrine of a civil war of the departments? Two branches have ratified a treaty, and we are going to set it aside. How is this disorder in the machine to be rectified? While it exists, its movements must stop, and when we talk of a remedy, is that any other than the formidable one of a revolutionary interposition of the people? And is this, in the judgment even of my opposers, to execute, to preserve the Constitution and the public order? Is this the state of hazard, if not of convulsion, which they can have the courage to contemplate and to brave, or beyond which their penetration can reach and see the issue? They seem to believe, and they act as if they believed, that our union, our peace, our liberty are invulnerable and immortal—as if our happy state was not to be disturbed by our dissensions, and that we are not capable of falling from it by our unworthiness. Some of them have no doubt better nerves and better discernment than mine. They can see the bright aspects and happy consequences of all this array of horrors. They can see intestine discords, our Government disorganized, our wrongs aggravated, multiplied and unredressed, peace with dishonor, or war without justice, union or resources, in "the calm lights of mild philosophy."

But whatever they may anticipate as the next measure of prudence and safety, they have explained nothing to the House. After rejecting the treaty, what is to be the next step? They must have foreseen what ought to be done; they have doubtless resolved what to propose. Why, then, are they silent? Dare they not avow their plan of conduct, or do they wait till our progress towards confusion shall guide them in forming it?

Let me cheer the mind, weary, no doubt, and ready to despond on this prospect, by presenting another which it is yet in our power to realize. Is it possible for a real American to look at the prosperity of this country without some desire for its continuance, without some respect for the measures which, many will say produced, and all will confess have preserved it? Will he not feel some dread that a change of system will reverse the scene? The well-grounded fears of our citizens, in 1794, were removed by the treaty, but are not forgotten. Then they deemed war nearly inevitable, and would not this adjustment have been considered, at that day, as a happy escape from the calamity? The great interest and the

general desire of our people was to enjoy the advantages of neutrality. This instrument, however, misrepresented, affords America that inestimable security. The causes of our disputes are either cut up by the roots or referred to a new negotiation after the end of the European war. This was gaining everything, because it confirmed our neutrality, by which our citizens are gaining everything. This alone would justify the engagements of the Government. For, when the fiery vapors of the war lowered in the skirts of our horizon, all our wishes were concentrated in this one, that we might escape the desolation of the storm. This treaty, like a rainbow on the edge of the cloud, marked to our eyes the space where it was raging and afforded, at the same time, the sure prognostic of fair weather. If we reject it, the vivid colors will grow pale; it will be a baleful meteor, portending tempest and war.

Let us not hesitate, then, to agree to the appropriation to carry it into faithful execution. Thus we shall save the faith of our nation, secure its peace, and diffuse the spirit of confidence and enterprise that will augment its prosperity. The progress of wealth and improvement is wonderful, and some will think too rapid. The field for exertion is fruitful and vast, and if peace and good government should be preserved, the acquisitions of our citizens are not so pleasing as the proofs of their industry, as the instruments of their future success. The rewards of exertion go to augment its power. Profit is every hour becoming capital. The vast crop of our neutrality is all seed-wheat, and is sown again to swell, almost beyond calculation, the future harvest of prosperity. And in this progress, what seems to be fiction is found to fall short of experience.

I rose to speak under impressions that I would have resisted if I could. Those who see me will believe that the reduced state of my health has unfitted me, almost equally, for much exertion of body or mind. Unprepared for debate, by careful reflection in my retirement, or by long attention here, I thought the resolution I had taken to sit silent was imposed by necessity, and would cost me no effort to maintain. With a mind thus vacant of ideas, and sinking, as I really am, under a sense of weakness, I imagined the very desire of speaking was extinguished by the persuasion that I had nothing to say. Yet when I come to the moment of deciding the vote, I start back with dread from the edge of the pit into which we are plunging. In my view, even the minutes I have spent in expostulation have their value, because they protract the crisis, and the short period in which alone we may resolve to escape it.

I have thus been led, by my feelings, to speak more at length than I had intended. Yet I have, perhaps, as little personal interest in the event as any one here. There is, I believe, no member who will not think his chance to be a witness of the consequences greater than mine. If, however, the vote should pass to reject, and a spirit should rise, as it will, with the public disorders, to make confusion worse confounded, even I, slender and almost broken as my hold upon life is, may outlive the Government and Constitution of my country.

V.

THIRD ADMINISTRATION—1797-1801.

JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT. THOMAS JEFFERSON, VICE PRESIDENT.

Vth and VIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

ELECTION AND INAUGURATION.

Washington was importuned by the people to accept a third term of office. Electors nominated by both parties were called upon to promise that, if elected, their first votes should be given for Washington. But he had reluctantly accepted the Presidency a second time, and he resolved to decline a third election, signifying this purpose in his FAREWELL ADDRESS. He had safely guided his countrymen through the perils incident to the establishment of a new government. In his parting advice to them he urged the maintenance of "the unity of the Government" as "a main pillar in the edifice of real independence; the support of tranquillity at home; peace abroad; safety, prosperity, and liberty." He regretted "that any ground should be furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western." He warned them against innovations on the principles of the Constitution, while retaining its forms; and "against the baneful effects of party generally." The threat of dissolution had often been made already.

Washington declines a third term.

The continued existence of the Constitution was now assured, and party spirit began to be manifested as preliminary to the first contested **Presidential Election.** No formal nominations were made, but it was understood that the Republican electors would cast their votes for Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and Aaron Burr of New York; and the Federalist electors for John Adams of Massachusetts, and Thomas Pinckney of Maryland. The

First contested Presidential election.

Federalists claimed support as the authors of the Government—the friends of neutrality, peace, and prosperity—and the direct inheritors of Washington's policy. The Republicans claimed to be the friends of liberty and the rights of man, the advocates of economy and of the rights of the States, and refused to recognize their opponents as the inheritors of any policy but that of England. Federalist electors were chosen in the most of the Northern States, while the Southern States, with the exception of Maryland, generally chose Republicans. The result was a slight Federalist majority.

John Adams elected President.

In February, 1797, the electoral votes were counted, and John Adams, of Massachusetts, Federal, received 71 electoral votes, and was declared President; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Democrat, received 68 electoral votes, and was declared Vice President.

Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, 58; Aaron Burr, of New York, 30.

Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, 11.

George Clinton, of New York, 7; John Jay, of New York, 5.

James Iredell, of North Carolina, 3; Samuel Johnston, of North Carolina, 2.

George Washington, of Virginia, 2; John Henry, of Maryland, 2.

Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, 1.

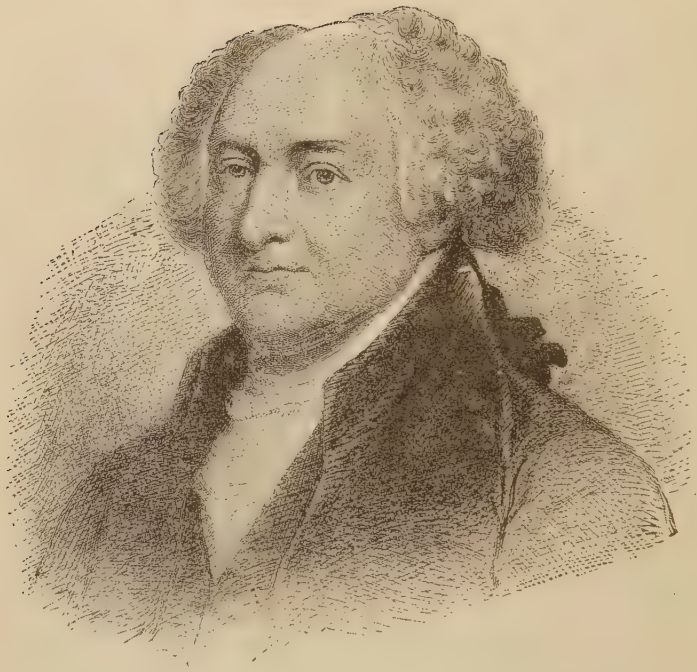
John Adams was therefore declared to be elected President; and **Thomas Jefferson**, having the next highest number of votes, became Vice President, for according to the old provision of the Constitution, the person who stood second on the list was declared the second officer in the Government. The Executive was thus Federalist, with a possibility of a Republican succession in case of the death, disability, or impeachment and removal of the President. What a temptation to party cupidity or the caprice of fortune! The people saw that such a mode of election was faulty, and could not

long endure; but a further experience of its danger (1804), however, was needed to enforce its amendment.

John Adams was inaugurated March 4, 1797. Thomas Jefferson took the oath of office and entered upon his duties in the Senate at the same time.

JOHN ADAMS

The second President of the United States, and whose fame as a patriot and statesman is imperishable, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, October 19, 1735. He early displayed superior capacity for learning, and graduated at Cambridge College with great credit. After qualifying himself for the legal profession, he was admitted to practice in 1761, and soon attained that distinction to which his talents were entitled. From the commencement of the troubles with Great Britain, in 1769, he was among the most active in securing the freedom of his country. Being elected to the first Continental Congress, he took a prominent part in all the war measures that were then originated, and, subsequently, suggested the appointment of Washington as Commander-in-chief of the army. He was one of the committee which reported the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, and the next year visited France, as commissioner, to form a treaty of alliance and commerce with that country. Although the object had been accomplished before his arrival, his visit had, otherwise, a favorable effect on the existing position of affairs; and he was afterward appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britian, which, after many laborious and fruitless efforts, was finally accomplished in 1783. In 1785, he was sent to England as the first minister from this country, and, on his return, was elected first Vice President, in which office he served two terms, and was then, in 1797, elected to succeed Washington as President. Many occurrences tended to embarrass his Administration and to render it unpopular; but it is now generally admitted to have been characterized by



John Adams.

patriotism and vigor equal to the emergencies which then existed. His political opponents, however, managed to defeat his re-election, and he was succeeded in the Presidency by Mr. Jefferson, in 1801; after which he retired to his farm at Quincy, where his declining years were passed in the gratification of his unabated love for reading and contemplation, and where he was constantly cheered by an interesting circle of friendship and affection. The semi-centennial anniversary of American Independence (July 4, 1826) was remarkable, not merely for the event which it commemorated, but for the decease of two of the most active participants in the measures by which independence was achieved. On that day, Adams and Jefferson were both gathered to their fathers, within about four hours of each other, "cheered by the benediction of their country, to whom they left the inheritance of their fame and the memory of their bright example."

As has been noticed elsewhere, Mr. Adams deemed it prudent, in the early part of his Administration, when impending difficulties with France seemed to render war inevitable, to offer Washington the commission of Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-chief of the army, which he accepted as a matter of duty, and held until his death, but fortunately never found it necessary to take the field.

SECTION 2.

Difficulties with France.

The **negotiations** with France were now assuming an alarming aspect. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the ambassador sent to take the place of Monroe,* had been refused recognition, and ordered out of the country. Other indignities were added, and American vessels were seized or plun-

* Monroe, while ambassador, professed attachment to French principles and interests, presented himself to the convention, was received with fraternal regard (August, 1794), and was rebuked by his own Government for his "excess of fervor." In September (1796), he was recalled, all his advances having failed to prevent the French government from ordering their cruisers to treat neutral ships as they were treated by the English.

dered. Preparations were made for the increase of the small navy of the United States, and for calling out eighty thousand militia. To avert hostilities, John Marshall, afterward Chief Justice, and Elbridge Gerry were joined with Pinckney as special envoys. They were denied an audience without the previous payment of a large sum of money, and other unworthy conditions (October, 1797). Pinckney declared his readiness to give "**millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!**" Harsher proceedings against American commerce were ordered. The envoys, with the exception of Gerry, withdrew. These outrages kindled general indignation in the United States. Many of the Republicans considered the whole trouble to be the result of Federalist intrigues, but the majority approved the President's course. The spirited reply of Ambassador Pinckney—"Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute"—became a rallying cry in and out of Congress.

Action of Extra Session of the Fifth Congress.

Preparations for war were pushed forward, and General Washington was again appointed commander-in-chief (July 7, 1798).* Though war had not been declared, yet hostilities were commenced on the ocean. Six new frigates put to sea and captured several French prizes in the West Indies. But in 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte came to the head of the French government, and having his ambition turned in another direction, one of his earliest acts was a friendly settlement with the United States.

Washington again made Commander-in-Chief.

During the progress of these mingled hostilities and negotiations the Federalists had lost their political ascendency. Various causes had occasioned this result, among which might be included the disfavor with which the acts against aliens, and for the suppression of sedition, had been

The "Alien and Sedition Laws."

* Washington died before the difficulties were adjusted.

received (1798). The so-called **Alien Law** authorized the President to order any alien whom he should judge to be dangerous to the peace and liberties of America to depart from the United States, and it made provision for the fining and imprisonment of such aliens as should refuse to obey the President's order. The so-called **Sedition Law** imposed a heavy fine and imprisonment upon such as should combine or conspire together to oppose any measure of Government, and upon such as should utter any false, scandalous, or malicious writing against the Government, Congress, or President of the United States. This act was to remain in force during Adams's Administration. Such a course by the Executive power had not been ventured upon since the Revolution. The Republicans declared these two statutes to be unconstitutional, and to be aimed at them as a party. A strong protest to these acts was offered by the **Kentucky Resolutions** (1798), written by Mr. Jefferson, which were reaffirmed, with slight alterations, by the Virginia Resolutions, written by James Madison. These celebrated papers are interesting as the first authorized proclamation of the Strict Construction-ist party, though allowance must be made for the excited state of political feeling at the time of their passage.

"1798–'99 Resolutions."

"The **Virginia Resolutions** declared that the Constitution was a compact by which the States had surrendered only a limited portion of their powers; that whenever the Federal Government undertook to step over the boundary of its delegated authority it was the right and the duty of *the States* to interpose and maintain the rights which they had reserved to themselves; that the Alien and Sedition Laws were an usurpation by the Federal Government of powers not granted to it, since the abridgment of liberty of speech or of the press had been expressly forbidden by the Constitution; that the State of Virginia solemnly declared those laws to be unconstitutional, and appealed to the other States to join in that declaration; and that her

Governor should be instructed to transmit copies of these resolutions to the Governors of other States, to be laid before their Legislatures. The response from other States was unfavorable, and Virginia repeated her resolutions the next year, 1799."

"The **Kentucky Resolutions** were to the same general effect as those of Virginia, but with the additional declaration that *the States* were one party to the compact, and the Federal Government was the other, and that each party must be the judge of infractions of the agreement, and of the mode and measure of redress. The next year the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799 were passed." *Nullification* was declared to be the remedy by right. It is not likely, however, that they had in view "nullification" as attempted by South Carolina in 1832.

SECTION 3.

STATISTICS OF JOHN ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1797–1801—FOUR YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
JOHN ADAMS (1735–1826), of Massachusetts, President	March 4, 1797
THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826), of Virginia, Vice President	March 4, 1797

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
TIMOTHY PICKERING, of Massachusetts (continued in office)	March 4, 1797
JOHN MARSHALL (1755–1835), of Virginia	May 13, 1800

Secretaries of the Treasury.

OLIVER WOLCOTT, of Connecticut, (continued in office)	March 4, 1797
SAMUEL DEXTER (1761–1816), of Massachusetts	Dec. 31, 1800

Secretaries of War.

JAMES MCHENRY, of Maryland, (continued in office)	March 4, 1797
SAMUEL DEXTER, of Massachusetts, (Secretary of Treasury)	May 13, 1800
ROGER GRISWOLD (1762–1812), of Connecticut	Feb. 3, 1801

Secretaries of the Navy—Established 1798.

GEORGE CABOT (1752–1823), of Massachusetts, declined	May 3, 1798
BENJAMIN STODDART, of Maryland	May 21, 1798

Postmaster-General.

JOSEPH HABERSHAM, of Georgia, (continued in office).....March 4, 1797

Attorneys General.

CHARLES LEE (1757–1815), of Virginia.....March 4, 1797
THEOPHILUS PARSONS (1750–1813), of Massachusetts .....Feb. 20, 1801

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.
JONATHAN DAYTON (1756–1824), of New Jersey.....5th Congress 1797
GEORGE DENT, of Maryland.....5th Congress 1798
THEODORE SEDGWICK (1780–1839), of Massachusetts.....6th Congress 1799

SECTION 4.

SPEECH OF EDWARD LIVINGSTON,

ON THE ALIEN BILL,

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, JUNE 19, 1798.

[EDWARD LIVINGSTON, brother of Robert R. Livingston, was born in 1764, and died in 1836. In 1785 he began to practice law in New York. In 1794 he was elected to Congress, and he was twice reëlected. In 1801 he was appointed U. S. District Attorney for the State of New York. He was also Mayor of New York City, 1801–3. A volume of reports of his judicial opinions, delivered in the municipal court, was published in 1803. Becoming bankrupt, he removed to New Orleans, where he soon acquired means to pay his debts in full. He was commissioned by the Legislature of Louisiana to prepare a system of judicial procedure, which was adopted in 1805, and continued in force till 1825, when it was superseded by the new and elaborate code of practice. In 1821 he had been intrusted solely with the task of preparing a code of criminal law and procedure. The work was submitted to the Legislature, but was never directly acted upon by that body. It was published in Philadelphia in 1833. Upon this performance the best part of Mr. Livingston's fame rests. It is a comprehensive code, or series of codes, of crimes and punishments, of evidence, of procedure, of reform, of prison discipline, and of definitions. Mr. Livingston was a Representative in Congress, 1823–9, and afterward United States Senator. In 1831 President Jackson appointed him Secretary of State, and in 1833 Minister to France. His "Complete Works on Jurisprudence" were published in 1873.]

By this bill, it was provided that the President might order dangerous or suspected aliens to depart out of the territory of the United States. The penalty, for disobedience of the President's order, was imprisonment and a perpetual exclusion from the rights of citizenship. If any alien, ordered to depart, should prove, to the satisfaction of the President, that no injury to the United States would arise from suffering him to remain, the President might grant him a license to remain for such time as he should deem proper, and at such place as he should designate. (See also page 188.)

The question was about to be taken on the final passage of the bill, when Mr. Livingston addressed the House as follows

Mr. Speaker:—I esteem it one of the most fortunate occurrences of my life, that, after an inevitable absence from my seat in this House, I have arrived in time to express my dissent to the passage of this bill. It would have been a source of eternal regret, and the keenest remorse, if any private affairs, any domestic concerns, however interesting, had deprived me of the opportunity I am now about to use of stating my objections, and recording my vote against an act which I believe to be in direct violation of the Constitution, and marked with every characteristic of the most odious despotism.

On my arrival, I inquired what subject occupied the attention of the House; and being told it was the Alien Bill, I directed the printed copy to be brought to me; but, to my great surprise, seven or eight copies of different bills on the same subject were put into my hands; among them it was difficult (so strongly were they marked by the same family features), to discover the individual bill then under discussion. This circumstance gave me a suspicion, that the principles of the measure were erroneous. Truth marches directly to its end by a single, undeviating path. Error is either undermining in its object, or pursues it through a thousand winding ways; the multiplicity of propositions, therefore, to attain the same general but doubtful end, led me to suspect that neither the object nor the means proposed to attain it, were proper or necessary. These surmises have been confirmed by a more minute examination of the bill. In the construction of statutes it is a received rule to examine what was the state of things when they were passed, and what were the evils they were intended to remedy; as these circumstances will be applied in the construction of the law, it may be well to examine them minutely in framing it. The state of things, if we are to judge from the complexion of the bill, must be that a number of aliens, enjoying the protection of our Government, are plotting its destruction; that they are engaged in treasonable machinations against a people who have given them an asylum and support, and that there exists no provision for their expulsion and punishment. If these things are so, and no remedy exists for the evil, one ought speedily to be provided; but even then it must be a remedy that is consistent with the Constitution under which we act; for, by that instrument all powers, not expressly given to it by the Union, are reserved to the

States: it follows that, unless an express authority can be found, vesting us with the power, be the evil ever so great, it can only be remedied by the several States, who have never delegated the authority to Congress.

We must legislate upon facts, not on surmises; we must have evidence, not vague suspicions, if we mean to legislate with prudence. What facts have been produced? What evidence has been submitted to the House? I have heard, sir, of none; but if evidence of facts could not be procured, at least it might have been expected, that reasonable cause of suspicion should be shown. Here, again, gentlemen are at fault; they can not even show a suspicion why aliens ought to be suspected. We have, indeed, been told, that the fate of Venice, Switzerland, and Batavia, was produced by the interference of foreigners. But the instances are unfortunate; because all those powers have been overcome by foreign force, or divided by domestic faction, not by the influence of aliens who resided among them; and if any instruction is to be gained from the history of those republics, it is, that we ought to banish not aliens, but all those citizens who do not approve the executive acts. This doctrine, I believe, gentlemen are not ready to avow; but if this measure prevails, I shall not think the other remote. If it has been proved that these governments were destroyed by the conspiracies of aliens, it yet remains to be shown that we are in the same situation; or that any such plots have been detected, or are even reasonably suspected here. Nothing of this kind has yet been done. A modern Theseus, indeed, has told us that he has procured a clew that will enable him to penetrate the labyrinth and destroy this monster of sedition. Who the fair Ariadne is, who kindly gave him the ball, he has not revealed; nor, though several days have elapsed since he undertook the adventure, has he yet told us where the monster lurks. No evidence then being produced, we have a right to say that none exists; and yet we are about to sanction a most important act, and on what grounds?—Our individual suspicions, our private fears, our overheated imaginations. Seeing nothing to excite these suspicions, and not feeling those fears, I can not give my assent to the bill, even if I did not feel a superior obligation to reject on other grounds.

The first section provides that it shall be lawful for the President "to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the Government thereof, to depart out of the United States, in such time as shall be expressed in such order."

Our Government, sir, is founded on the establishment of those principles which constitute the difference between a free constitution and a despotic power; a distribution of the legislative, executive and judiciary powers into several hands; a distribution strongly marked in the first three

and great divisions of the Constitution. By the first, all legislative power is given to Congress; the second vests all executive functions in the President, and the third declares that the judiciary powers shall be exercised by the Supreme and inferior courts. Here, then, is a division of the governmental powers strongly marked, decisively pronounced; and every act of one or all of the branches that tends to confound these powers, or alter their arrangement, must be destructive of the Constitution. Examine, then, sir, the bill on your table, and declare whether the few lines I have repeated from the first section do not confound these fundamental powers of government, vest them all, in more unqualified terms, in one hand, and thus subvert the basis on which our liberties rest.

Legislative power prescribes the rule of action; the Judiciary applies the general rule to particular cases; and it is the province of the Executive to see that the laws are carried into full effect. In all free governments these powers are exercised by different men, and their union in the same hand is the peculiar characteristic of despotism. If the same power that makes the law can construe it to suit his interest and apply it to gratify his vengeance; if he can go further and execute, according to his own passions, the judgment which he himself has pronounced upon his own construction of laws which he alone has made, what other features are wanted to complete the picture of tyranny? Yet all this and more, is proposed to be done by this act; by it the President alone is empowered to make the law, to fix in his mind what acts, what words, thoughts, or looks, shall constitute the crime contemplated by the bill. He is not only authorized to make this law for his own conduct, but to vary it at pleasure, as every gust of passion, every cloud of suspicion, shall agitate or darken his mind. The same power that formed the law then applies it to the guilty or innocent victim, whom its own suspicions, or the secret whisper of a spy have designated as its object. The President, then, having construed and applied it, the same President is by the bill authorized to execute his sentence, in case of disobedience, by imprisonment during his pleasure This, then, comes completely within the definition of despotism—a union of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. But this bill, sir, does not stop here: its provisions are a refinement upon despotism, and present an image of the most fearful tyranny. Even in despotisms, though the monarch legislates, judges, and executes, yet he legislates openly; his laws, though oppressive, are known; they precede the offense, and every man who chooses may avoid the penalties of disobedience. Yet he judges and executes by proxy, and his private interests or passions do not inflame the mind of his deputy.

But here the law is so closely concealed in the same mind that gave it birth—the crime is "exciting the suspicions of the President"—that no man can tell what conduct will avoid that suspicion: a careless word, perhaps misrepresented or never spoken, may be sufficient evidence; a look may destroy; an idle gesture may insure punishment; no innocence can

protect, no circumspection can avoid the jealousy of suspicion. Surrounded by spies, informers, and all that infamous herd which fatten under laws like this, the unfortunate stranger will never know either of the law of accusation or of the judgment, until the moment it is put in execution; he will detest your tyranny, and fly from a land of delators, inquisitors and spies. This, sir, is a refinement upon the detestable contrivance of the Decemvirs. They hung the tables of their laws so high that few could read them; a tall man, however, might reach—a short one might climb and learn their contents; but here the law is equally inaccessible to high and low, safely concealed in the breast of its author; no industry or caution can penetrate this recess, and attain a knowledge of its provisions, nor, even if they could, as the rule is not permanent, would it at all avail.

Having shown that this bill is at war with the fundamental principles of our Government, I might stop here in the certain hope of its rejection. But I can do more; unless we are resolved to pervert the meaning of terms, I can show that the Constitution has endeavored to "make its surety doubly sure, and take a bond of fate," by several express prohibitions of measures like the one you now contemplate. One of these is contained in the ninth section of the first article; it is at the head of the articles which restrict the powers of Congress, and declares, "that the immigration or importation of such persons as any of the States shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited prior to the year 1808." Now, sir, where is the difference between a power to prevent the arrival of aliens and a power to send them away as soon as they arrive? To me they appear precisely the same. The Constitution expressly says that Congress shall not do this; and yet Congress are about to delegate this prohibited power, and say the President may exercise it as his pleasure may direct.

Judiciary power is taken from courts and given to the Executive; the previous safeguard of a presentment by a grand inquest is removed; the trial by jury is abolished; the "public trial," required by the Constitution, is changed into a secret and worse than Inquisitorial Tribunal. Instead of giving "information on the nature and cause of the accusation," the criminal, alike ignorant of his offense and the danger to which he is exposed, never hears of either until the judgment is passed and the sentence is executed. Instead of being "confronted with his accusers," he is kept alike ignorant of their names and their existence; and the forms of a trial being dispensed with, it would be a mockery to talk of "process for witness," or the "assistance of counsel for defense." Thus are all the barriers, which the wisdom and humanity of our country has placed between accused innocence and oppressive power, at once forced and broken down. Not a vestige even of their form remains. No indictments, no jury, no trial, no public procedure, no statement of the accusation, no examination of the witnesses in its support, no counsel for defense; all is darkness, silence, mystery, and suspicion. But, as if this were not enough,

the unfortunate victims of this law are told, in the next section, that, if they can convince the President that his suspicions are unfounded, he may, if he pleases, give them a license to stay. But how can they remove his suspicions, when they know not on what act they were founded? How take proof to convince him, when he is not bound to furnish that on which he proceeds? Miserable mockery of justice! Appoint an arbitrary judge, armed with legislative and executive powers added to his own! Let him condemn the unheard, the unaccused object of his suspicions, and then, to cover the injustice of the scene, gravely tell him, you ought not to complain; you need only disprove facts you have never heard, remove suspicions that have never been communicated to you; it will be easy to convince your judge, whom you shall not approach, that he is tyrannical and unjust; and when you have done this, we give him the power he had before, to pardon you if he pleases!

So obviously do the constitutional objections present themselves, that their existence can not be denied, and two wretched subterfuges are resorted to, to remove them out of sight. In the first place, it is said, the bill does not contemplate the punishment of any crime, and therefore the provisions of the Constitution, relative to criminal proceedings and judiciary powers, do not apply. But have the gentlemen, who reason thus, read the bill, or is everything forgotten, in our zealous hurry to pass it? What are the offenses upon which it is to operate? Not only the offense of being "suspected of being dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States," but also that of being "concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the Government thereof"—and this, we are told, is no crime. A treasonable machination against the Government not the subject of criminal jurisprudence! Good heaven! to what absurdities does not an over zealous attachment to particular measures lead us! In order to punish a particular act, we are forced to say, that treason is no crime, and plotting against our Government is no offense! And to support this fine hypothesis, we are obliged to plunge deeper into absurdity, and say, that the acts, spoken of in the bill, are no crimes, and therefore the penalty contained in it is not a punishment, but merely a prevention; that is to say, we invite strangers to come amongst us; we declare solemnly, that Government shall not prevent them; we entice them over by the delusive prospects of advantage; in many parts of the Union we permit them to hold lands, and give them other advantages while they are waiting for the period at which we have promised them a full participation of all our rights. An unfortunate stranger, disgusted with tyranny at home, thinks that he shall find freedom here; he accepts our conditions; he puts faith in our promises; he vests his all in our hands; he has dissolved his former connections and made your country his own; but while he is patiently waiting the expiration of the period that is to crown the work, entitle him to all the rights of a citizen—the tale of a domestic spy, or the calumny of a secret enemy, draws on him the suspicions of the

President, and, unheard, he is ordered to quit the spot he had selected for his retreat, the country which he had chosen for his own, perhaps the family which was his only consolation in life; he is ordered to retire to a country whose Government, irritated by his renunciation of its authority, will receive only to punish him—and all this, we are told, is no punishment!

So manifest do these violations of the Constitution appear to me, so futile the arguments in their defense, that they press seriously on my mind, and sink it even to despondency. They are so glaring to my understanding, that I have felt it my duty to speak of them in a manner that may perhaps give offense to men whom I esteem, and who seem to think differently on this subject; none, however, I can assure them, is intended. I have seen measures carried in this House which I thought militated against the spirit of the Constitution; but never before have I been witness to so open, so undisguised an attack.

I have now done, sir, with the bill, and come to consider the consequences of its operation. One of the most serious has been anticipated, when I described the blow it would give to the Constitution of our country. We should cautiously beware of the first act of violation; habituated to overleap its bounds, we become familiarized to the guilt, and disregard the danger of a second offense; until, proceeding from one unauthorized act to another, we at length throw off all restraint which our Constitution has imposed, and very soon not even the semblance of its form will remain.

But, if regardless of our duty as citizens, and our solemn obligations as Representatives; regardless of the rights of our constituents; regardless of every sanction, human and divine, we are ready to violate the Constitution we have sworn to defend—will the people submit to our unauthorized acts? will the States sanction our usurped power? Sir, they ought not to submit—they would deserve the chains which these measures are forging for them, if they did not resist. For let no man vainly imagine, that the evil is to stop here; that a few unprotected aliens only are to be affected by this inquisitorial power. The same arguments, which enforce those provisions against aliens, apply with equal strength to enacting them in the case of citizens. The citizen has no other protection for his personal security, that I know, against laws like this, than the humane provisions I have cited from the Constitution. But all these apply in common to the citizen and the stranger; all crimes are to be tried by jury; no person shall be held to answer unless on presentment; in all criminal prosecutions, the accused is to have a public trial; the accused is to be informed of the nature of the charge; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; may have process to enforce the appearance of those in his favor, and is to be allowed counsel in his defense. Unless, therefore, we can believe, that treasonable machinations and the other offenses, described in the bill, are not crimes, that an alien is not a person, and that one charged with treasonable practices is not accused—unless we can believe all this in con-

tradiction to our understanding, to received opinions and the uniform practice of our courts, we must allow, that all these provisions extend equally to alien and native, and that the citizen has no other security for his personal safety than is extended to the stranger who is within his gates. If, therefore, this security is violated in one instance, what pledge have we that it will not be in the other? The same plea of necessity will justify both. Either the offenses described in the act are crimes, or they are not. If they are, then all the humane provisions of the Constitution forbid this mode of punishing, or preventing them, equally as relates to aliens and citizens. If they are not crimes, the citizen has no more safety by the Constitution than the alien; for all these provisions apply only to crimes; so that, in either event, the citizen has the same reason to expect a similar law to the one now before you, which will subject his person to the uncontrolled despotism of a single man. You have already been told of plots and conspiracies; and all the frightful images that are necessary to keep up the present system of terror and alarm, have been presented to you; but who are implicated by these dark hints—these mysterious allusions? They are our own citizens, sir, not aliens. If there is any necessity for the system now proposed, it is more necessary to be enforced against our own citizens than against strangers; and I have no doubt that either in this or some other shape this will be attempted. I now ask, sir, whether the people of America are prepared for this; whether they are willing to part with all the means which the wisdom of their ancestors discovered, and their own caution so lately adopted, to secure their own persons; whether they are willing to submit to imprisonment, or exile, whenever suspicion, calumny, or vengeance, shall mark them for ruin. Are they base enough to be prepared for this? No, sir, they will, I repeat it, they will resist this tyrannical system; the people will oppose, the States will not submit to its operations; they ought not to acquiesce, and I pray to God they never may.

My opinions, sir, on this subject are explicit, and I wish they may be known; they are, that whenever our laws manifestly infringe the Constitution under which they were made, the people ought not to hesitate which they should obey; if we exceed our powers, we become tyrants, and our acts have no effect. Thus, sir, one of the first effects of measures such as this, if they be acquiesced in, will be disaffection among the States and opposition among the people to your Government; tumults, violations, and a recurrence to first revolutionary principles; if they are submitted to, the consequences will be worse. After such manifest violation of the principles of our Constitution, the form will not long be sacred; presently every vestige of it will be lost and swallowed up in the gulf of despotism. But should the evil proceed no further than the execution of the present law, what a fearful picture will our country present! The system of espionage thus established, the country will swarm with information-spies, delaters, and all that odious tribe, that breed in the sunshine of despotic

power, that suck the blood of the unfortunate, and creep into the bosom of sleeping innocence only to awaken it with a burning wound. The hours of the most unsuspecting confidence, the intimacies of friendship, or the recesses of domestic retirement, afford no security; the companion whom you must trust, the friend in whom you must confide, the domestic who waits in your chamber, are all tempted to betray your imprudence or guardless follies, to misrepresent your words, to convey them, distorted by calumny, to the secret tribunal where jealousy presides, where fear officiates as accuser, where suspicion is the only evidence that is heard.

These, bad as they are, are not the only ill consequences of these measures. Among them we may reckon the loss of wealth, of population, and of commerce. Gentlemen who support the bill seemed to be aware of this, when yesterday they introduced a clause to secure the property of those who might be ordered to go off. They should have foreseen the consequences of the steps which they have been taking; it is now too late to discover, that large sums are drawn from the banks, that a great capital is taken from commerce. It is ridiculous to observe the solicitude they show to retain the wealth of these dangerous men, whose persons they are so eager to get rid of. If they wish to retain it, it must be by giving them security to their persons, and assuring them that while they respect the laws, the laws will protect them from arbitrary powers; it must be, in short, by rejecting the bill on your table. I might mention other inferior considerations; but I ought, sir, rather to entreat the pardon of the House for having touched on this. Compared to the breach of our Constitution, and the establishment of arbitrary power, every other topic is trifling; arguments of convenience sink into nothing; the preservation of wealth, the increase of commerce, however weighty on other occasions, here lose their importance, when the fundamental principles of freedom are in danger. I am tempted to borrow the impressive language of a foreign speaker, and exclaim—"Perish our commerce, let our Constitution live;" perish our riches, let our freedom live. This, sir, would be the sentiment of every American, were the alternative between submission and wealth; but here, sir, it is proposed to destroy our wealth in order to ruin our commerce; not in order to preserve our Constitution, but to break it—not to secure our freedom, but to abandon it.

I have now done, sir; but, before I sit down, let me entreat gentlemen seriously to reflect, before they pronounce the decisive vote that gives the first open stab to the principles of our Government. Our mistaken zeal, like the patriarch of old, has bound one victim; it lies at the foot of the altar; a sacrifice of the first-born offspring of freedom is proposed by those who gave it birth. The hand is already raised to strike, and nothing, I fear, but the voice of heaven can arrest the impious blow.

Let not gentlemen flatter themselves that the fervor of the moment can make the people insensible to these aggressions. It is an honest, noble warmth, produced by an indignant sense of injury. It will never, I trust,

be extinct, while there is a proper cause to excite it. But the people of America, sir, though watchful against foreign aggressions, are not careless of domestic encroachment; they are as jealous, sir, of their liberties at home as of the power and prosperity of their country abroad, they will awake to a sense of their danger. Do not let us flatter ourselves, then, that these measures will be unobserved or disregarded; do not let us be told, sir, that we excite a fervor against foreign aggressions only to establish tyranny at home; that, like the arch traitor, we cry, "Hail Columbia," at the moment we are betraying her to destruction; that we sing out, "Happy land," when we are plunging it in ruin and disgrace; and that we are absurd enough to call ourselves "free and enlightened," while we advocate principles that would have disgraced the age of Gothic barbarity, and establish a code, compared to which the ordeal is wise, and the trial by *battel* is merciful and just.

VI.

FOURTH ADMINISTRATION—1801-1805.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT. AARON BURR, VICE PRESIDENT.

VIIth and VIIIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

ELECTION AND INAUGURATION.

During the first session of the Sixth Congress (1800) caucuses of the members nominated Presidential candidates. (Nominating conventions were not in vogue until 1832.)

Presidential Candidates of 1800.

The Federalist candidates were JOHN ADAMS, of Massachusetts, and C. C. PINCKNEY, of South Carolina; and the Republican candidates were THOMAS JEFFERSON, of Virginia, and AARON BURR, of New York.

An election in New York (May, 1800), resulted in the choice of a Republican Legislature, by whom electors were to be chosen. This aroused the animosities of the Federalist party, and the dissensions among them resulted in divisions, which weakened their political structure. The Presidential

election took place in November, 1800, and the Republican electors received a small majority, the vote of South Carolina turning the scale. In February, 1801, the electoral votes were counted, and were found to be, for Jefferson, 73; for Burr, 73; for Adams, 65; for Pinckney, 64; and for John Jay, 1. There was no name highest on the list. Consequently there was no choice, and an election was to be made by the House of Representatives between the two highest candidates, each State having one vote. "It is impossible to say why the Republican leaders, or electors, did not foresee this mischance. The difference of one vote between Adams and Pinckney would seem to show that at least one Federalist elector was more acute, for South Carolina's vote would have seated both the Federalist candidates without trouble.

The Tie Vote for President.

"The House was Federalist, but was restricted to a choice between two Republicans. Of the two, many Federalists preferred Burr, partly to keep the Presidency from their most dangerous enemy, Jefferson, and partly to balk the evident intention of the Republicans. The balloting began February 11. Eight States voted for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two were without votes because of equal division among their members. There being sixteen States, there was even yet **no election.** Balloting continued with the same result for six days, and the Federalist majority was charged with a design to prolong the balloting in this way until March 4, the day of inauguration, and then to make Chief Justice Jay provisional President. The charge was denied by the Federalists. Fortunately the trouble came to an end February 17, when ten States voted for Jefferson, four for Burr, and two blank. Jefferson was then declared elected President, and Burr, Vice President." The recurrence of such uncertainty was prevented by an amendment to the Constitution (Amendment XII.), 1804, which reads as follows:

Purport of the XIIth Amendment.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest number, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

Jefferson inaugurated.

Thomas Jefferson, thus elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1801. Aaron Burr, elected Vice President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate at the same time. In his inaugural address, Mr. Jefferson used the following memorable expression: "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans; we are

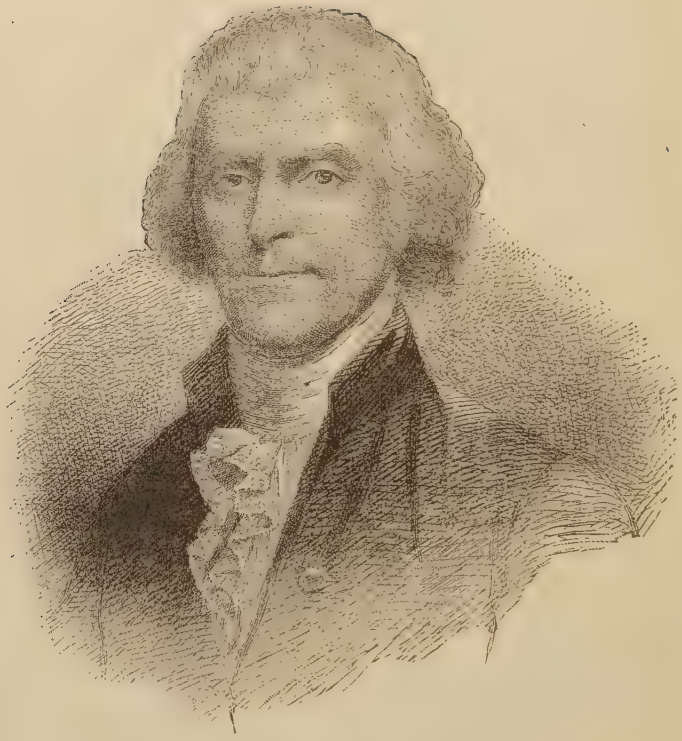
all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand, undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which ERROR OF OPINION MAY BE TOLERATED, WHERE REASON IS LEFT FREE TO COMBAT IT."

Jefferson's republican simplicity.

As President, Jefferson cultivated the extreme of republican simplicity. His style and demeanor were unostentatious; and on his inauguration day, he rode alone to the Capitol, tied his horse to the fence, which then surrounded it, and entered unattended, reading his fifteen minutes' address, and retiring in the same simple manner.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

The third President of the United States, was born at Shadwell, Albemarle County, Virginia (near Monticello, the seat where he died), April 13, 1743. He was educated at William and Mary's College, and graduated with distinction when quite young. He was a great lover of learning, and particularly of natural philosophy. With the celebrated George Wythe, he commenced the study of law, and became a favorite pupil. Mr. Jefferson was never distinguished as an advocate, but was considered a good lawyer. Soon after he came to the bar he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, and, in that body, was duly appreciated for his learning and aptitude for business. He at once took fire at British oppression, and, in 1774, he employed his pen in discussing the whole course of the British ministry. The work was admired, and made a text-book by his countrymen. In June, 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, from Virginia. In that body he soon became conspicuous, and was considered a firm friend of American liberty. In 1776, he was chosen chairman of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence. This instrument is nearly all his own, and was sanctioned by his coadjutors, with few alterations. In 1778, Mr. Jefferson was appointed embassador to France, to



Th. Jefferson

form a treaty with that government, but ill-health prevented his accepting this office. He succeeded Patrick Henry, in 1779, as Governor of Virginia, and continued in that station two years. In 1781, he composed his notes on Virginia. In 1783, he was sent to France to join the ministers of our country, Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin. In 1785, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as embassador, and continued performing the duties of that office for two years, when he retired, and returned home. In 1789, he was made Secretary of State, under Washington, in which situation he was highly distinguished for his talents. This station he resigned in 1793, and retired to private life. In 1797, he was elected Vice President of the United States, and took his seat as President of the Senate on the following 4th of March. In 1801, he was President of the United States, which office he held for two terms. After completing his second term, he retired to private life, in which he spent his days in philosophical pursuits, until the 4th of July, 1826, when he expired, just fifty years after penning the Declaration of Independence. His course was one of his own. Never lived there a politician who did more than Thomas Jefferson to bring his fellow-citizens to his own opinions.

Jefferson may be considered as the founder of the *Democratic Party*, which, from the beginning, claimed for the several States all powers which were not expressly conferred upon the General Government. He aimed at the greatest possible simplicity and economy in the administration of public affairs; and insisted that all material improvements, such as bridges and the clearing of river beds, should be made at the expense of the district to which they belonged.

He was deeply versed in English law, while as the framer of the Declaration of Independence he was, perhaps, of all men then living, most familiar with the principles of the American Constitution. Seven years' residence in France had filled him with dread and hatred of absolute governments, and with zeal for the universal rights of man.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1801–'09—EIGHT YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826), of Virginia, President	March 4, 1801

Vice Presidents.

AARON BURR (1756–1836), of New York	March 4, 1801
GEORGE CLINTON (1739–1812), of New York	March 4, 1805

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
JAMES MADISON (1751–1836), of Virginia	March 5, 1801

Secretaries of the Treasury.

SAMUEL DEXTER, of Massachusetts, (continued in office)	March 4, 1801
ALBERT GALLATIN (1761–1849), of Pennsylvania	Jan'y 26, 1802

Secretary of War.

HENRY DEARBORN (1751–1829), of New Hampshire	March 5, 1801

Secretaries of the Navy.

BENJAMIN STODDERT, of Maryland, (continued in office)	March 4, 1801
ROBERT SMITH (1757–1842), of Maryland	Jan'y 26, 1802
JACOB CROWNINSHIELD, of Massachusetts, died 1808	March 2, 1805

Postmasters General.

JOSEPH HABERSHAM, of Georgia, (continued in office)	March 4, 1801
GIDEON GRANGER (1767–1822), of Connecticut	Jan'y 26, 1802

Attorneys General.

LEVI LINCOLN (1749–1820), of Massachusetts	March 5, 1801
ROBERT SMITH (1757–1842), of Maryland	March 2, 1805
JOHN BRECKENRIDGE, of Kentucky, died 1806	Dec. 25, 1805
CÆSAR A. RODNEY (1730–1783), of Delaware	Jan'y 20, 1807

Speakers of the House.

	SERVED.
NATHANIEL MACON (1757–1837), of North Carolina	7th Cong., 1801
NATHANIEL MACON, of North Carolina	8th Cong., 1803
NATHANIEL MACON, of North Carolina	9th Cong., 1805
JOSEPH B. VARNUM (1759–1821), of Massachusetts	10th Cong., 1807

Ohio became a State November 29, 1802. It was the first State admitted from the Northwest Territory.

SECTION 3.

The first great political revolution in the United States was completed by the election of Jefferson, except that the Federalists still had control of the Judiciary. The Republicans were opposed to any currency but gold and silver, and some of their leaders even desired an amendment to the Constitution denying to the Federal Government the power of borrowing money, believing that a yearly direct tax for the current expenses of the Government would compel the people to decide more carefully on questions of peace, war, and finance. The Federalists were more willing to give latitude and power to the Federal Government. There was still much bitterness among the adherents of party.

Policy of the Republicans.

Jefferson commenced his Administration with professions of moderation, which were at variance with his previous career, and which he little observed in his future conduct.

He distrusted the Federalists, especially their leader, Alexander Hamilton, and requested his new Secretary of the Treasury (Gallatin) to look sharply into the records of his office, thinking that occasion might be found for charges against Hamilton, its late chief. After thorough examination, Gallatin reported to the President that "no improvement was possible in the management of the treasury, for Hamilton had made no blunders and committed no frauds."

Hamilton's integrity.

The country was prosperous, the power of the Federalists was broken, peace with France was in prospect, and the democratic predilections for that republic had been weakened by the late events. The Federalists, however, predicted disaster to the country under Republican rule. The larger portion of the intellect, wealth, and culture of the country was Federalistic. They looked upon the President as "an atheist in religion, and a fanatic in politics."

Though the President removed no official merely for hold-

ing Federalist opinions, yet all office-holders who had used their official power for party purposes, or who had been appointed by President Adams after the result of the last election had become known, were removed from office.

Origin of President's Message.

Instead of the President's address in person to both Houses of Congress, which had been the custom of his predecessors, Jefferson sent a written **Message**, as more suited to republican simplicity. Succeeding Presidents have followed his example in this respect.

The chief business of the Seventh Congress (First Session) was debate on a proposed repeal of a **Judiciary Law**, passed at the last session, by which twenty-four new Federal Courts had been erected, with the proper complement of officers to each. The Republicans claimed that this law was enacted only to provide offices for Federalist leaders, who were about to be driven from power. The Republicans were determined to repeal the law, though the Constitution evidently prohibited any such repeal, and the existence of the Republican party was based upon a strict construction of the Constitution. Through party necessities and maneuvering, however, the law was repealed. "The Federal party, which had founded and nurtured the Federal Government, was thus driven from its last stronghold in it, and lost forever the control of national politics, though it retained its power in New England for about ten years afterward."

Fall of the Federalist Party.

Purchase of Louisiana.

The ambitious designs and the financial needs of **Napoleon** prompted him to invite proposals from the United States for the purchase of the **Territory of Louisiana.** This vast region then comprised all the country west of the Mississippi, except the present States of Texas, California, and Nevada, and the Territories of Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona, which then formed a part of Mexico, and belonged to that country till the Mexican War (1848). This immense domain had just

been ceded by Spain to France, and Napoleon intended to establish at the mouth of the Mississippi a strong military colony, conveniently situated for encroaching on the neighboring territories of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States. Circumstances, however, changed his plans, and having his ambition turned to an invasion of the British Isles, he decided to sell Louisiana to the United States. There were urgent reasons for the purchase by the United States, though its constitutionality might be denied. It was effected by Robert Livingston and James Monroe, for fifteen million dollars, on easy terms of payment (April 30, 1803). One-third of the purchasing price was allowed as an indemnity for injuries committed by the French on our commerce. Though the President believed that the Constitution gave the Federal Government no power to purchase foreign territory and make it a part of the Union, yet the action was in effect ratified by general acquiescence in it, and it has been imitated without question in several instances since. Upon signing the treaty, Napoleon remarked: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have given to England a maritime rival that will humble her pride." Livingston said: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts . . . . and will prepare ages of happinesss for innumerable generations of human creatures."

During the First Session of the Eighth Congress (1804), the manner of the Presidential election was amended to the form which it has at present. Having been ratified by the necessary number of States, this became the **XIIth Amendment.** (See page 202).

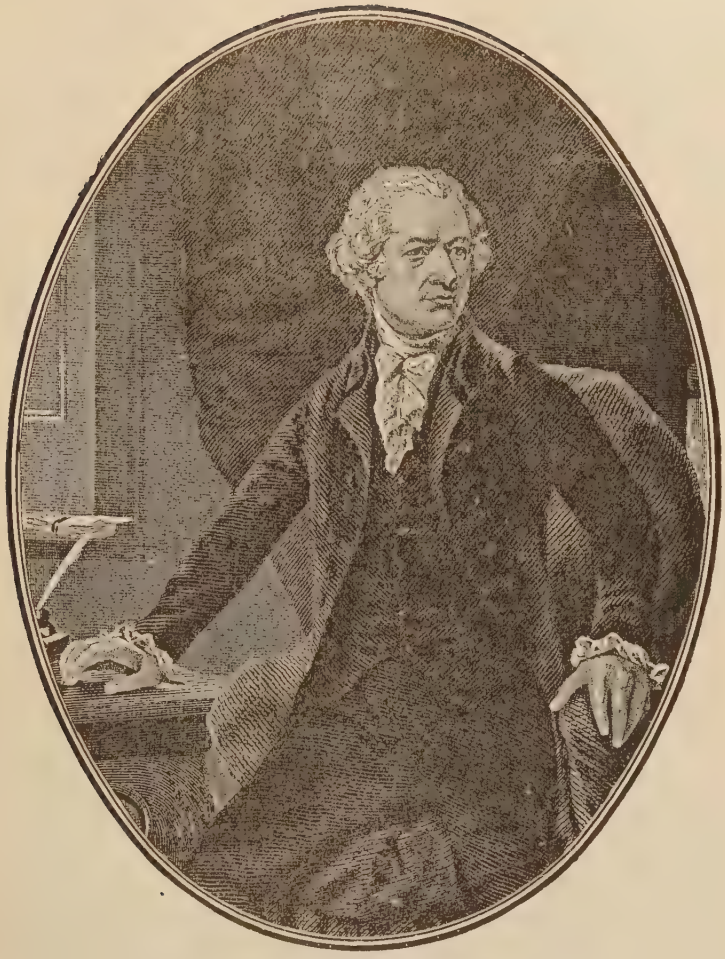
The Hamilton-Burr duel.

On July 11, 1804, Alexander Hamilton was killed in a duel by Aaron Burr, the Vice President. The difficulty grew out of political differences. Hamilton had attained the highest eminence

in the profession of law. Burr was his rival both in law and politics, and was a man of great talents, but little principle. While still Vice President, Burr ran for Governor of New York, but was defeated by a large majority, owing, in a measure, to Hamilton's influence. Availing himself of a slight pretext, he challenged Hamilton to the duel, which took place at Weehawken, New York (July 11, 1804). Hamilton's death produced a profound sensation. The melancholy death of this eminent statesman, in the prime and pride of life, with the circumstances which attended it, rendered Burr odious to the majority of his fellow citizens.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

This eminent American statesman was born on the island of Nevis, West Indies, Jan. 11, 1757. He was sent to New York in 1772, and entered King's (now Columbia) college in 1773. In 1774 he addressed a public meeting, afterward published several important political pamphlets, and in March, 1776, was commissioned a captain in an artillery company raised by the State of New York. He took part in the battles of White Plains, Trenton, and Princeton, and on March 1, 1777, became aid-de-camp to Washington, with the rank of lieutenant colonel, in which capacity he was employed in the most delicate and confidential duties. He took an active part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, spent the following winter in the camp at Valley Forge, and was present at the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778. He was at West Point at the time of the discovery of Arnold's treason. In 1780 he married the daughter of Philip Schuyler. He was present at the siege of Yorktown, where he led in the attack and capture of one of the British outworks. In 1782 he was admitted to the bar at Albany, and soon afterward he was elected by the legislature a delegate to the Continental Congress, where he bore an active part in the proceedings relating to the settlement with the officers of the army as to



A Hamilton

their half pay, the treaty of peace, and attempts to provide means of meeting the public debt. He also urged an amendment of the Articles of Confederation. He began the practice of law in the city of New York, gaining great distinction by a successful defense to a suit brought under a State law authorizing the collection of rents for the use of buildings abandoned by their owners during the British occupation. As a member of the Convention at Annapolis in 1786, he drafted the address to the States which led to the convention the next year by which the Federal Constitution was framed. He was also a member of that body, and submitted a plan of government which he did not expect to be adopted. He insisted on the necessity of establishing a National Government so powerful and influential as to create an interest in its support; extensive and strong enough to counterbalance the State governments, and to reduce them to subordinate importance Though the Constitution reported by the committee of detail failed to come up to his ideas of energy and efficiency, yet Hamilton exerted himself to effect it. He was one of the committee for revising its style and arrangement, and warmly urged its adoption as the best that could be had.

In the Convention of New York, of which Hamilton was a member, he sustained the Constitution with zeal and success. The Government having been put in operation under it, Washington, in 1789, selected Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury. At the ensuing session, Hamilton presented an elaborate report on the public debt and the re-establishment of the public credit. As to the domestic debt, the certificates of which had largely changed hands at a great depreciation, the idea had been suggested of paying them at the rates at which they had been purchased by the present holders. The report of the Secretary took strong ground against this project. He considered it essential to the re-establishment of the public credit that the assignees of the certificates should be considered as standing precisely in the place of the original creditors; and the funding system which he pro-

posed, and which was carried in the face of a strong opposition, was based on this idea. At the next session he proposed an EXCISE duty an domestic spirits, and a NATIONAL BANK with a capital of ten million dollars. He also favored the protection of domestic manufactures by the imposition of duties on imports. The success of the funding system and the bank gave Hamilton a strong hold upon the moneyed and mercantile classes, but it also raised against him a very bitter opposition, with which Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, strongly sympathized. Both the funding system and the bank were denounced as instruments of corruption dangerous to the liberties of the people, and Hamilton as designing to introduce by their means aristocracy and monarchy. The differences of opinion between Hamilton and Jefferson were aggravated by the breaking out of the war between England and France in 1793. Hamilton favored the policy of a strict and exact neutrality, and the right of the President to assume that position; and he defended his views in print under the signature of "Pacificus."

Having procured the adoption by Congress of a system for the gradual redemption of the public debt, Hamilton resigned his office in January, 1795, and resumed the practice of law in New York. He subsequently defended the President's policy of ratifying Jay's treaty in a series of essays signed "Camillus." In the preparation of Washington's "Farewell Address," Hamilton's assistance was asked and given, precisely to what extent is a matter of controversy. About the time of Adams's accession to the Presidency, the charges against Hamilton of misbehavior as Secretary of the Treasury were renewed, but led only to a war of pamphlets.

In 1798, when war with France was apprehended, Hamilton was made Major-General in the army. On the death of Washington, Hamilton succeeded to the command-in-chief; but the army was soon disbanded, and he resumed the practice of law. The appointment made by Adams, September, 1799, of a new embassy to France, contrary to the advice of

his Cabinet, produced a breach in the Federal party, and antagonism between Hamilton and Burr. In 1804, Burr attributed his defeat as a candidate for Governor of New York to Hamilton, and challenged the latter to a duel, which was fought at Weehawken, opposite New York, and Hamilton was mortally wounded. On the very spot where Hamilton fell his eldest son had less than a year before been killed in a duel.

The object alike of bitter hatred and of the warmest admiration, Hamilton enjoyed among his contemporaries, both friends and foes, a reputation for extraordinary ability, which still continues.

SECTION 4.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, PHILADELPHIA.

Adopted in Congressional Caucus (1800).

1. An inviolable preservation of the Federal Constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States, that in which it was advocated by its friends, and not that which its enemies apprehended, who, therefore, became its enemies.

2. Opposition to monarchizing its features by the forms of its administration, with a view to conciliate its transition, first, to a President and Senate for life; and, secondly, to a hereditary tenure of those offices, and thus to worm out the elective principle.

3. Preservation to the States of the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and the legislature of the Union its constitutional share in division of powers; and resistance, therefore, to existing movements for transferring all the powers of the States to the General Government, and all those of that government to the Executive branch.

4. A rigorously frugal administration of the Government, and the application of all the possible savings of the public revenue to the liquidation of the public debt; and resistance, therefore, to all measures looking to a multiplication of officers and salaries, merely to create partisans and to augment the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.

5. Reliance for internal defense solely upon the militia, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may be sufficient to protect our coasts and harbors from depredations; and opposition, therefore, to the policy of a standing army in time of peace which may overawe the public sentiment, and to a navy, which, by its own expenses, and the wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens and sink us under them.

6. Free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment.

7. Opposition to linking ourselves, by new treaties, with the quarrels of Europe, entering their fields of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.

8. Freedom of religion, and opposition to all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect over another.

9. Freedom of speech and of the press; and opposition, therefore, to all violations of the Constitution, to silence, by force, and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their public agents.

10. Liberal naturalization laws, under which the well-disposed of all nations who may desire to embark their fortunes with us and share with us the public burdens, may have that opportunity, under moderate restrictions, for the development of honest intention, and severe ones to guard against the usurpation of our flag.

11. Encouragement of science and the arts in all their branches, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions, and influences.

VII.

FIFTH ADMINISTRATION—1805–1809.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT. GEORGE CLINTON, VICE PRESIDENT.

IXth and Xth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

The Republicans offered JEFFERSON, and GEORGE CLINTON, of New York, as their Presidential candidates, in the election of 1804. Burr's political career was ended, and Clinton's name was substituted for the Vice Presidency. The Federalists offered as their candidates CHARLES C. PINCKNEY, of South Carolina, and RUFUS KING, of New York. The election in November resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the Federalists, who carried only Connecticut and Delaware, with two electors in Maryland.

Jefferson re-elected, with George Clinton as Vice President.

In February, 1805, the electoral votes were counted, and were found to be, 162 for Jefferson and Clinton, and 14 for Pinckney and King. Jefferson and Clinton were, therefore, declared duly elected, and on March 4th they were sworn into office.

Since the Hamilton-Burr duel, Burr was universally loathed by his countrymen. He was afterwards engaged in a wild scheme to establish an independent empire, either in Mexico or in the West. He partially unfolded his plans to General Wilkinson, whom he endeavored to interest in his scheme, but Wilkinson revealed the information to the President. Burr was thence closely watched. "On a beautiful island in the Ohio, near Marietta, an Irish exile named Blennerhasset had erected an elegant mansion, which he and his accomplished wife had rendered a center of attraction to people of refinement throughout the neighboring country. Burr, who was a man of fascinating manners, gained admission to this paradise and induced its owner to participate in his schemes. The lovely island soon became the chief resort of the conspirators, and Burr remained there till he had completed his plan of operations. After his departure, the authorities of Virginia sent an officer to arrest Blennerhasset. He was received by the high-spirited mistress of the island, who, with a pistol in each hand, ordered him to depart on pain of instant death. The officer deemed it prudent to retire, and Blennerhasset made good his escape." Blennerhasset's complicity in this treasonable enterprise wrought his ruin.

Burr's Conspiracy.

Burr's proceedings attracted the notice of the Government. He was arrested and carried to Richmond (1807), where he was confined with common malefactors in the common jail. He was tried before Chief-Justice Marshall, but for want of sufficient evidence, he was acquitted. He defended his own cause with powerful argument; but he left the judgment hall a desperate and ruined man. The remainder of his life was spent in obscurity. He died in 1836, in the eighty-first year of his age.

Expedition of Lewis and Clarke.

Some acquaintance with the territory acquired from France, and regarded by Burr as favorable for a new republic, was obtained by an expedition sent out by Jefferson under Captain LEWIS and Lieutenant CLARKE (1804). With a party of thirty-five soldiers and hunters they started from St. Louis and penetrated the unexplored wilderness of the West, exposed to hardships, difficulties, and dangers. They visited the numerous tribes of untamed savages on the route, crossed the Rocky Mountains near the boundary of the United States, descended the Columbia river, and returned after an absence of more than two years.

CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1812.

"Orders in Council" and "Imperial Decrees."

Jefferson's second term was disturbed by controversies and negotiations with both England and France. Each was anxious to render American commerce tributary to its own schemes in the deadly warfare raging between them. British Orders in Council and Imperial Decrees interfered with the neutral rights claimed by the United States, and inflicted arbitrary restrictions and wrongs on the trade and marine of the young and energetic Commonwealth. Jay's treaty with Great Britain left unsettled the main points of dispute with the kingdom—the impressment of British sailors on board of American vessels, and the demand for the freedom from capture of neutral goods. The manner in which the British orders were executed was even more offensive than the orders themselves, or the principles on which they were maintained. Complaints multiplied, and indignation was inflamed.

Outrages on the seas

American ships were boarded and searched on the high seas by British cruisers. Seamen were taken from them, on the ground or pretense that they were British subjects. Vessels were captured and condemned as prizes for real or alleged viola-

tions of the restrictions of neutral trade, prescribed by British cabinets and expounded by British courts of admiralty. Negotiation was vain. It was met with entire disregard, with obstinate resistance, with provoking delays or evasions, and with manifest contempt. This arrogance reached an intolerable height when the *Chesapeake* was pursued, halted off the Capes of Virginia, fired into, and boarded by the British frigate *Leopard* (June 22, 1807). Four of the crew were claimed as deserters from the British service. The British ministry disavowed the act, but no redress was given for five years. Both political parties joined heartily in the indignation excited by this outrage, and war with England would have been everywhere popular, for the day was past when parties were ready to go all lengths in support of either France or England.

The Embargo Act.

To give weight to negotiation, a NON-IMPORTATION ACT had been passed in the preceding year, but more decided measures now seemed requisite. The President ordered the immediate departure of British war vessels from American waters, and prohibited all intercourse with them. The British government refused to consider any new treaty on the basis of one recently rejected by the President; and Congress, to avoid the hazards due to the conflicting measures of England and France, passed an EMBARGO ACT, forbidding the departure of vessels from American harbors. It was unavailing, but disastrous, and was evaded in various modes. It was violently opposed by the Federalists, and by those sections of the country whose prosperity was dependent upon maritime commerce, and whose wealth had rapidly increased during the great war in Europe, despite the losses and outrages to which the neutral trade was subjected. This antagonism produced a division into **war and anti-war parties,** which named each other respectively the *French* and the *British* party. The Embargo Act intensified party feeling, and even threatened the existence of the Union. It was passed

by strict party votes, though power was given the President to suspend the act, whenever it should seem advisable to do so. Jefferson always believed that if the Embargo Act could have been faithfully observed by the whole people, the war which marked his successor's Administration might have been prevented. But the opposing interests were too strong, and after fourteen months it was repealed. Measures were adopted to prepare for war, which might occur at any time with Great Britain or France. But the war, which was always in prospect, did not break out during Jefferson's Administration. Following the example of Washington, he declined being a candidate a third time, and retired to his home at Monticello.

Troubled as Jefferson's second term had been, the country made signal advances under him. **Louisiana** had been acquired by purchase, and **Ohio** had become one of the States of the Union. Steam had been successfully applied to navigation by the genius of **Robert Fulton** (1807). Industry had flourished; and the third census (1810) exhibited a population of nearly 7,300,000.

SECTION 2.

SPEECH OF JOHN RANDOLPH,

IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 5, 1806.

ON MR. GREGG'S RESOLUTION TO PROHIBIT THE IMPORTATION OF BRITISH GOODS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

[JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke, born in Virginia, in 1773, was elected a Representative in Congress in 1799, and re-elected in 1801, and made Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He assailed President Jefferson and his supporters with great virulence. He attacked Madison's Administration, and opposed the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812. This course caused his defeat at the next election, but he was re-elected in 1814, and again in 1818. In the Session of 1819–'20 he opposed the Missouri Compromise. He was U. S. Senator 1825–'7, and during that time fought a duel with Henry Clay. In 1829 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Virginia, and in 1830 was appointed Minister to Russia; but soon after his reception by the Emperor Nicholas, he left that country abruptly, and remained nearly a year in England. He was again elected to Congress, but was too ill to take his seat. Ran-

dolph's speeches were more widely read than those of any other Congressman of his time. His invective, sarcasm, and sharp and reckless wit made him a terror to his opponents. He died in 1833.]

I am extremely afraid, sir, that so far as it may depend on my acquaintance with details connected with the subject, I have very little right to address you, for in truth I have not yet seen the documents from the treasury, which were called for some time ago, to direct the judgment of this House, in the decision of the question now before you; and, indeed, after what I have this day heard, I no longer require that document or any other document—indeed I do not know that I ever should have required it—to vote on the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. If I had entertained any doubts, they would have been removed by the style in which the friends of the resolution have this morning discussed it. I am perfectly aware, that on entering upon this subject, we go into it manacled—*handcuffed* and *tongue-tied*. Gentlemen know that our lips are sealed on subjects of momentous foreign relations, which are indissolubly linked with the present question, and which would serve to throw a great light upon it, in every respect relevant to it. I will, however, endeavor to hobble over the subject as well as my fettered limbs and palsied tongue will enable me to do it. I am not surprised to hear this resolution discussed by its friends as a war measure. They say (it is true) that it is not a war measure; but they defend it on principles which would justify none but war measures, and seem pleased with the idea that it may prove the forerunner of war. If war is necessary—if we have reached this point—let us have war. But while I have life I will never consent to these incipient war measures, which, in their commencement, breathe nothing but peace, though they plunge us at last into war. It has been well observed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania behind me (Mr. J. Clay), that the situation of this nation, in 1793, was in every respect different from that in which it finds itself in 1806. Let me ask, too, if the situation of England is not since materially changed. Gentlemen, who, it would appear from their language, have got beyond the hornbook of politics, talk of our ability to cope with the British navy, and tell us of the war of our Revolution. What was the situation of Great Britain then? She was then contending for the empire of the British channel, barely able to maintain a doubtful equality with her enemies, over whom she never gained the superiority until Rodney's victory of the 12th of April. What is her present situation? The combined fleets of France, Spain, and Holland are dissipated; they no longer exist. I am not surprised to hear men advocate these wild opinions, to see them goaded on by a spirit of mercantile avarice, straining their feeble strength to excite the nation to war, when they have reached this stage of infatuation that we are an overmatch for Great Britain on the ocean. It is mere waste of time to reason with such persons. They do not deserve anything like serious refutation. The proper argu-

ments for such statesmen are a straight waistcoat, a dark room, water gruel, and depletion.

It has always appeared to me that there are three points to be considered, and maturely considered, before we can be prepared to vote for the resolution of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. *First.* Our ability to contend with Great Britain for the question in dispute. *Secondly.* The policy of such a contest; and *Thirdly*, in case both of these shall be settled affirmatively, the manner in which we can, with the greatest effect, react upon and annoy our adversary.

* * * * * * * * * * *

What is the question in dispute? The carrying trade. What part of it? The fair, the honest, and the useful trade, that is engaged in carrying our own productions to foreign markets, and bringing back their productions in exchange? No, sir;—it is that carrying trade which covers enemy's property, and carries the coffee, the sugar, and other West India products, to the mother country. No, sir; if this great agricultural nation is to be governed by Salem and Boston, by New York, and Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and Norfolk, and Charleston, let gentlemen come out and say so; and let a committee of public safety be appointed from those towns to carry on the Government. I, for one, will not mortgage my property and my liberty to carry on this trade. The nation said so seven years ago—I said so then, and I say so now. It is not for the honest carrying trade of America, but for this mushroom, this fungus of war—for a trade which, as soon as the nations of Europe are at peace, will no longer exist; it is for this that the spirit of avaricious traffic would plunge us into war. I am forcibly struck on this occasion by the recollection of a remark made by one of the ablest (if not the honestest) ministers that England ever produced;—I mean Sir Robert Walpole, who said that the country gentlemen (poor, weak souls!) came up every year to be sheared—that they lay mute and patient whilst their fleeces were taken off—but if he touched a single bristle of the commercial interest, the whole sty was in an uproar. It was indeed shearing the hog—"great cry and little wool."

But we are asked, Are we willing to bend the neck to England; to submit to her outrages? No, sir; I answer that it will be time enough for us to tell gentlemen what we will do to avenge the violation of our flag on the ocean, when they shall have told us what they have done, in resentment of the violation of the actual territory of the United States by Spain; the true territory of the United States, not your new-fangled country over the Mississippi, but the good old United States; part of Georgia, of the old thirteen States, where citizens have been taken, not from our ships, but from our actual territory. When gentlemen have taken the padlock from our mouths, I shall be ready to tell them what I will do relative to our dispute with Britain, on the law of nations, on contraband and such stuff.

I have another objection to this course of proceeding. Great Britain, when she sees it, will say, the American people have great cause of dissat-

isfaction with Spain. She will see by the documents furnished by the President that Spain has *outraged our territory, pirated upon our commerce, and imprisoned our citizens;* and she will inquire what we have done. It is true she will receive no answer; but she must know what we have not done. She will see that we have not repelled these outrages, nor made any addition to our army or navy; nor even classed the militia. No, sir, not one of your militia generals in politics (looking at General Varnum), has marshalled a single brigade.

* * * * * * * * * *

France is at war with England—suppose her power on the continent of Europe no greater than it is on the ocean. How would she make her enemy feel it? There would be a perfect non-conductor between them. So with the United States and England—she scarcely presents to us a vulnerable point. Her commerce is now carried on for the most part in fleets; when in single ships, they are stout and well armed—very different from the state of her trade during the American war, when her merchantmen became the prey of paltry privateers. Great Britain has been too long at war with the three most powerful maritime nations of Europe, not to have learned how to protect her trade. She can afford convoy to it all; she has eight hundred ships in commission; the navies of her enemies are annihilated. Thus this war has presented the new and curious political spectacle of a regular annual increase (and to an immense amount) of her imports and exports, and tonnage and revenue, and all the insignia of accumulating wealth, whilst in every former war, without exception, these have suffered a greater or less diminution. And wherefore? Because she has driven France, Spain, and Holland from the ocean. Their marine is no more. I verily believe that ten English ships of the line would not decline a meeting with the combined fleets of those nations. I forewarn the gentleman from Massachusetts, and his constituents of Salem, that all their golden hopes are vain. I forewarn them of the exposure of their trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope (or now doubling it) to capture and confiscation—of their unprotected seaport towns, exposed to contribution or bombardment. Are we to be legislated into a war by a set of men who, in six weeks after its commencement, may be compelled to take refuge with us up in the country? And for what? a mere fungus—a mushroom production of war in Europe, which will disappear with the first return of peace—an unfair trade. For is there a man so credulous as to believe that we possess a capital not only equal to what may be called our own proper trade, but large enough also to transmit to the respective parent States the vast and wealthy products of the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies? 'Tis beyond the belief of any rational being. But this is not my only objection to entering upon this naval warfare. I am averse to a naval war with any nation whatever. I was opposed to the naval war of the last Administration, and I am as ready to oppose a naval war of the present Administration, should they meditate such a measure. What! shall this

great mammoth of the American forest leave his native element, and plunge into the water in a mad contest with the shark? Let him beware that his proboscis is not bitten off in the engagement. Let him stay on shore, and not be excited, by the muscles and periwinkles on the strand, or political bears in a boat, to venture on the perils of the deep. Gentlemen say, Will you not protect your violated rights? and I say, Why take to water, where you can neither fight nor swim? Look at France; see her vessels stealing from port to port on her coast, and remember that she is the first military power of the earth, and as a naval people second only to England. Take away the British navy, and France to-morrow is the tyrant of the ocean.

This brings me to the second point. How far is it politic in the United States to throw their weight into the scale of France at this moment;—from whatever motive, to aid the views of her gigantic ambition—to make her mistress of the sea and land—to jeopard the liberties of mankind? Sir, you may help to crush Great Britain, you may assist in breaking down her naval dominion; but you can not succeed to it. The iron sceptre of the ocean will pass into his hands who wears the iron crown of the land. You may then expect a new code of maritime law. Where will you look for redress? I can tell the gentleman of Massachusetts that there is nothing in his rule of three that will save us, even although he should undo himself and exceed the financial ingenuity which he so memorably displayed on a recent occasion.* No, sir. Let the battle of Actium be once fought, and the whole line of sea-coast will be at the mercy of the conqueror. The Atlantic, deep and wide as it is, will prove just as good a barrier against his ambition, if directed against you, as the Mediterranean to the power of the Cæsars. Do I mean (when I say so), to crouch to the invader? No. I will meet him at the water's edge, and fight every inch of ground from thence to the mountains, from the mountains to the Mississippi. But after tamely submitting to an outrage on your domicil, will you bully and look big at an insult on your flag three thousand miles off?

* * * * * * * * * * *

For my part, I never will go to war but in self-defense. I have no desire for conquests, no ambition to possess Nova Scotia. I hold the liberties of this people at a higher rate. Much more am I indisposed to war, when among the first means for carrying it on, I see gentlemen propose the confiscation of debts due by Government to individuals. Does a bona fide creditor know who holds his paper? Dare any honest man ask himself the question? 'Tis hard to say whether such principles are more de-

* In a debate on a bill fixing the prices which the commissioners of the sinking fund should not exceed, in their purchases of public debts, Mr. Crowninshield had asserted that three per cent were worth only half as much as the sixes; in other words, that the value of the stocks was in the ratio of their respective rates of interest, and not compounded of principal and interest. Thus, if the three per cent. are at 60, the true value of the six per cent. would be 120, and of the eight per cent. 160, according to this novel financial discovery.

testably dishonest than they are weak and foolish. What, sir, will you go about with proposals for opening a loan in one hand, and a sponge for the national debt in the other? If, on a late occasion, you could not borrow at a less rate of interest than eight per cent., when the Government avowed that they would pay to the last shilling of the public ability, at what price do you expect to raise money with an avowal of these nefarious opinions? God help you! if these are your ways and means for carrying on war—if your finances are in the hands of such a chancellor of the exchequer. Because a man can take an observation and keep a log-book and a reckoning, can navigate a cockboat to the West Indies or the East shall he aspire to navigate the great Vessel of State?—to stand at the helm of public councils? *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* What are you going to war for? For the carrying trade? Already you possess seven-eighths of it. What is the object in dispute? The fair, honest trade that exchanges the product of our soil for foreign articles for home consumption? Not at all. You are called upon to sacrifice this necessary branch of your navigation and the great agricultural interest, whose handmaid it is—to jeopard your best interest for a circuitous commerce, for the fraudulent protection of belligerent property under your neutral flag. Will you be goaded by the dreaming calculation of insatiate avarice to stake your all for the protection of this trade? I do not speak of the probable effects of war on the price of our produce. Severely as we must feel, we may scuffle through it. I speak of its reaction on the Constitution. You may go to war for this excrescence of the carrying trade, and make peace at the expense of the Constitution. Your Executive will lord it over you, and you must make the best terms with the conqueror that you can. * * * *

But the gentleman has told you that we ought to go to war, if for nothing else, for the fur trade. Now, sir, the people on whose support he seems to calculate, follow (let me tell him) a better business, and let me add, that whilst men are happy at home reaping their own fields, the fruits of their labor and industry, there is little danger of their being induced to go sixteen or seventeen hundred miles in pursuit of beavers, raccoons or opossums—much less of going to war for the privilege. They are better employed where they are. This trade, sir, may be important to Britains, to nations who have exhausted every resource of industry at home, bowed down by taxation and wretchedness. Let them, in God's name, if they please, follow the fur trade. They may, for me, catch every beaver in North America. Yes, sir, our people have a better occupation—a safe, profitable, honorable employment. Whilst they should be engaged in distant regions in hunting the beaver, they dread but those whose natural prey they are, should begin to hunt them, should pillage their property and assassinate their Constitution. Give up these wild schemes; pay off your debt and do not prate about its confiscation. Do not, I beseech you, expose at once your knavery and your folly. You have more lands than you know what to do with; you have lately paid fifteen millions for yet

more. Go and work them—and cease to alarm the people with the cry of Wolf! until they become deaf to your voice, or at least laugh at you.

Mr. Chairman, if I felt less regard for what I deem the best interest of this nation than for my own reputation, I should not on this day have offered to address you, but would have waited to come out, bedecked with flowers and bouquets of rhetoric, in a set speech. But, sir, I dreaded lest a tone might be given to the mind of the committee—they will pardon me, but I did fear, from all that I could see or hear, that they might be prejudiced by its advocates (under pretence of protecting our commerce) in favor of this ridiculous and preposterous project—I rose, sir, for one, to plead guilty—to declare in the face of day that I will not go to war for this carrying trade. I will agree to pass for an idiot if this is not the public sentiment, and you will find it to your cost, begin the war when you will.

Gentlemen talk of 1793. They might as well go back to the Trojan war. What was your situation then? Then every heart beat high with sympathy for France, for *Republican France!* I am not prepared to say, with my friend from Pennsylvania, that we were all ready to draw our swords in her cause; but I affirm that we were prepared to go great lengths. I am not ashamed to pay this compliment to the hearts of the American people, even if at the expense of their understandings. It was a noble and generous sentiment, which nations, like individuals, are never the worse for having felt. They were, I repeat it, ready to make great sacrifices for France. And why ready? Because she was fighting the battles of the human race against the combined enemies of their liberty; because she was performing the part which Great Britain now in fact sustains, forming the only bulwark against universal dominion. Knock away her navy, and where are you? Under the naval despotism of France, unchecked and unqualified by any antagonizing military power, at best but a change of masters. The tyrant of the ocean, and the tyrant of the land, is one and the same, lord of all; and "who shall say him nay, or wherefore dost thou this thing?" Give to the tiger the properties of the shark, and there is no longer safety for the beasts of the forest or the fishes of the sea. Where was this high anti-Britannic spirit of the gentleman from Pennsylvania when his vote would have put an end to the British treaty, that pestilent source of evil to this country? and at a time, too, when it was not less the interest than the sentiment of this people to pull down Great Britain and exalt France. Then, when the gentleman might have acted with effect, he could not screw his courage to the sticking place. Then England was combined in what has proved a feeble, inefficient coalition, but which gave just cause of alarm to every friend of freedom. Now the liberties of the human race are threatened by a single power, more formidable than the coalesced world, to whose utmost ambition, vast as it is, the naval force of Great Britain forms the only obstacle.

I am perfectly sensible and ashamed of the trespass I am making on the patience of the committee, but as I know not whether it will be in my power to trouble them again on this subject, I must beg leave to continue my crude and desultory observations. I am not ashamed to confess that they are so. * * * * * * * *

The first thing that struck my mind when this resolution was laid on the table was, *Unde derivatur?*—a question often put to us at school, Whence comes it? Is this only the putative father of the bantling he is taxed to maintain, or indeed the actual parent, the real progenitor of the child, or is it the production of the Cabinet? But I knew you had no Cabinet, no system. I had seen despatches, relating to vital measures, laid before you the day after your final decision on those measures—four weeks after they were received—not only their contents, but their very existence, all that time unsuspected and unknown to men whom the people fondly believe assist with their wisdom and experience at every important deliberation of Government. Do you believe that this system, or rather this *no system*, will do? I am free to answer it will not. It can not last. I am not so afraid of the fair, open, constitutional, responsible influence of Government; but I shrink intuitively from this left-handed, invisible, irresponsible influence, which defies the touch, but pervades and decides everything. Let the Executive come forward to the legislature; let us see whilst we feel it. If we can not rely on its wisdom, is it any disparagement to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to say that I can not rely upon him? No, sir; he has mistaken his talent. He is not the Palinurus, on whose skill the nation, at this trying moment, can repose their confidence. I will have nothing to do with his paper—much less will I indorse it and make myself responsible for its goodness; I will not put my name to it. I assert that there is no Cabinet, no system, no plan. That which I believe in one place, I shall never hesitate to say in another. This is no time, no place for mincing our words. The people have a right to know, they shall know the state of their affairs, at least so far as I am at liberty to communicate them. I speak from personal knowledge. Ten days ago there had been no consultation, there existed no opinion in your Executive Department—at least none that was avowed; on the contrary, there was an express disavowal of any opinion whatsoever on the great subject before you, and I have good reason for saying that none has been formed since. Some time ago a book was laid on our table, which, like some other bantlings, did not bear the name of its father. Here I was taught to expect a solution of all doubts, an end to all our difficulties. If, sir, I were the foe, as I trust I am the friend to this nation, I would exclaim, "O, that my mine enemy would write a book!" At the very outset, in the very first page, I believe, there is a complete abandonment of the principle in dispute. Has any gentleman got the work? [It was handed by one of the members.] The first position taken is the broad principle of the unlimited freedom of trade between nations at peace, which the writer endeavors to extend

to the trade between a neutral and belligerent power, accompanied, however, by this acknowledgment—"But inasmuch as the trade of a neutral with a belligerent nation might, in certain special cases, *affect the safety of its antagonist, usage, founded on the principle of* NECESSITY, has admitted a few exceptions to the general rule." Whence comes the doctrine of contraband, blockade, and enemy's property? Now, sir, for what does that celebrated pamphlet, "War in Disguise," which is said to have been written under the eye of the British prime minister, contend, but this "principle of necessity?" And this ground is abandoned by this pamphleteer at the very threshold of the discussion. But, as if this were not enough, he goes on to assign as a reason for not referring to the authority of the ancients, that "the great *change* which has taken place in the state of manners, in the maxims of war, *and in the course of commerce*, make it *pretty* certain" (What degree of certainty is this?) "that either nothing will be found relating to the question, or *nothing sufficiently applicable to deserve attention in deciding it.*" Here, sir, as an apology of the writer for not disclosing the whole extent of his learning (which might have overwhelmed the reader), is the admission that a change of circumstances ("in the course of commerce") has made (and therefore will now justify) a total change of the law of nations. What more could the most inveterate advocate of English usurpation demand? What else can they require to establish all, and even more than they contend for? Sir, there is a class of men—we know them very well—who, if you only permit them to lay the foundation, will build you up, step by step, and brick by brick, very neat and showy, if not tenable arguments. To detect them, 'tis only necessary to watch their premises, where you will often find the point at issue totally surrendered, as in this case it is. Again, is the *mare liberum* anywhere asserted in this book, that free ships make free goods? No, sir; the right of search is acknowledged; that enemy's property is lawful prize, is sealed and delivered. And after abandoning these principles, what becomes of the doctrine that a mere shifting of the goods from one ship to another, the touching at another port, changes the property? Sir, give up this principle, and there is an end of the question.

SPEECH OF JOSIAH QUINCY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER 28, 1808,

ON THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:

"*Resolved*, That the United States can not, without a sacrifice of their rights, honor, and independence, submit to the late edicts of Great Britain and France."

[JOSIAH QUINCY, born in 1772, was the son of Josiah Quincy, Jr., a Revolutionary patriot. In 1805–'13 he was a member of Congress. He opposed the war of 1812, and was one of the first, if not the first, among northern men to denounce the slaveholding interest as a rising and dangerous tyranny. In 1813 he was elected to the Massachusetts State Senate, and joined in the protest of the Legislature against the war and the admission of Louisiana. He remained in the Senate till the close of 1820, when he was elected to the State House of Representatives, of which he was chosen Speaker. In 1822 he became Judge of the Municipal Court of Boston. He was Mayor of Boston, 1823–'8, and President of Harvard University, 1829–'45. He published "History of Harvard University," "The Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston during two Centuries," "The Life of John Quincy Adams," and other works. He died in 1864.]

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not, in general, a friend to abstract legislation. Ostentatious declaration of general principles is so often the resort of weakness and of ignorance; it is so frequently the subterfuge of men who are willing to amuse, or who mean to delude the people, that it is with great reluctance I yield to such a course my sanction. If, however, a formal annunciation of a determination to perform one of the most common and undeniable of national duties be deemed, by a majority of this House, essential to their character, or to the attainment of public confidence, I am willing to admit that the one now offered is as unexceptionable as any it would be likely to propose.

In this view, however, I lay wholly out of sight the report of the committee, by which it is accompanied and introduced. The course advocated in that report is, in my opinion, loathsome; the spirit it breathes disgraceful; the temper it is likely to inspire neither calculated to regain the rights we have lost, nor to preserve those which remain to us. It is an established maxim, that, in adopting a resolution offered by a committee in this House, no member is pledged to support the reasoning, or made sponsor for the facts which they have seen fit to insert in it. I exercise, therefore, a common right, when I subscribe to the resolution, not on the

principles of the committee, but on those which obviously result from its terms and are the plain meaning of its expressions.

I agree to this resolution, because, in my apprehension, it offers a solemn pledge to this nation—a pledge not to be mistaken, and not to be evaded, that the present system of public measures shall be totally abandoned. Adopt it, and there is an end of the policy of deserting our rights, under a pretense of maintaining them. Adopt it, and we no longer yield to the beck of haughty belligerents the rights of navigating the ocean—that choice inheritance bequeathed to us by our fathers. Adopt it, and there is a termination of that base and abject submission by which this country has for these eleven months been disgraced and brought to the brink of ruin.

That the natural import and necessary implication of the terms of this resolution are such as I have suggested, will be apparent from a very transient consideration. What do its terms necessarily include? They contain an assertion and a pledge. The assertion is, that the edicts of Great Britain and France are contrary to our rights, honor, and independence. The pledge is, that we will not submit to them.

Concerning the assertion contained in this resolution, I would say nothing, were it not that I fear that those who have so long been in the habit of looking at the orders and decrees of foreign powers as the measure of the rights of our own citizens, and have been accustomed, in direct subserviency to them, of prohibiting commerce altogether, might apprehend that there was some lurking danger in such an assertion. They may be assured there can be nothing more harmless. Neither Great Britain nor France ever pretended that those edicts were consistent with American rights. On the contrary, both these nations ground those edicts on the principle of imperious necessity, which admits the injustice done, at the very instant of executing the act of oppression. No gentleman need have any difficulty in screwing his courage up to this assertion. Neither of the belligerents will contradict it. Mr. Turreau and Mr. Erskine will both of them countersign the declaration to-morrow.

With respect to the pledge contained in this resolution, understood according to its true import, it is a glorious one. It opens new prospects. It promises a change in the disposition of this House. It is a solemn assurance to the nation that it will no longer submit to these edicts. It remains for us, therefore, to consider what submission is, and what the pledge not to submit implies.

One man submits to the order, decree, or edict of another, when he does that thing which such order, decree, or edict commands; or when he omits to do that thing which such order, decree, or edict prohibits. This, then, is submission. It is to do as we are bidden. It is to take the will of another as the measure of our rights. It is to yield to his power; to go where he directs, or to refrain from going where he forbids us.

If this be submission, then the pledge not to submit implies the reverse

of all this. It is a solemn declaration that we will not do that thing which such order, decree, or edict commands, or that we will do what it prohibits. This, then, is freedom. This is honor. This is independence. It consists in taking the nature of things, and not the will of another, as the measure of our rights. What God and nature has offered us we will enjoy in despite of the commands, regardless of the menaces of iniquitous power.

Let us apply these correct and undeniable principles to the edicts of Great Britain and France, and the consequent abandonment of the ocean by the American government. The decrees of France prohibit us from trading with Great Britain. The orders of Great Britain prohibit us from trading with France. And what do we? Why, in direct subserviency to the edicts of each, we prohibit our citizens from trading with either. We do more; as if unqualified submission was not humiliating enough, we descend to an act of supererogation in servility; we abandon trade altogether; we not only refrain from that particular trade which their respective edicts proscribe, but lest the ingenuity of our merchants should enable them to evade their operation, to make submission doubly sure the American government virtually reënact the edicts of the belligerents, and abandon all trade, which, notwithstanding the practical effects of their edicts, remain to us. The same conclusion will result if we consider our embargo in relation to the objects of this belligerent policy. France, by her edicts, would oppress Great Britain, by destroying her commerce and cutting off her supplies. All the continent of Europe, in the hand of Bonaparte, is made subservient to this policy. The embargo law of the United States, in its operation, is a union with this continental coalition against British commerce, at the very moment most auspicious to its success. Can anything be more in direct subserviency to the views of the French emperor? If we consider the orders of Great Britain the result will be the same. I proceed, at present, on the supposition of a perfect impartiality in our administration towards both belligerents, so far as relates to the embargo law. Great Britain had two objects in view in issuing her orders: First, to excite discontent in the people of the continent, by depriving them of their accustomed colonial supplies. Second, to secure to herself that commerce of which she deprived neutrals. Our embargo co-operates with the British views in both respects. By our dereliction of the ocean, the continent is much more deprived of the advantages of commerce than it would be possible for the British navy to effect; and by removing our competition, all the commerce of the continent which can be forced, is wholly left to be reaped by Great Britain. The language of each sovereign is in direct conformity to these ideas. Napoleon tells the American minister virtually that we are very good Americans; that, although he will not allow the property he has in his hands to escape him, nor desist from burning and capturing our vessels on every occasion, yet that he is, thus far, satisfied with our co-operation. And what is the language of

George the Third, when our minister presents to his consideration the embargo laws? Is it *Le roy s'avisera?* The king will reflect upon them. No, it is the pure language of royal approbation. *Le roy le veut.* The king wills it. Were you colonies, he could expect no more. His subjects as inevitably get that commerce which you abandon as the water will certainly run into the only channel which remains after all the others are obstructed. In whatever point of view we consider these embargo laws in relation to those edicts and decrees, we shall find them co-operating with each belligerent in its policy. In this way, I grant, our conduct may be impartial; but what has become of our American right to navigate the ocean? It is abandoned in strict conformity to the decrees of both belligerents. This resolution declares that we will no longer submit to such degrading humiliation. Little as I relish it, I will take it as the harbinger of a new day, the pledge of a new system of measures.

Perhaps, here, in strictness, I ought to close my observations. But the report of the committee, contrary to what I deem the principle of the resolution, unquestionably recommends the continuance of the embargo laws. And such is the state of the nation, and in particular that portion of it which in part I represent, under their oppression, that I can not refrain from submitting some considerations on that subject.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Mr. Chairman, other gentlemen must take their responsibilities; I shall take mine. This embargo must be repealed. You can not enforce it for any important period of time longer. When I speak of your inability to enforce this law, let not gentlemen misunderstand me. I mean not to intimate insurrections or open defiances of them; although it is impossible to foresee in what acts that "oppression" will finally terminate, which, we are told, "makes wise men mad." I speak of an inability resulting from very different causes. The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Macon), exclaimed the other day in a strain of patriotic ardor, "What! shall not our laws be executed? Shall their authority be defied? I am for enforcing them at every hazard." I honor that gentleman's zeal; and I mean no deviation from that true respect I entertain for him, when I tell him, that, in this instance, "his zeal is not according to knowledge."

I ask this House, Is there no control to its authority? is there no limit to the power of this National Legislature? I hope I shall offend no man, when I assert that two limits exist—nature and the Constitution. Should this House undertake to declare that this atmosphere should no longer surround us, that water should cease to flow, that gravity should not hereafter operate, that the needle should not vibrate to the pole, I do suppose, Mr. Chairman—sir, I mean no disrespect to the authority of this House; I know the high notions some gentlemen entertain on this subject—I do suppose—sir, I hope I shall not offend;—I think I may venture to affirm, that, such a law to the contrary notwithstanding, the air would continue to circulate, the Mississippi, the Hudson, and the Potomac would roll their

floods to the ocean, heavy bodies continue to descend, and the mysterious magnet hold on its course to its celestial cynosure.

Just as utterly absurd and contrary to nature is it, to attempt to prohibit the people of New England, for any considerable length of time, from the ocean. Commerce is not only associated with all the feelings, the habits, the interests and relations of that people, but the nature of our soil, and of our coasts, the state of our population and its mode of distribution over our territory, renders it indispensable. We have five hundred miles of sea-coast; all furnished with harbors, bays, creeks, rivers, inlets, basins, with every variety of invitation to the sea, with every species of facility to violate such laws as these. Our people are not scattered over an immense surface, at a solemn distance from each other, in lordly retirement, in the midst of extended plantations and intervening wastes; they are collected on the margin of the ocean, by the sides of rivers, at the heads of bays, looking into the water or on the surface of it for the incitement and the reward of their industry. Among a people thus situated, thus educated, thus numerous, laws, prohibiting them from the exercise of their natural rights, will have a binding effect not one moment longer than the public sentiment supports them. Gentlemen talk of twelve revenue cutters additional to enforce the embargo laws. Multiply the number by twelve, multiply it by a hundred, join all your ships of war, all your gun-boats, and all your militia, in despite of them all, such laws as these are of no avail when they become odious to public sentiment. Continue these laws any considerable time longer, and it is very doubtful if you will have officers to execute, juries to convict, or purchasers to bid for your confiscations. Cases have begun to occur. Ask your revenue officers, and they will tell you that already at public sales in your cities, under these laws, the owner has bought his property at less than four per cent. upon the real value. Public opinion begins to look, with such a jealous and hateful eye, upon these laws, that even self-interest will not coöperate to enforce their penalties.

But where is our love of order—where our respect for the laws? Let legislators beware, lest by the very nature of their laws they weaken that sentiment of respect for them, so important to be inspired, and so difficult to be reinstated when it has once been driven from the mind. Regulate not the multitude to their ruin. Disgust not men of virtue by the tendency of your laws, lest, when they can not yield them the sanction of their approbation, the enterprising and the necessitous find a principal check upon their fears of violating them removed. It is not enough for men in place to exclaim, "The worthless part of society." Words can not alter the nature of things. You can not identify the violator of such laws as these, in our part of the country, for any great length of time, with the common smuggler, nor bring the former down to the level of the latter. The reason is obvious. You bring the duties the citizen owes to society into competition, not only with the strongest interests, but, which is more,

the most sacred private obligations. When you present to the choice of a citizen, bankruptcy, a total loss of the accumulated wealth of his whole life, or a violation of a positive law, restrictive of the exercise of the most common rights, it presents to him a most critical alternative. I will not say how sublime casuists may decide. But it is easy to foretell that nature will plead too strong in the bosom to make obedience long possible. I state no imaginary case. Thousands in New England see, in the continuance of this embargo and in obedience to it, irremediable ruin to themselves and families. But where is patriotism? Sir, you call upon patriotism for sacrifices, to which it is unequal, and require its operation in a way, in which that passion can not long subsist. Patriotism is a great comfort to men in the interior; to the farmer and the planter, who are denied a market by your laws, whose local situation is such that they can neither sell their produce, nor scarcely give it away, and who are made to believe that their privations will ultimately redound to the benefit of the country. But on the sea-board, where men feel, not only their annual profit, but their whole capital perishing, where they know the utter inefficacy of your laws to coerce foreign nations, and their utter futility as a means of saving our own property; to such laws, in such a situation, patriotism is, to say the least, a very inactive assistant. You can not lay a man upon the rack, and crack his muscles by a slow torment, and call patriotism to soothe the sufferer.

But there is another obstacle to a long and effectual continuance of this law—the doubt, which hangs over its constitutionality. I know I shall be told, that the sanction of the judiciary has been added to this act of the Legislature. Sir, I honor that tribunal. I revere the individual whose opinion declared, in this instance, the constitutionality of the law. But it is one thing to venerate our courts of justice; it is one thing to deem this law obligatory upon the citizen, while it has all these sanctions; it is another, on this floor, in the high court of the people's privileges, to advocate its repeal on the ground that it is an invasion of their rights. The embargo laws have unquestionable sanction. They are laws of this land. Yet, who shall deny to a representative of this people the right, in their own favorite tribunal, of bringing your laws to the test of the principles of the Constitution?

* * * * * * * * * *

I ask, on what page of the Constitution you find the power of laying an embargo. Directly given, it is no where. You have it then, by construction or by precedent—by construction of the power to regulate. I lay out of the question the commonplace argument that regulation can not mean annihilation; and that which is annihilated can not be regulated. I ask this question, Can a power be ever obtained by construction, which had never been exercised at the time of the authority given; the like of which had not only never been seen, but the idea of which had never entered into human imagination, I will not say, in this country, but in the world?

Yet such is this power which by construction you assume to exercise. Never before did society witness a total prohibition of all intercourse like this in a commercial nation. Did the people of the United States invest this House with a power, of which, at the time of investment, that people had not and could not have had any idea?—for even in works of fiction, it had never existed. But we have precedent. Precedent is directly against you. For the only precedent, that in 1794, was in conformity to the embargo power, as it had been exercised in other countries. It was limited. Its duration was known. The power passed from the representatives of this House only for sixty days. In that day the Legislature would not trust even Washington, amid all his well-earned influence, with any other than a limited power. But away, sir, with such deductions as these. I appeal to the history of the times, when this national compact was formed. This Constitution grew out of our necessities, and it was, in every stage of its formation, obstructed by the jealousies and diverse interests of the different States. The gentlemen of the South had certain species of property, with the control of which they would not trust us in the North; and wisely, for we neither appreciate it as they do, nor could regulate it safely for them. In the East, our sentiment concerning their interest in commerce, and their power to understand its true interests, was, in a great degree, similar. The writings of that period exhibit this jealousy, and the fears excited by it formed in that portion of the United States a formidable objection to its adoption. In this state of things, would the people of New England consent to convey to the Legislature, constituted as this in time must be, a power, not only to regulate commerce, but to annihilate it for a time unlimited, or altogether? Suppose, in 1788, in the Convention of Massachusetts, while debating upon the adoption of this Constitution, some hoary sage had arisen, and with an eye looking deep into futurity, with a prophet's ken, had thus addressed the assembly:—"Fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, to what ruin are you hastening! Twenty years shall not elapse, before, under a secret and dubious construction of the instrument now proposed for your adoption, your commerce shall be annihilated; the whole of your vast trade prohibited. Not a boat shall cross your harbor, not a coaster shall be permitted to go out of your ports, unless under permission of the distant head of your nation, and after a grievous visitation of a custom-house officer." Sir, does any man believe, that, with such a prospect into futurity, the people of that State would have for one moment listened to its adoption? Rather would they not have rejected it with indignation? Yet this, now, is not prophecy. It is history. But this law is not perpetual, it is said. Show the limit to it. Show by what terms it can be made more perpetual.

The universal opinion entertained in New England among commercial men of the total imbecility of this law, as a measure of coercion of either belligerent, is another cause, pregnant with discontent in that country. It may do well enough to amuse ourselves with calculations of this kind on

this floor; but intelligent merchants, masters of vessels, seamen, who are acquainted with the West Indies, and with the European dominions of both powers, speak with sovereign contempt of the idea of starving either of these powers into submission to our plans of policy. The entire failure of this scheme, after a trial of eleven months, would, I should suppose, have satisfied the most obstinate of its hopelessness. Yet it is revived again at this session. We are told, from high authority, of the failure of the wheat harvest in Great Britain, and this has been urged as a further reason for a continuance of this measure. Have gentlemen, who press this argument, informed themselves how exceedingly small a proportion our export of wheat bears to the whole consumption of the British dominions? Our whole export to all the world, of wheat in its natural and manufactured state, does not amount to seven millions of bushels. The whole consumption of the British dominions exceeds one hundred and fifty millions. Let gentlemen consider what a small object this amount is in a national point of view, even could the attainment of the whole supply be assumed, as the condition of her yielding to the terms we should prescribe. Are not the borders of the Black sea, the coast of Africa and South America, all wheat countries, open to her commerce?

But the embargo saves our resources. It may justly be questioned, whether, in this point of view, the embargo is so effectual as, at first, men are led to imagine. It may be doubted if the seed-wheat for this harvest is not worth more than the whole crop. I say nothing of the embarrassments of our commerce, of the loss of our seamen, of the sunken value of real estate. But our dead, irredeemable loss by this embargo, during the present year, can not be stated at less than ten *per centum*, on account of interest and profit on the whole export of our country—that is, on the one hundred and eight millions, ten million eight hundred thousand dollars.

Nor can our loss upon a million tons of unemployed shipping be stated at less than twenty dollars the ton—twenty millions of dollars. Thirty millions of dollars is a serious outfit for any voyage of salvation; and the profit ought to be very unquestionable, before a wise man would be persuaded to renew or prolong it. Besides, is it true that the articles the embargo retains are, in the common acceptation of the term, resources? I suppose that by this word, so ostentatiously used on all occasions, it is meant to convey the idea that the produce thus retained in the country will be a resource for use, or defense, in case of war, or any other misfortune happening to it. But is this true? Our exports are surplus products—what we raise beyond what we consume. Because we can not use them, they are surplus. Of course, in this country they have little or no value in use, but only in exchange. Take away the power of exchange, and how can they be called resources? Every year produces sufficient for its own consumption, and a surplus. Suppose an embargo of ten years; will gentlemen seriously contend that the accumulating surplus of fish, cotton, tobacco, and flour would be a resource for any national exigencies?

We can not consume it, because the annual product is equal to our annual consumption. Our embargo forbids us to sell it. How, then, is it a resource? Are we stronger or richer for it? The reverse—we are weaker and poorer. Weaker by all the loss of motive to activity, by all the diminution of the industry of the country, which such a deprivation of the power to exchange produces. And what can be poorer than he who is obliged to keep what he can not use, and to labor for that which profiteth not?

It is in vain to say that if the embargo was raised there would be no market. The merchants understand that subject better than you; and the eagerness with which preparations to load were carried on previous to the commencement of this session, speaks, in a language not to be mistaken, their opinion of the foreign markets. But it has been asked in debate, "Will not Massachusetts, the cradle of liberty, submit to such privations?" An embargo liberty was never cradled in Massachusetts. Our liberty was not so much a mountain as a sea-nymph. She was free as air. She could swim, or she could run. The ocean was her cradle. Our fathers met her as she came, like the goddess of beauty, from the waves. They caught her as she was sporting on the beach. They courted her whilst she was spreading her nets upon the rocks. But an embargo liberty; a handcuffed liberty; a liberty in fetters; a liberty traversing between the four sides of a prison and beating her head against the walls, is none of our offspring. We abjure the monster. Its parentage is all inland.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I will not humiliate those who lead the fortunes of the nation at the present day, by any comparison with the great men of that period. But I recommend the advocates of the present system of public measures to study well the true spirit of 1776, before they venture to call it in aid of their purposes. It may bring in its train some recollections not suited to give ease or hope to their bosoms. I beg gentlemen who are so frequent in their recurrence to that period, to remember, that among the causes which led to a separation from Great Britain, the following are enumerated: "Unnecessary restrictions upon trade; cutting off commercial intercourse between the colonies; embarrassing our fisheries; wantonly depriving our citizens of necessaries; invasion of private property by governmental edicts; the authority of the Commander-in-chief, and under him of the Brigadier-General, being rendered supreme in the civil Government; the Commander-in-chief of the army made Governor of a colony; citizens transferred from their native country for trial." Let gentlemen beware how they appeal to the spirit of '76; lest it come with the aspect, not of a friend, but of a tormentor; lest they find a warning, when they look for support, and instead of encouragement they are presented with an awful lesson.

But repealing the embargo will be submission to tribute. The popular ear is fretted with this word tribute; and an odium is attempted to be

thrown upon those who are indignant at this abandonment of their rights, by representing them as the advocates of tribute. Sir, who advocates it? No man in this country, I believe. This outcry about tribute is the veriest bugbear that was ever raised, in order to persuade men to quit rights which God and nature had given them. In the first place, it is scarce possible, that, if left to himself, the interest of the merchant could ever permit him to pay the British re-exportation duty, denominated tribute. France, under penalty of confiscation, prohibits our vessels from receiving a visit from an English ship, or touching at an English port. In this state of things, England pretends to permit us to export to France certain articles, paying her a duty. The statement of the case shows the futility of the attempt. Who will pay a duty to England for permission to go to France to be confiscated? But suppose there is a mistake in this, and that it may be the interest of the merchant to pay such a duty, for the purpose of going to certain destruction, have not you full powers over this matter? Can not you, by pains and penalties, prohibit the merchant from the payment of such a duty? No man will obstruct you. There is, as I believe, but one opinion on this subject. I hope, therefore, that gentlemen will cease this outcry about tribute.

However, suppose that the payment of this duty is inevitable, which it certainly is not, let me ask—Is embargo independence? Deceive not yourselves. It is palpable submission. Gentlemen exclaim, Great Britain "smites us on one cheek." And what does the Administration? "It turns the other also." Gentlemen say Great Britain is a robber; "she takes our cloak." And what says the Administration? "Let her take our coat also." France and Great Britain require you to relinquish a part of your commerce, and you yield it entirely. Sir, this conduct may be the way to dignity and honor in another world, but it will never secure safety and independence in this.

At every corner of this great city we meet some gentlemen of the majority wringing their hands and exclaiming—"What shall we do? Nothing but embargo will save us. Remove it, and what shall we do?" Sir, it is not for me, an humble and uninfluential individual, at an awful distance from the predominant influences, to suggest plans of government. But to my eyes, the path of our duty is as distinct as the milky way; all studded with living sapphires; glowing with cumulating light. It is the path of active preparation; of dignified energy. It is the path of 1776. It consists not in abandoning our rights, but in supporting them, as they exist, and where they exist—on the ocean, as well as on the land. It consists in taking the nature of things, as the measure of the rights of your citizens; not the orders and decrees of imperious foreigners. Give what protection you can. Take no counsel of fear. Your strength will increase with the trial, and prove greater than you are now aware.

But I shall be told, "This may lead to war." I ask, "Are we now at peace?" Certainly not, unless retiring from insult be peace; unless

shrinking under the lash be peace. The surest way to prevent war is not to fear it. The idea, that nothing on earth is so dreadful as war, is inculcated too studiously among us. Disgrace is worse. Abandonment of essential rights is worse.

Sir, I could not refrain from seizing the first opportunity of spreading before this House the sufferings and exigencies of New England, under this embargo. Some gentlemen may deem it not strictly before us. In my opinion, it is necessarily. For, if the idea of the committee be correct, and embargo is resistance, then this resolution sanctions its continuance. If, on the contrary, as I contend, embargo is submission, then this resolution is a pledge of its repeal.

VIII.

SIXTH ADMINISTRATION—1809-1813.

JAMES MADISON, PRESIDENT. GEORGE CLINTON, VICE PRESIDENT.

XIth and XIIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Presidential Nominations in 1808.

During the First Session of the Tenth Congress, Presidential nominations were made by Congressional caucuses. The Republicans, or Democrats,* nominated JAMES MADISON, of Virginia, for President, and GEORGE CLINTON, of New York, for Vice President. The Federalists nominated C. C. PINCKNEY, of South Carolina, for President, and RUFUS KING, of New York, for Vice President.

Much of the excitement of the Presidential election was diverted by complaints about the **Embargo**, which at this

* During the IXth Congress, which assembled in December, 1805, the Republicans dropped their name and accepted that of "DEMOCRATS." From the IXth Congress, therefore, the Jeffersonian Republicans called themselves Democrats, and the word Republican passed into disuse until, later on in the history of our political parties, the opponents of the Democracy accepted it as a name which well filled the meaning of their attitude in the politics of the country.

time began to bear heavily upon all the commercial interests of New England and the Middle States. The Federalists, whose powers were almost exhausted, concentrated their remaining strength in these States, aggravating financial distress by party bitterness. The choice of the people lay between war, an embargo, or submission. There were very few advocates for the latter. The war party was divided, some of its members wishing for war against England, others for war against France, and still others for war against both. The Presidential election in November resulted largely in favor of the Democrats. New England stood almost alone in choosing Federalist electors.

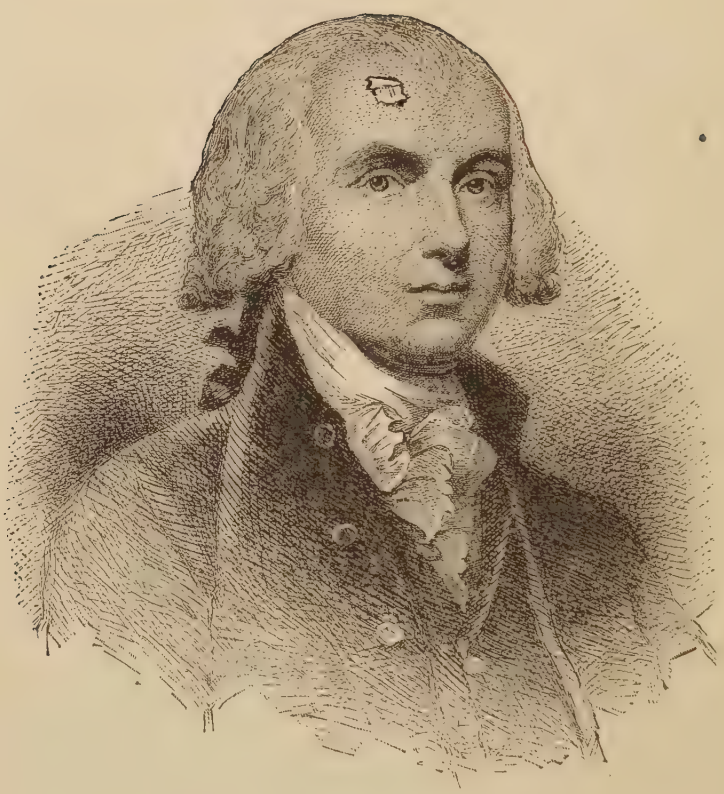
Political Issues in Election of 1808.

In February (1809) the electoral votes were counted, and were found to be, for President, 122 for JAMES MADISON, 6 for GEORGE CLINTON, and 47 for C. C. PINCKNEY; and for Vice President, 113 for George Clinton, 47 for Rufus King, and 15 scattering. Madison and Clinton were therefore declared elected, and on March 4 they were sworn into office.

Madison and Clinton Elected.

JAMES MADISON.

JAMES MADISON, fourth President of the United States, was born at King George, Virginia, March 16, 1751. He graduated at Princeton College in 1771, and studied law. In the spring of 1776 he was elected a member of the Virginia Convention, and procured the passage of the substance of an amendment to the **Declaration of Rights**, by George Mason, which struck out the old term toleration, and inserted a broader exposition of religious rights. In the same year he was a member of the General Assembly, but lost his election in 1777. In 1779 he was chosen a delegate to Congress, and remained in that body for three years. He zealously advocated in 1783 the measures to establish a system of general revenue to pay the expenses of the war, and as chairman of



James Madison

the committee to which the subject was referred, prepared an address in support of the plan which was adopted by Congress. In 1784 he took his seat in the Virginia Legislature, in which he inaugurated the measures relating to a thorough revision of the old statutes, and supported the bills introduced by the revisers on the subjects of entails, primogeniture, and religious freedom. After the adjournment he prepared a "Memorial and Remonstrance" against the project of a general assessment for the support of religion, which caused the complete defeat of the measure.

He was a member of the Convention of the States at Annapolis in 1786, for the call of which he had procured the passage of a resolution in the Virginia Legislature, and of that of 1787 at Philadelphia which framed the Federal Constitution. He was prominent in advocating the Constitution, and took a leading part in the debates, of which he kept private notes, since published by order of Congress. He also advocated its ratification in the Virginia Convention. The adoption of the Constitution was, in a large measure, brought about by a series of papers in "*The Federalist*," written by Madison, Hamilton, and Jay.

Madison was defeated as a candidate for the United States Senate, but was chosen a Representative in Congress, 1789. He opposed the **Funding Bill**, the **National Bank**, and Hamilton's system of finance generally. He thus became thoroughly identified with the Republicans, and in 1792 was the avowed leader of the party in Congress. "The Resolutions of 1789–'90," adopted by the Virginia Assembly, declaring the Alien and Sedition laws, passed by Congress in 1798, to be unconstitutional, opposing centralization, and calling for resistance to Federal encroachments by the States, were drawn up by Madison, who was not then a member of the Assembly. The Resolutions met with little favor, especially in the Northern States. Massachusetts and New England generally remonstrated against them, and declared the obnox-

ious laws both constitutional and expedient. This drew forth, in the winter of 1799–1800, Madison's elaborate and masterly "Report" in defense of his "Resolutions." From 1801 to 1809 he was Secretary of State in Jefferson's Cabinet. In 1808 he was elected President, receiving 122 electoral votes out of 175. He was inaugurated March 4, 1809.

In the difficulty with Great Britain he favored a pacific policy, but reluctantly acquiesced in a declaration of war. In 1813 he entered upon a second term. The Congressional elections had resulted in a large majority in favor of the Administration and its war policy, and the return of peace disbanded the strongly organized opposition. In 1817 he retired to Virginia.

For a long time he acted as visitor and rector of the University of Virginia, and in 1829 sat in the State Convention to revise the old Constitution.

Madison was a very voluminous writer. His writings were purchased by Congress from his widow for thirty thousand dollars, and portions of them, "The Madison Papers," were published by order of Congress (1840).

Madison died in 1836, at his seat of Montpelier, near Orange Court House, Virginia.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1809–1817—EIGHT YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
JAMES MADISON (1751–1836), of Virginia, President	March 4, 1809

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE CLINTON (re-elected), of New York	March 4, 1809
ELBRIDGE GERRY (1744–1814), of Massachusetts	May 24, 1813

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
ROBERT SMITH (———), of Maryland	March 4, 1809
JAMES MONROE (1759–1831), of Virginia	Nov. 25, 1811
JAMES MONROE (recommissioned), of Virginia	Feb. 25, 1815

Secretaries of the Treasury.

ALBERT GALLATIN (Jefferson's Admin.), of Pennsylvania...March 4, 1809
GEORGE W. CAMPBELL (1768–1848), of Tennessee.....Feb. 9, 1814
APPOINTED.
ALEXANDER J. DALLAS (1759–1817), of Pennsylvania.....Oct. 6, 1814

Secretaries of War.

WILLIAM EUSTIS (1753–1825), of Massachusetts..... .....March 7, 1809
JOHN ARMSTRONG (1758–1843), of New York.....Jan. 13, 1813
JAMES MONROE (1758–1831), of Virginia.....Sept. 27, 1814
WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD (1772–1834), of Georgia.....March 3, 1815

Secretaries of the Navy.

PAUL HAMILTON (died 1816), of South Carolina.....March 7, 1809
WILLIAM JONES (died 1831), of Pennsylvania.....Jan. 12, 1813
BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD (1774–1851), of Massachusetts ....Dec. 17, 1814

Postmasters-General.

GIDEON GRANGER (Jefferson's Admin.), of Connecticut.....March 4, 1809
RETURN J. MEIGS (1740–1825), of Ohio..... " 17, 1814

Attorneys General.

CÆSAR A. RODNEY (Jefferson's Admin.,) of Delaware.....March 4, 1809
WILLIAM PINCKNEY (1765–1832), of Maryland.....Dec. 11, 1811
RICHARD RUSH (1780-1859), of Pennsylvania.....Feb. 10, 1814

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.
JOSEPH B. VARNUM (Jefferson's Administration), of Massachusetts .....11th Congress, 1809
HENRY CLAY (1777–1852), of Kentucky.....12th Congress, 1811
HENRY CLAY (1777–1852), of Kentucky.....13th Congress, 1813
LANGDON CHEVES (1776–1857), of South Carolina.....13th Congress, 1814
HENRY CLAY (1777–1852), of Kentucky.. .....14th Congress, 1815

States Admitted.—The following named States became members of the Union during Madison's Administration:

Louisiana was admitted as the 18th State, April 8, 1812.

Indiana was admitted as the 19th State, December 11, 1816.

SECTION 3.

MADISON had had much experience in public affairs, and was familiar with the machinery of the Government. He had been Secretary of State for the last eight years. He was cautious, however, and hence was deemed by some of his own party unequal to the perilous times which seemed to be at hand.

Jefferson left the Government surrounded with difficulties. There was danger of war with either England or France, and the measures adopted to avoid it were damaging to the United States without securing redress. The New England States obstructed the enforcement of the Embargo Act, and John Quincy Adams, who had resigned the Massachusetts Senatorship because his support of the Embargo had been disapproved by his State Legislature, informed the President that the Embargo could no longer be enforced in New England; that the Federalist leaders had made all arrangements to break off from federal relations with the rest of the Union, unless the act was repealed; and that an agent from the Canadas was then in New England to offer the assistance of the English Government to the scheme. When the Embargo was repealed, other enactments, as annoying and as futile, were adopted, suspended, revived, and modified.

The Union Threatened.

At the Second Session of the Eleventh Congress an effort was made to re-charter the NATIONAL BANK, which had been chartered in 1791 for twenty years. Opposition to such a bank had been strongly made, but its Democratic friends in Congress had a bill to re-charter it favorably reported by the committees of both branches, and after long debate it was only defeated by a majority of one vote in the House, and by the casting vote of the Vice President in the Senate. The Bank then discontinued business.

The troubles with England continued to ripen for war. Protracted negotiations only increased irritation. The griev-

ance which ultimately became most prominent, because most readily understood by the masses of the people, was the forcible seizure of seamen. England claimed the right to search American vessels for British deserters; and, in many instances, American sailors were taken for deserters and *impressed* into the British service. It is said that upwards of six thousand men were forced to enter the British navy. The American doctrine was that a foreigner could be naturalized, and thus become an American citizen, enjoying all the privileges of such. The British doctrine was, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." The contest was for "free trade and sailors' rights."

Ripening for war.

As early as June, 1807, the frigate *Chesapeake* was attacked by the British ship *Leopard*. After a short fight, the *Chesapeake* hauled down her colors. The officers of the *Leopard* came aboard and carried away four American citizens, who had escaped from a British vessel upon which they had been forcibly impressed. Such high-handed outrages being repeated from time to time, Captain Rodgers was ordered to sea (1811) in the *President* to redress a flagrant outrage of this kind. He chased and overtook a British frigate, which proved to be the *Little Belt*. An engagement took place, in which the latter suffered severely. Contradictory statements in regard to the action were made by the officers of the two vessels. Each Government credited the report of its own servants, and approved their conduct. The bitterness of feeling was increased in both countries by the transaction. Another year, however, elapsed before the declaration of war.

High-handed outrages.

During the interval a successful warfare had been waged against the Indians in the Northwest. British emissaries had been tampering with them, and arousing passions which had been suppressed since Wayne's victory (1794). By the pretentions and impostures of the Shawanee "Prophet,"

Indian war in the Northwest.

and still more by the energy and ability of his brother, TECUMSEH, "the flying tiger," many tribes were united in a league to resist the encroachment of "the pale-faces." Tecumseh devised a treacherous plot to seize General Harrison, the Governor of Indiana Territory, in a conference at Vincennes (1810). He was foiled. After a second conference (1811) he went southward to gain the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws for his league. In his absence General Harrison marched against the Prophet's town on the Wabash at its junction with the Tippecanoe. As he approached he was met with professions of peace and declarations of the Prophet's readiness to sign a treaty next day. Before day the American camp was stealthily surrounded and furiously assailed. Charge after charge was repulsed. When the daylight came the Indians were driven from the woods and pursued into the swamps. The battle was a very bloody one; sixty-two Americans were killed and one hundred and twenty-six wounded.

Reparation was at length made (1812) for the insult offered by the attack of the *Leopard* on the *Chesapeake* five years before; but there was no revocation yet of the Orders in Council under which nine hundred American vessels had been captured, and no satisfaction could be obtained in regard to impressment. Even when the orders were revoked, so far as America was concerned, it was declared impossible "to suspend the exercise of the right of impressment, upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends."

The Democratic party had become very large, but it contained some rising and energetic members, who afterward became party leaders, and who were now urging a change of policy.

Madison's change of policy.

Hitherto, Jefferson and Madison had made it a peace party, and had carefully avoided direct conflict with France or England. The capture of over nine hundred American merchant vessels since 1803 had been no more effectual than such isolated outrages as the Chesapeake case in arousing

the Administration to the idea of forcible resistance. Under the new leaders the Democrats became a war party. HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, was chosen Speaker of the House; WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD, of Georgia, in the Senate, and JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, in the House, became the recognized Congressional leaders of the party. Against the opposition of the Federalists, and the timid or peace-loving Democrats, preparations were begun for hostilities. "The President was given to understand that his nomination for a second term of office depended upon his adoption of the war policy, and that his refusal to do so would cause the nomination of De Witt Clinton, of New York, in his stead. On the approach of the election, Mr. Madison recommended Congress to authorize hostilities. As a preliminary to war, an embargo was laid upon American shipping for ninety days. The British minister finally declared that his Government would not recede from its policy toward neutrals. Dispatches from the American agent in London informed the President that the same declaration had been made by the English Ministry in Parliament. The President, therefore, sent a Message to Congress, June 1st (1812), reviewing the past and present difficulties with Great Britain. It was referred to a committee, whose report was a summary of American grievances against England, impressment of American seamen, the Orders in Council, the system of paper blockades, and the refusal to settle American claims for damages. It concluded by recommending a declaration of war.

Declaration of war, June 18, 1812.

A bill for this purpose was passed by a vote of 79 to 49 in the House, and of 19 to 13 in the Senate, and war was accordingly declared, and approved by the President, June 18, 1812; but not without a strong protest from the Federalist party, asserting France to have been a greater aggressor than Great Britain.

The act declaring war is remarkably short and comprehen-

sive. It was drawn by the Attorney-General of the United States, William Pinckney, and is in the words following:

An act declaring war between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories.

Be it enacted, etc., That war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their Territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the subjects thereof.

This was a soul-stirring message, but it did not rally all the people as it should have done. Political jealousies were very great, and the frequent defeats of the Federalists, while they tended to greatly reduce their numbers and weaken their power, seemed to strengthen their animosity, and they could see nothing good in any act of the Administration. They held that the war had been declared by a political party simply, and not by the nation, though nearly all of the Middle, and all of the Southern and Western States warmly supported it. Clay estimated that nine-tenths of the people were in favor of the war, and under the inspiration of his eloquence and the strong State papers of Madison, they doubtless were at first. Four Federalist Representatives in Congress went so far as to issue an address opposing the war, the way in which it had been declared, and denouncing it as unjust. Some of the New England States refused the order of the President to support it with their militia, and Massachusetts sent peace memorials to Congress.

Of the ninety-eight members who voted for the war, seventy-six were from the South and West. Five days after the declaration of war, the British Parliament revoked the Orders in Council, but the revocation came too late. Even

if it had been made in time, the war party would probably have insisted upon the abandonment by England of the right of search and impressment, and would have declared war on that issue.

The events of this Second War with England it is not within our province to record; and it is sufficient to say that they greatly elevated the American character in the estimation of both friends and enemies.

IX.

SEVENTH ADMINISTRATION—1813–1817.

JAMES MADISON, PRESIDENT. ELBRIDGE GERRY, VICE PRESIDENT.

XIIIth and XIVth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Presidential Nominations in 1812.

Having yielded to the demands of his party in the declaration of war against England, MADISON was renominated by the usual Democratic members of Congress, with ELBRIDGE GERRY, of Massachusetts, for Vice President. Clinton refused to be bound by this bargain, and, having been nominated by a Democratic caucus of the New York Legislature, persisted in his candidacy. To profit by this promising division among the Democrats, a caucus of leading Federalists, held in New York city, decided to support Clinton, with Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, for Vice President.

The Presidential election in November resulted in the success of a large majority of Democratic electors, and of members of the XIIIth Congress pledged to support the Administration and the war. But the opposition to the war was manifested by every legal method from its very beginning. Immediately after the declaration of war the Federalist mem-

bers of Congress had published their protest against it in an address to their constituents. Under the act passed by Congress to embody the militia, requisitions were made by the President upon the Governors of the different States for their respective quotas. The Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to allow their militia to leave their States, on the ground that the Federal Government could not constitutionally call out the militia until an invasion had taken place, or the laws of the United States had been resisted. In this, as in many other instances throughout the war, the possession of power by the Democrats inclined them toward a loose construction of the Constitution, and the Federalists toward a strict construction of it.

Madison re-elected, with Gerry as Vice President.

In the November election (1812), the large Democratic majority prevented any party contest. A small minority, styled the "*Peace* Party," opposed the war. In February (1813), the electoral votes were counted and were found to be, for President, 128 for MADISON, and 89 for CLINTON; and for Vice President, 131 for GERRY, and 86 for INGERSOLL. Madison and Gerry were therefore declared elected, and on March 4th they vere duly sworn into office.

Condition of the country.

There was increasing dissatisfaction with the war, and the overthrow of Napoleon removed the chief occasion of hostility. The condition of the country was deplorable. Foreign commerce was destroyed, industry was paralyzed, the state of the finances was desperate. The customs had fallen from more than $13,000,000 to less than $6,000,000. The direct taxes had increased from $7,666 to nearly two million and a quarter, and other taxes had been raised from $2,300 to over a million and a half. Insufficient loans could be obtained only on the most disastrous terms. The debt had increased to a hundred millions, and there was no money in the treasury. Volunteering had almost ceased, and conscription

was resorted to. Connecticut and Massachusetts had refused to send their militia to the northern frontier in the first year of the war, and Congress now refused to pay those States for services rendered in local defense. The popular discontent in New England was inflamed. The Legislature of Massachusetts recommended a convention from the States in sympathy with its views.

The Hartford Convention.

This convention met at Hartford, December 15, 1814, and consisted of delegates from all the States east of the Hudson. It adopted a report complaining of unconstitutional proceedings on the part of the Government, and recommended alterations of the Constitution to limit the Federal authority. The leaders of the Democratic party supported the war policy of the Government, and denounced the purposes of the convention as disloyal and treasonable. As the war was popular with the masses the convention ruined the Federal party, which soon after ceased to exist.

Treaty of Ghent closes the war.

In the second year of the war, an offer of mediation by the Czar of Russia had been eagerly accepted by President Madison. Commissioners were appointed to conduct the negotiations. England declined the proffered mediation; but, after the fall of Napoleon, conferences were opened at the ancient city of Ghent, in Flanders, August, 1814. There was much difficulty in reaching any agreement, but at length a treaty was signed without conceding the American demands in regard to the Right of Search and Impressment, which had occasioned the war. The treaty was nevertheless welcomed with great joy by the whole people; "Messengers on fleet horses, spurred to inland villages, shouting the glad tidings as they rode." The treaty was unanimously ratified by the Senate, February 17, 1815, and proclaimed the next day. Peace brought rest, an opportunity for renewed industry and trade, and means for repairing the grave losses and expenditures of the late years. The "Se-

cond War of American Independence" had commanded the respect of other nations, and though the "right of search" was not mentioned in the treaty, it was never again asserted by Great Britain.

Great distress followed the war. While cut off from all trade with Europe, Americans had employed their money in manufactures, which for a few years were very prosperous. As soon as the war was over, and the superior but cheaper fabrics of France and England began to flood our markets, home manufactures were ruined. To protect our rising industries, and at the same time to meet the interest of a war debt of a hundred millions, duties were imposed on foreign goods entering our ports. This "American System," as it was called, of protection for home industries, found favor with the Federalist party and the manufacturing States; while the agricultural States and the Democratic party have usually favored free trade. Protection was sought by heavy duties on imports; and thus the question of the TARIFF was raised. The public necessities seemed to accord with the interests of the manufacturers, and onerous imposts were levied on foreign commodities (1816). The rates fixed, however, were insufficient, and many American manufacturers were soon prostrated by excessive importations of foreign manufactures. The position of Calhoun and Lowndes, well known leaders from South Carolina, who at first supported it, is explained by the fact that just then the proposal of a protective tariff was popular in the South, in view of the heavy duties upon raw cotton which England then imposed. Federalists, in weakness, changed their old position when they found the Democrats advocating a tariff. Webster, a leading Federalist in the House at the time, was against the bill. The parties had exchanged positions on the question.

The "American System."

The Protective Tariff.

Notwithstanding the strain on the resources of the people, the country grew in population, industry, and wealth. Two

States were added to the Union—Louisiana (1812), and Indiana (1816). The Colonization Society was established at Washington (1816). Its object was to provide a home in Africa for free negroes and liberated slaves. It met with much opposition in Congress, but resulted in founding the republic of Liberia (1820). A National Bank, with a capital of $35,000,000, was established at Philadelphia (1817), and received a charter for twenty years.

Progress of the People.

The results of the Second War with England may be summed up as follows:

Results of the Second War with England.

The United States gained the respect of European nations, and the superiority of the American navy was fully established. The boastful saying, "Britannia rules the wave," was now disputed;

It was proved that it was impossible for any foreign power to gain a permanent foothold on our territory;

The failures of expeditions against Canada, though undertaken by brave and daring men, proved that the strength of the United States consists in *defensive* warfare;

The English having cut off trade by blockade, extensive home manufactures were established, which have ever since been a source of wealth and prosperity.

X.

EIGHTH ADMINISTRATION—1817–1821.

JAMES MONROE, PRESIDENT. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, VICE PRESIDENT.

XVth and XVIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Condition of Politics in 1816.

The Federal party was killed in the Second War with England. The few surviving Federalists desisted from any united party action. The whole people composed **one party,** whose

principles were neither those of the original Federalists, nor those of the original Democratic (Republican) party, but a combination of both. The violence of party spirit had now subsided, and, since the Federal party had been broken up by its opposition to the late war, all political issues were now blended in the Democratic party. The cardinal principles of the Federal party, the preservation and perpetuity of the Federal Government, had been quietly accepted and adopted by the Democrats, while the Democratic principle of limiting the Federal Government's powers and duties had been adopted by the Federalists when the Federal Government had fallen into Democratic hands.

Nominations in 1816.

The Democratic members of Congress, before the adjournment of the First Session, held a caucus for the nomination of candidates to succeed Madison and Gerry. It was understood that the retiring officers and their confidential friends favored JAMES MONROE, of Virginia. Their wishes were carried out, but not without a struggle, for Virginia had named the President for twenty-four of the twenty-eight years since the birth of the Republic, and the Democrats were opposed to Virginia's domination in the politics of the country. Monroe's principal competitor was WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD, of Georgia. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, of New York, was nominated for the Vice Presidency. For President the Federalists (now extinct as a party) supported RUFUS KING, of New York, but united on no one for the Vice Presidency. The success of the Democrats in the November election was complete.

Monroe and Tompkins Elected.

In February (1817), the electoral votes were counted, and were found to be, for President, 183 for Monroe, and 34 for King; and for Vice President, 183 for Tompkins, and 34 for various other persons. MONROE and TOMPKINS were therefore declared elected.

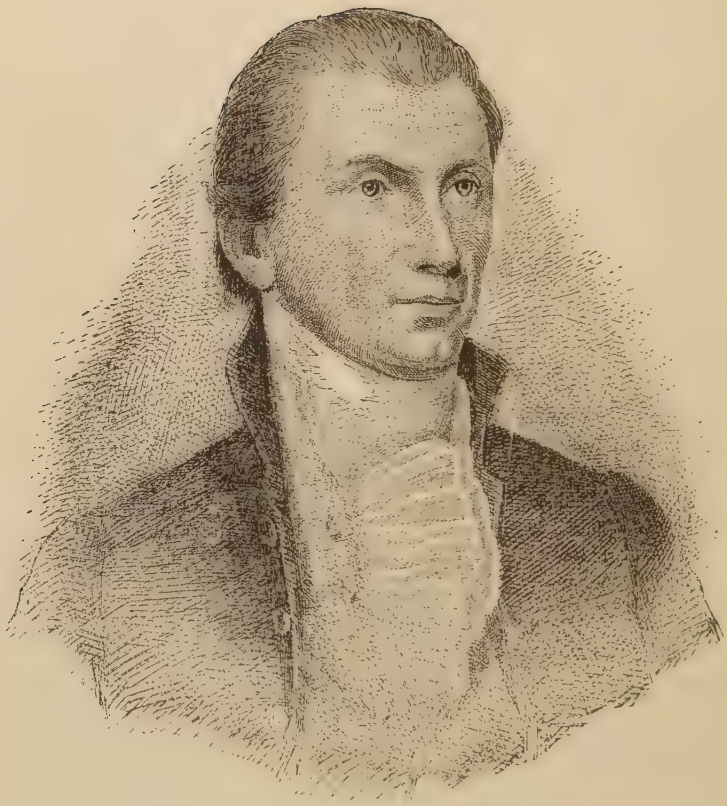
Monroe was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817, the

oath being administered by CHIEF-JUSTICE MARSHALL. The inaugural address was so liberal in its tone that it seemed to give satisfaction to men of all shades of political opinion. The issues of the late war were no longer of any significance, and the people were anxious to have a season of rest from political contests. The Republicans, or Democrats, or Democratic-Republicans, as some still called them, were compelled to concede points which had heretofore been in sharp dispute; yet as a party they kept firm hold of the desire to enlarge the scope of liberty in its application to the citizens, and just here kept their original landmarks.

JAMES MONROE.

The fifth President of the United States, one of the few exalted characters that served his country in both a civil and military capacity, was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, April 26, 1758, and was educated at William and Mary's College, whence he graduated in 1776, and commenced the study of the law. Anxious to aid in the struggle for independence, which had then just begun, he abandoned his studies, and entered the army as a cadet—joining a corps under the gallant General Mercer. He soon distinguished himself in several well-fought battles, and rapid promotion followed, until he reached the rank of Captain. He was at Harlem Heights, and White Plains, and shared the perils and fatigues of the distressing retreat of Washington through New Jersey, as well as the glory of the victory over the Hessians at Trenton, where he received a musket-ball in the shoulder; notwithstanding which, he valiantly "fought out the fight." He subsequently accepted the post of an aid to Lord Stirling, with the rank of Major, in which position he saw much hard service—being engaged in almost every conflict for the two succeeding campaigns, and displaying great courage and coolness at the bloody battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Aspiring to a separate command, he obtained permission to



James Monroe

raise a regiment in his native State; for which purpose he left the army, and returned to Virginia, where he encountered so many unexpected and discouraging obstacles, that he finally relinquished the enterprise, and resumed his law studies in the office of Mr. Jefferson.

In 1780, he was elected to the Virginia Legislature, and in the following year was made one of Governor Jefferson's council, in which he continued until 1783, when, at the age of twenty-four years, he became a member of the Continental Congress. After serving three years in that body, he was again returned to the State Legislature.

In 1788, while a member of the Convention to decide upon the adoption of the new Constitution, he voted in the minority against that instrument; but this vote did not at all affect his popularity. Two years afterward he was elected United States Senator, and in 1794, he was sent envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Versailles. After settling the cession of Louisiana to the United States, he went to England to succeed Mr. King as minister at the Court of St. James. The affair of the frigate *Chesapeake* placing him in an uncomfortable situation, he returned to the United States, and, in 1810, was once more elected to the Virginia Legislature. He was soon after chosen Governor of that State, in which office he remained until Mr. Madison called him to assume the duties of Secretary of State in his Cabinet. In 1817, he was elected President of the United States, and in 1821, was unanimously re-elected, with the exception of a single vote in New Hampshire. His Administration was a prosperous and quiet one.

He united with Jefferson and Madison in founding the University of Virginia; and when the convention was formed for the revision of the Constitution of his State, he was called to preside over its action. Not long after this, he went to reside with a beloved daughter (the wife of Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esq.,) in New York City, where he lived until

the anniversary of Independence, in 1831, when, "amidst the pealing joy and congratulations of that proud day, he passed quietly and in glory away."

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1817–'25—EIGHT YEARS.

INAUGURATED.

JAMES MONROE (1759–1831), of Virginia, President.....March 4, 1817

Vice President.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS (1774–1825), of New York.....March 4, 1817

Secretary of State.

APPOINTED.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767–1848), of Massachusetts.....March 5, 1817

Secretary of the Treasury.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD (1772–1834), of Georgia.....March 5, 1817

Secretaries of War.

ISAAC SHELBY (1750–1826—declined), of Kentucky.....March 5, 1817
GEORGE GRAHAM (1758–1826), of Virginia.....April 7, 1817
JOHN C. CALHOUN (1782–1850), of North Carolina.....Dec. 15, 1817

Secretaries of the Navy.

BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD (Madison's Administration), of Massachusetts.....March 4, 1817
SMITH THOMPSON (1767–1843), of New York.....Nov. 30, 1818
SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD (1787–1842), of New Jersey.....Dec. 9, 1823

Postmasters General.

RETURN J. MEIGS (Madison's Administration), of Ohio.....March 4, 1817
JOHN MCLEAN (1785–1861), of Ohio.....Dec. 9, 1823

Attorneys General.

RICHARD RUSH (1780–1859), of Pennsylvania.....March 4, 1817
WILLIAM WIRT (1772–1835), of Virginia.....Nov. 13, 1817

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.

HENRY CLAY (Madison's Administration), of Kentucky..15th Cong., 1817
HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky.....16th Cong., 1819
JOHN W. TAYLOR (1784–1854), of New York.....16th Cong., 1820
PHILIP P. BARBOUR (1785–1841), of Virginia.....17th Cong., 1821
HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky.....18th Cong., 1823

States Admitted.—The following named States were admitted into the Union during Monroe's Administration:

Mississippi was admitted as the twentieth State, December 10th, 1817.

Illinois was admitted as the twenty-first State, December 3d, 1818.

Alabama was admitted as the twenty-second State, December 14th, 1819.

Maine was admitted as the twenty-third State, March 15th, 1820.

Missouri was admitted as the twenty-fourth State, August 10th, 1821.

SECTION 3.

"The Era of Good Feeling."

Monroe entered upon his Presidential duties at a most favorable time. The country had rapidly recovered from the sacrifices and expenditures of the war. Trade, manufactures, and agriculture were flourishing; and the public revenues grew with the growing activity and resources of the people. Material interests were expanding so rapidly that they allayed even political discords; and, though grave questions were agitated and ultimately ripened into bloody results, Monroe's Administration was designated the "ERA OF GOOD FEELING." Political serenity was the order of the day. Monroe made a tour of the States, with the direct object of inspecting fortifications and means of defense, and in this way spread the good feeling, without seeming to have any such object. He was everywhere favorably greeted by the people, and received by delegations, which, in many instances, were especially made up of all shades of opinion. He was ably sustained by the men whom he summoned to his Cabinet: John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State; W. H. Crawford, as Secretary of the Treasury; and John C. Calhoun, as Secretary of War. William Wirt became Attorney-General. These were men of rare political distinc-

tion, even in that day of great men. Yet these and others of his Cabinet were universally accepted as great without regard to their localities. All of these united with the President in the general desire to call a halt upon the political asperities which were then recognized as a public evil. On one occasion, during his tour through a portion of Maine, the citizens, having in their address alluded to the prospects of a political union among the people in support of the Administration, the President said in reply: "You are pleased to express a confident hope that a spirit of mutual conciliation may be one of the blessings which may result from my Administration. This, indeed, would be an eminent blessing, and I pray it may be realized. Nothing but union is wanting to make us a great people. The present time affords the happiest presage that this union is fast consummating. It can not be otherwise; I see daily greater proofs of it. The further I advance in my progress in the country, the more I perceive that we are all Americans—that we compose but one family—that our republican institutions will be supported and perpetuated by the united zeal and patriotism of all. Nothing could give me greater satisfaction than to behold a perfect union among ourselves—a union which is necessary to restore to social intercourse its former charms, and to render our happiness, as a nation, unmixed and complete. To promote this desirable result requires no compromise of principle, and I promise to give it my continued attention, and my best endeavors."

Jackson's Advice to President Monroe.

The President's Cabinet was Democratic. He had been urged to ignore parties in his appointments, but, in his opinion, the time had not yet come to do so. General Jackson thus advised him: "Now is the time to exterminate that monster, called party spirit. By selecting (for Cabinet officers) characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without regard to party, you will go far to, if not entirely, eradicate those feel-

ings which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government. The Chief Magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings. His conduct should be liberal and disinterested; always bearing in mind that he acts for the whole, and not a part of the community." Whether or not Jackson's advice was consistent with his own Presidential course, let the reader decide. (*See Jackson's Administration.*)

Monroe, like his immediate predecessor, accepted and acted upon the doctrines of the new school of Republicans as represented by CLAY and CALHOUN, both of whom still favored a tariff, while Clay had become a warm advocate of a system of internal improvements. These two statesmen thus early differed on some questions, but they were justly regarded as the leading friends and advisers of the Administration, for to both still clung the patriotic recollections of the war which they had so warmly advocated and supported, and the issue of which attested their wisdom. "Clay preferred to be called a Republican; Calhoun preferred to be called a Democrat, and just then the terms were so often exchanged and mingled that history is at fault in the exact designation, while tradition is colored by the bias of subsequent events and lives."

Clay and Calhoun.

Clay was an original statesman and politician—prolific in measures and almost resistless in their advocacy. Calhoun then stood in broader view before the country than since. His sectional pride and bias had been rarely aroused, and, like Clay, he seemed to act for the country as a whole. Subsequent sectional issues changed the views held of him by the people of both the North and South.

Monroe's first message recommended the construction by the Federal Government of great roads between the States,

Import of Monroe's first Message.

canals, and other works of internal improvement or of national defense. The constitutionality of some of these expenditures was doubted or denied by

the Democratic-Republican school of politicians, and an amendment of the Constitution was suggested. Public attention was directed to such measures by the rapid settlement of remote districts, by the increase of products, by the difficulty of their transportation to the great ports, and by the necessity of protecting the rich cities on the sea-board from attack. The individual States zealously provided artificial means of communication. The **Erie Canal**, the most important of these works, connecting Lake Erie at Buffalo with the Hudson at Albany—was commenced in 1817 and finished in 1825. It is 363 miles long, 40 feet wide, and contains 83 locks of solid masonry. Its cost was $7,500,000.

The Buccaneers.

During the latter part of 1817, the attention of the Government was called to Amelia Island, on the coast of Florida, a rendezvous for *buccaneers*, who, pretending to sail under the flag of the South American republics, made free with whatever they found on the ocean. In November a body of United States troops took possession of their haunts, and soon after a similar establishment on Galveston Island, Texas, was also broken up.

The Seminoles.

Hostilities commenced with the SEMINOLES in the Spanish territory of Florida. They had been joined and excited by Creek refugees exiled by the Creek war. General Jackson collected a force more numerous than the whole nation of the Seminoles, and proceeded against them. He drove the Indians before him, and, on the pretense of aid afforded them, seized the Spanish town of St. Mark's. Having been systematically thwarted by the Spanish authorities, he captured and put to death two British subjects, on the charge of having instigated the Indians to war. He then marched on Pensacola, and took it without resistance. Fort Barrancas, to which the Spanish Governor had fled, also surrendered. These proceedings were warmly discussed in Congress; but they were sustained by a large majority in the Lower House.

The Cession of Florida.

On February 22, 1819, a treaty was made with Spain, by which the Territory of Florida (comprising the present State of Florida and the southern parts of Alabama and Mississippi) was ceded to the United States, for which the latter gave up all claim to Texas, and paid five million dollars. Texas was at that time a part of Mexico under Spanish dominion. Florida was under Spanish rule till 1763, when it was ceded to Great Britain in exchange for Cuba, which the English had recently taken from Spain. In 1783 England ceded the province back to Spain.

Germ of the Great Civil War.

At the Second Session of the XVth Congress (1819), the people of the Territory of Missouri (a part of the Louisiana Purchase) applied for permission to form a State government. The great dispute, which culminated in the great Civil War (1861–1865), was here first brought forward. The contest was a struggle between the northern and southern sections of the Union for political power. Hitherto the States admitted had been alternately free and slaveholding. Missouri presented a Constitution permitting slavery, and encountered violent opposition. It lay north of the Ohio river, and slavery had been prohibited in the Northwest Territory, but it had been established in Missouri while part of the Louisiana Territory. Bitter debates took place in Congress, and threatening divisions agitated the country. Taylor, of New York, proposed to exclude slavery from all territory north of 36° 30′, which would exclude Missouri with her existing Constitution. Cobb, of Georgia, declared that "a fire had been kindled which only seas of blood could extinguish, and that if northern men persisted, the Union would be dissolved." Tallmadge, of New York, replied: "If a dissolution of the Union must take place, let it be so! If civil war must come, I can only say, let it come." The amendment to this bill, forbidding slavery or involuntary servitude in Missouri, except as a punishment for crime,

though passed by the House, was rejected by the Senate and lost.

Slavery Question Looms up.

The slavery question was thus brought up and argued with intense bitterness. Negro slavery, in all the colonial days, had been common in all the colonies excepting Massachusetts, and had even been decided legal by the highest English court of law. In the North it had since been abolished in the States lying north of the dividing line run by the old surveyors, Mason and Dixon, between Maryland and Pennsylvania. In the South it worked mildly, and was considered a necessary and hereditary evil. Since the invention of the Cotton Gin (1793), slave labor had become profitable, and slavery had become an institution to be defended and extended by the Southern States. It was impossible always to unite the representatives of both sections—the North Atlantic States and the Southern States—in the admission of new States, by using the Ohio as a dividing line between the States in which slavery should be forbidden, and those in which it should be allowed; for when the tides of emigration had crossed the Mississippi and had begun to fill the Louisiana Purchase, conflict was inevitable, for the dividing line was lost.

The Missouri Compromise Settles the Difficulty.

At the Second Session of the XVIth Congress (1820), the question of admitting Missouri was revived on the presentation of a bill for the admission of Maine. A clause was added to this bill in the Senate providing for the admission of Missouri also; but an amendment was proposed by Thomas, of Illinois, excluding slavery from all the remainder of the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30′. The bill did not pass in this form. The proviso was, however, introduced into the Missouri bill, and is known as the Missouri Compromise. Maine was admitted separately (March 15th, 1820), and Missouri was com-

pelled to wait till the next year. After violent opposition, the difficulty was settled by the famous MISSOURI COMPROMISE of 1820, introduced by Mr. Clay. The bill was to the effect that slavery should be allowed in Missouri and in all States that might be formed south of latitude 36° 30′, but should be forbidden north of this line and west of Missouri. This bill passed March 3d, 1821, and on August 10th Missouri was admitted.

We here insert so much of the Compromise as is necessary to a full understanding of the real provisions of the act by which Missouri was admitted into the Union:

Text of the Compromise.

"SEC. 8. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30′ north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall be duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

The outside view of the slave question in the United States, at this time (1821), is that the extension of slavery was then arrested, circumscribed, and confined within narrow territorial limits, while free States were permitted an almost unlimited expansion.

XI.

NINTH ADMINISTRATION—1821-1825.

JAMES MONROE, PRESIDENT. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, VICE PRESIDENT.

XVIIth and XVIIIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Monroe and Tompkins Re-elected.

The admission of Missouri, and the compromise under which it was admitted, closed one period of the history of the United States and opened another. It was foreseen that the time must arise when the objects of the compromise would be frustrated. The forty years between the admission of Missouri and that of Kansas, in 1861, were occupied with the rush of events toward a bloody war of sections.

No Presidential candidates were nominated this year, there being no opposition to the re-election of Monroe and Tompkins. All the electors chosen in the Presidential election in November (1820) were Democrats (Republicans), but one of them refused to vote for Monroe, so that his election was not unanimous. In February, 1821, the electoral votes were counted. There was some confusion regarding the vote of Missouri. There were 235 votes, including that of Missouri, and 232 without it. Not counting the vote of Missouri there were, for President, 228 votes for James Monroe, and 1 for John Quincy Adams; and, for Vice President, 215 votes for Daniel D. Tompkins, and 14 for various other persons. (Three electors had died before having an opportunity to vote.) Monroe and Tompkins were therefore declared elected, and on Monday, March 5, 1821, they were sworn into office.

Piracy broken up.

Monroe's second Administration was even more tranquil than the first. Party strife was at an end; the Federalists appeared to be extinct. This tranquillity did not proceed from inaction. General Jackson was appointed Governor of the

new Territory of Florida, with powers "unconstitutionally great," which he exercised with more than constitutional vigor. The attention of the Government was called to an alarming system of piracy which had sprung up in the West Indies. In 1822, the American frigate *Congress*, accompanied with eight smaller vessels, was sent thither; and in the course of the year more than twenty piratical ships were captured. In the following summer Commodore Porter was dispatched with a larger fleet to cruise about Cuba and the neighboring islands. Such was his vigilance that the retreats of the sea-robbers were completely broken up; not a pirate was left afloat.

The Monroe Doctrine.

During Monroe's Administration the countries of South America were disturbed with many revolutions. From the earliest conquests these States had been dependencies of European monarchies. They now declared their independence, and struggled to maintain it by force of arms. The people of the United States, having achieved their own liberty, naturally sympathized with the patriots of South America. Mr. Clay urged upon the Government the duty of giving official recognition to the South American republics. His views finally prevailed; and in March, 1822, a bill was passed by Congress recognizing the new States as sovereign nations. In the following year this action was followed up by the President with a vigorous message, in which he declared that for the future *the American continents were not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power*. This famous declaration constitutes what has ever since been known in the politics and diplomacy of the United States as THE MONROE DOCTRINE—a doctrine by which the entire Western hemisphere is consecrated to free institutions. "Friendship with all, entangling alliances with none," has been the spirit of international relations founded upon this doctrine. It sprung from a suggestion made by Canning, the British minister for foreign affairs, who desired to resist the principles of

the Holy Alliance, and "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

Stipulations were made with Great Britain, and with Russia, in regard to the Northwestern coasts of America. General Floyd, of Virginia, had earnestly invited attention to the genial regions along the Columbia river, and to the future commerce of the Pacific harbors with Asia. He named the country Oregon, and proposed to occupy it at once. An agreement was also made with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade. A new Tariff Act was passed for the protection of Northern manufactures; but such was the general prosperity that $40,000,000 of the public debt was paid off in eight years, notwithstanding the purchase of Florida. This Tariff was an advance on all preceding ones in its consistent design to exclude foreign competing goods from American markets. It was passed by the Northern members, except those from the Northeast, against the almost unanimous vote of the Southern members, who considered it sectional, unconstitutional, and unjust.

Various Measures.

The revision of the Tariff was one of the large subjects before Congress at the Session of 1823-24, and was the regular commencement of the heated debates on that question which afterwards ripened into a serious difficulty between the Federal Government and some of the Southern States. The Presidential election being then pending, the subject became tinctured with party politics, in which, so far as that ingredient was concerned and was not controlled by other considerations, members divided pretty much on the line which always divided them on a question of constructive powers. The protection of domestic industry not being among the powers granted, was looked for in the incidental; and denied by the strict constructionists to be a substantive term, to be exercised for the direct purpose of protection; but admitted by all at that time, and ever since the first Tariff Act of

Revision of the Tariff.

1789, to be an incident to the revenue raising power, and an incident to be regarded in the exercise of that power. Revenue the object, protection the incident, had been the rule in the earlier tariffs; now that rule was sought to be reversed, and to make protection the object of the law, and revenue the incident. HENRY CLAY was the leader in the proposed revision and the champion of the "American System;" he was ably supported in the House by many able and effective speakers, who based their argument on the general distress then alleged to be prevalent in the country. DANIEL WEBSTER was the leading speaker on the other side, and disputed the universality of the distress which had been described; and contested the propriety of high or low prohibitory duties, in the present active and intelligent state of the world, to stimulate industry and manufacturing enterprise. A tariff for protection also began to assume a political aspect, being taken under the care of the party afterward denominated as *Whig*.

A subject for criticism.

Proposed amendments to the Constitution relative to the election of President and Vice President, had their origin in movements in that direction taken by leading Democrats during the campaign of 1824. "The Electoral College has never been, since the early elections, an independent body, free to select a President and Vice President; though in theory it has been vested with such powers, yet in practice it has no such practical power over the elections, and has had none since its institution. In every case the elector has been an instrument, bound to obey a particular impulsion, and disobedience to which would be attended with infamy, and with every penalty which public indignation could inflict. From the beginning they have stood pledged to vote for the candidate indicated by the public will; and have proved not only to be useless, but an inconvenient intervention between the people and the object of their choice."

This is a subject which is exciting much criticism at the present time (1884).

"The Nation's Guest."

During Monroe's last year GENERAL LAFAYETTE revisited this country, after an absence of nearly half a century, filled with tremendous events. He came by the invitation of Congress, and witnessed in declining age the development of those United Colonies to whose aid he had hastened in his youth. He was the Guest of the Nation, and traveled through every State with all the honors of peace. He stood by the grave of Washington, at Mount Vernon, visited Jefferson at Monticello, and took part in laying the foundation-stone of the **Bunker Hill Monument** on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle. He landed in New York in August, 1824, and sailed back to France from Washington City, in the new frigate *Brandywine* (September 7, 1825), named to commemorate his first engagement. Congress presented him with two hundred thousand dollars in the public stocks, and twenty-three thousand acres of land in Florida—a donation honorable to the giver and to the receiver.

SECTION 2.

SPEECH OF JOHN RANDOLPH,

ON THE TARIFF BILL, DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 15, 1824.

I am, Mr. Speaker, practicing no deception upon myself, much less upon the House, when I say, that if I had consulted my own feelings and inclinations, I should not have troubled the House, exhausted as it is, and as I am, with any further remarks upon this subject. I come to the discharge of this task not merely with reluctance, but with disgust; jaded, worn down, abraded, I may say, as I am by long attendance upon this body and continued stretch of the attention upon this subject. I come to it, however, at the suggestion and in pursuance of the wishes of those whose wishes are to me, in all matters touching my public duty, paramount law; I speak with those reservations, of course, which every moral agent must be supposed to make to himself.

It was not more to my surprise than to my disappointment, that on my return to the House, after a necessary absence of a few days on indispen-

sable business, I found it engaged in discussing the general principle of the bill when its details were under consideration. If I had expected such a turn in the debate I would, at any private sacrifice, however great, have remained a spectator and auditor of that discussion. With the exception of the speech, already published, of my worthy colleague on my right (Mr. P. P. Barbour), I have been nearly deprived of the benefit of the discussion which has taken place. Many weeks have been occupied with this bill (I hope the House will pardon me for saying so) before I took the slightest part in the deliberations of the details, and I now sincerely regret that I had not firmness enough to adhere to the resolution which I had laid down to myself in the early stage of the debate, not to take any part in the discussion of the details of the measure. But, as I trust, what I now have to say upon this subject, although more and better things have been said by others, may not be the same that they have said, or may not be said in the same manner. I here borrow the language of a man who has been heretofore conspicuous in the councils of the country; of one who was unrivalled for readiness and dexterity in debate; who was long without an equal on the floor of this body; who contributed as much to the revolution of 1801 as any man in this nation, and derived as little benefit from it; as, to use the words of that celebrated man, what I have to say is not that which has been said by others, and will not be said in their manner, the House will, I trust, have patience with me during the time that my strength will allow me to occupy their attention. And I beg them to understand that the notes which I hold in my hand are not the notes on which I mean to speak, but of what others have spoken, and from which I make the smallest selection in my power. * * * * * * * * * * *

Sir, when are we to have enough of this tariff question? In 1816 it was supposed to be settled. Only three years thereafter, another proposition for increasing it was sent from this House to the Senate, *baited* with a tax of four cents per pound on brown sugar. It was fortunately rejected in that body. In what manner *this bill* is baited, it does not become me to say; but I have too distinct a recollection of the vote in committee of the whole, on the duty on molasses, and afterwards of the vote in the House on the same question; of the votes of more than one of the States on that question, not to mark it well. I do not say that the change of the vote on that question was affected by any man's *voting* against his own motion; but I do not hesitate to say that it was effected by one man's electioneering against his own motion. I am very glad, Mr. Speaker, that old Massachusetts Bay, and the province of Maine and Sagadahock, by whom we stood in the days of the Revolution, now stand by the South and will not aid in fixing on us this system of taxation, compared with which the taxation of Mr. Grenville and Lord North was as nothing. I speak with knowledge of what I say, when I declare that this bill is an attempt to reduce the country south of Mason and Dixon's line and east of the Alleghany mountains, to a state of worse than colonial bondage; a state to

which the domination of Great Britain was, in my judgment, far preferable; and I trust I shall always have the fearless integrity to utter any political sentiment which the head sanctions and the heart ratifies; for the British Parliament never would have dared to lay such duties on our imports, or their exports to us, either "*at home*" or here, as is now proposed to be laid upon our imports from abroad. At that time we had the command of the market of the vast dominions then subject, and we should have had those which have since been subjected to the British empire; we enjoyed a free trade eminently superior to anything that we can enjoy if this bill shall go into operation. It is a sacrifice of the interests of a part of this nation to the ideal benefit of the rest. It marks us out as the victims of a worse than Egyptian bondage. It is a barter of so much of our rights, of so much of the fruits of our labor, for political power to be transferred to other hands. It ought to be met, and I trust it will be met, in the Southern country, as was the Stamp Act, and by all those measures, which I will not detain the House by recapitulating, which succeeded the Stamp Act, and produced the final breach with the mother country, which it took about ten years to bring about, as I trust, in my conscience, it will not take as long to bring about similar results from this measure, should it become a law.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Sir, events now passing elsewhere, which plant a thorn in my pillow and a dagger in my heart, admonish me of the difficulty of governing with sobriety any people who are over head and ears in debt. That state of things begets a temper which sets at naught everything like reason and common sense. This country is unquestionably laboring under great distress; but we can not legislate it out of that distress. We may, by your legislation, reduce all the country south and east of Mason and Dixon's line, the whites as well as the blacks, to the condition of Helots; you can do no more. We have had placed before us, in the course of this discussion, foreign examples and authorities; and among other things, we have been told as an argument in favor of this measure, of the prosperity of Great Britain. Have gentlemen taken into consideration the peculiar advantages of Great Britain? Have they taken into consideration that, not excepting Mexico, and that fine country which lies between the Orinoco and Caribbean sea, England is decided by superior, in point of physical advantages, to every country under the sun? This is unquestionably true. I will enumerate some of those advantages. First, there is her climate. In England, such is the temperature of the air that a man can there do more days' work in the year, and more hours' work in the day, than in any other climate in the world; of course I include Scotland and Ireland in this description. It is in such a climate only that the human animal can bear, without extirpation, the corrupted air, the noisome exhalations, the incessant labor of these accursed manufactories. Yes, sir, accursed; for I say it is an accursed thing, which I

will neither taste, nor touch, nor handle. If we were to act here on the English system, we should have the yellow fever at Philadelphia and New York, not in August merely, but from June to January and from January to June. The climate of *this* country alone, were there no other natural obstacle to it, says aloud, "You shall not manufacture!" Even our tobacco factories, admitted to be the most wholesome of any sort of factories, are known to be, when extensive, the very nidus (if I may use the expression) of yellow fever and other fevers of similar type. In another of the advantages of Great Britain, so important to her prosperity, we are almost on a par with her, if we know how properly to use it. *Fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint*—for, as regards defence we are, to all intents and purposes, almost as much an island as England herself. But *one* of her insular advantages we can never acquire. Every part of that country is accessible from the sea. There, as you recede from the sea you do not get further from the sea. I know that a great deal will be said of our majestic rivers, about the Father of Floods and his tributary streams, but, with the Ohio frozen up all the winter and dry all the summer, with a long, tortuous, difficult and dangerous navigation thence to the ocean, the gentlemen of the West may rest assured that they will never derive one particle of advantage from even a total prohibition of foreign manufacturers. You may succeed in reducing *us* to your own level of misery, but if we were to *agree* to become your slaves you never can derive one farthing of advantage from this bill. What parts of this country can derive any advantage from it? Those parts only where there is a water power in immediate contact with navigation, such as the vicinities of Boston, Providence, Baltimore, and Richmond. Petersburg is the last of these as you travel south. You take a bag of cotton up the river to Pittsburg or to Zanesville to have it manufactured and sent down to New Orleans for a market, and before your bag of cotton has got to the place of manufacture, the manufacturer of Providence has received his returns for the goods made from his bag of cotton purchased at the same time that you purchased yours. No, sir, gentlemen may as well insist that because the Chesapeake bay, *mare nostrum*, our Mediterranean sea, gives us every advantage of navigation, we shall exclude from it everything but steamboats, and those boats called κατ' ἐξοχήν, *per emphasin, par excellence*, Kentucky boats—a sort of huge, square, clumsy, wooden box. And why not insist upon it? Haven't you "the power to REGULATE COMMERCE?" Would not that, too, be a "REGULATION OF COMMERCE?" It would, indeed, and a pretty regulation it is, and so is this bill. And, sir, I marvel that the representation from the great commercial State of New York should be in favor of this bill. If operative—and if inoperative why talk of it?—if operative, it must, like the embargo of 1807–1809, transfer no small portion of the wealth of the London of America, as New York has been called, to Quebec and Mon-

treal. She will receive the most of her imports from abroad, down the river. I do not know any bill that could be better calculated for Vermont than this bill, because, through Vermont, from Quebec, Montreal, and other positions on the St. Lawrence, we are, if it passes, unquestionably to receive our supplies of foreign goods. It will, no doubt, suit the Niagara frontier.

But, sir, I must not suffer myself to be led too far astray from the topic of the peculiar advantages of England as a manufacturing country. Her vast beds of coal are inexhaustible; there are daily discoveries of quantities of it, greater than ages past have yet consumed, to which beds of coal her manufacturing establishments have been transferred, as any man may see who will compare the present population of her towns with what it was formerly. It is to these beds of coal that Birmingham, Manchester, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Leeds, and other manufacturing towns owe their growth. If you could destroy her coal in one day, you would cut at once the sinews of her power. Then, there are her metals, and particularly tin, of which she has the exclusive monopoly. Tin, I know, is to be found in Japan, and perhaps elsewhere, but, in practice, England has now the monopoly of that article. I might go further, and I might say that England possesses an advantage, *quoad hoc*, in her institutions, for *there* men are compelled to pay their debts. But, *here*, men are not only not compelled to pay their debts, but they are protected in the refusal to pay them, in the scandalous evasion of their legal obligations; and, after being convicted of embezzling the public money, and the money of others, of which they were appointed guardians and trustees, they have the impudence to obtrude their unblushing fronts into society and elbow honest men out of their way. There, though all men are on a footing of equality on the highway and in the courts of law, at will and at market, yet the castes in Hindoostan are not more distinctly separated, one from the other, than the different classes of society are in England. It is true that it is practicable for a wealthy merchant or a manufacturer, or his decendants, after having, through two or three generations, washed out what is considered the stain of their original occupation, to emerge, by slow degrees, into the higher ranks of society; but this rarely happens. Can you find men of vast fortune, in this country, content to move in the lower circles—content as the ox under the daily drudgery of the yoke? It is true that, in England, some of these wealthy people take it into their heads to buy seats in Parliament. But, when they get there, unless they possess great talents, they are mere nonentities; their existence is only to be found in the red book which contains a list of the members of Parliament. Now, sir, I wish to know if, in the Western country, where any man may get beastly drunk for three pence sterling—in England, you can not get a small wine-glass of spirits under twenty-five cents; one such drink of grog as I have seen swallowed in this country, would there cost a dollar—in the Western country, where every man can get as much meat and bread as he can consume,

and yet spend the best part of his days, and nights too, perhaps, on the tavern benches, or loitering at the cross roads asking the news, can you expect the people of such a country, with countless millions of wild land and wild animals besides, can be cooped up in manufacturing establishments, and made to work sixteen hours a day, under the superintendence of a driver, yes, a driver, compared with whom a Southern overseer is a gentleman and a man of refinement; for, if they do not work, these work people in the manufactories, they can not eat; and, among all the punishments that can be devised (put death even among the number), I defy you to get as much work out of a man by any of them, as when he knows that he must work before he can eat.

* * * * * * * * * *

In the course of this discussion, I have heard, I will not say with surprise, because *nil admirari* is my motto—no doctrine that can be broached on this floor, can ever, hereafter, excite surprise in my mind—I have heard the names of Say, Ganilh, Adam Smith, and Ricardo, pronounced not only in terms, but in a tone of sneering contempt, visionary theorists, destitute of practical wisdom, and the whole clan of Scotch and Quarterly Reviewers lugged in to boot. This, sir, is a sweeping clause of proscription. With the names of Say, Smith, and Ganilh, I profess to be acquainted, for I, too, am versed in *title-pages;* but I did not expect to hear, in this House, a name, with which I am a little further acquainted, treated with so little ceremony; and by whom? I leave Adam Smith to the simplicity, and majesty, and strength of his own native genius, which has canonized his name—a name which will be pronounced with veneration when not one in this House will be remembered. But one word as to Ricardo, the last mentioned of these writers—a new authority, though the grave has already closed upon him, and set its seal upon his reputation. I shall speak of him in the language of a man of as great a genius as this, or perhaps any, age has ever produced; a man remarkable for the depth of his reflections and the acumen of his penetration. "I had been led," says this man, "to look into loads of books—my understanding had for too many years been intimate with severe thinkers, with logic, and the great masters of knowledge, not to be aware of the utter feebleness of the herd of modern economists. I sometimes read chapters from more recent works, or part of Parliamentary debates. I saw that these" [ominous words!] "were generally the very dregs and rinsings of the human intellect." [I am very glad, sir, he did not read *our* debates. What would he have said of ours?] "At length a friend sent me Mr. Ricardo's book, and, recurring to my own prophetic anticipation of the advent of some legislator on this science, I said, Thou art the man. Wonder and curiosity had long been dead in me; yet I wondered once more. Had this profound work been really written in England during the 19th century? Could it be that an Englishman, and he not in academic bowers, but oppressed by mercantile and senatorial cares, had accomplished what all the universities and

a century of thought had failed to advance by one hair's breadth? All other writers had been crushed and overlaid by the enormous weight of facts and documents; Mr. Ricardo had deduced, *a priori*, from the understanding itself, laws which first gave a ray of light into the unwieldy chaos of materials, and had constructed what had been but a collection of tentative discussions, into a science of regular proportions, now first standing on an eternal basis."

I pronounce no opinion of my own on Ricardo; I recur rather to the opinion of a man inferior, in point of original and native genius, and that highly cultivated, too, to none of the moderns, and few of the ancients. Upon this subject, what shall we say to the following fact? Butler, who is known to gentlemen of the profession of the law, as the annotator, with Hargrave, on Lord Coke, speaking with Fox as to political economy—that most extraordinary man, unrivalled for his powers of debate, excelled by no man that ever lived, or probably ever will live, as a public debater, and of the deepest political erudition, fairly confessed that he had never read Adam Smith. Butler said to Fox, "that he had never read Adam Smith's work on the Wealth of Nations." "To tell you the truth," replied Mr. Fox, "nor I neither. There is something in all these subjects that passes my comprehension—something so wide that I could never embrace them myself, or find any one who did." And yet we see how we, with our little dividers, undertake to lay off the scale, and with our pack-thread to take the soundings, and speak with a confidence peculiar to quacks (in which the regular-bred professor never indulges), on this abstruse and perplexing subject. Confidence is one thing, knowledge another; of the want of which, overweening confidence is notoriously the indication. What of that? Let Ganilh, Say, Ricardo, Smith, all Greek and Roman fame, be against us; we appeal to Dionysius in support of our doctrines; and to him, not on the throne of Syracuse, but at Corinth—not in absolute possession of the most wonderful and enigmatical city, as difficult to comprehend as the abtrusest problem of political economy, which furnished not only the means but the men for supporting the greatest wars—a kingdom within itself, under whose ascendant the genius of Athens, in her most high and palmy state, quailed, and stood rebuked. No; we follow the pedagogue to the schools—dictating in the classic shades of Longwood—(*lucus a non lucendo*)—to his disciples.

* * * * * * * * * *

But it is said, a measure of this sort is necessary to create employment for the people. Why, sir, where are the handles of the plough? Are they unfit for *young gentlemen* to touch? Or will they rather choose to enter your military academies, where the sons of the rich are educated at the expense of the poor, and where so many political janissaries are every year turned out, always ready for war, and to support the powers that be—equal to the strelitzes of Moscow or St. Petersburg. I do not speak now of individuals, of course, but of the tendency of the system—the hounds

follow the huntsman because he feeds them and bears the whip. I speak of the system. I concur most heartily, sir in the censure which has been passed upon the greediness of office, which stands a stigma on the present generation. Men from whom we might expect, and from whom I did expect, better things, crowd the ante-chamber of the palace for every vacant office; nay, even before men are dead, their shoes are wanted for some bare-footed office-seeker. How mistaken was the old Roman, the old Consul, who, whilst he held the plough by one hand, and death held the other, exclaimed, "*Dis immortalibus sero!*"

Our fathers, how did they acquire their property? By straight-forward industry, rectitude, and frugality. How did they become dispossessed of their property? By indulging in speculative hopes and designs, seeking the shadow whilst they lost the substance; and now, instead of being, as they were, men of respectability, men of substance, men capable and willing to live independently and honestly, and hospitably too—for who so parsimonious as the prodigal who has nothing to give? What have we become? A nation of sharks, preying on one another through the instrumentality of this paper system, which, if Lycurgus had known of it, he would unquestionably have adopted in preference to his iron money, if his object had been to make the Spartans the most accomplished knaves as well as to keep them poor.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The manufacturer of the East may carry his woolens, or his cottons, or his coffins, to what market he pleases—I do not buy of him. Self-defense is the first law of nature. You drive us into it. You create heats and animosities among this great family, who ought to live like brothers; and, after you have got this temper of mind roused among the Southern people, do you expect to come among us to trade, and expect us to buy your wares? Sir, not only shall we not buy them, but we shall take such measures (I will not enter into the detail of them now) as shall render it impossible for you to sell them. Whatever may be said here of the "misguided counsels," as they have been termed, "of the theorists of Virginia," they have, so far as regards this question, the confidence of United Virginia. We are asked—Does the South lose anything by this bill—why do you cry out? I put it, sir, to any man from any part of the country, from the Gulf of Mexico, from the Balize, to the eastern shore of Maryland—which, I thank Heaven, is not yet under the government of Baltimore, and will not be, unless certain theories should come into play in that State, which we have lately heard of, and a majority of men, told by the head, should govern—whether the whole country between the points I have named, is not unanimous in opposition to this bill. Would it not be unexampled that we should thus complain, protest, resist, and that all the while nothing should be the matter? Are our understandings (however low mine may be rated, much sounder than mine are engaged in this resistance) to be rated so low as that we are to be made to believe that we are

children affrighted by a bugbear? We are asked, however, why do you cry out? it is all for your good. Sir, this reminds me of the mistresses of George II., who, when they were insulted by the populace on arriving in London (as all such creatures deserve to be, by every mob), put their heads out of the window, and said to them in their broken English, "*Goot people, we be come for your goots;*" to which one of the mob rejoined, "Yes, and for our chattels too, I fancy." Just so it is with the oppressive exactions proposed and advocated by the supporters of this bill, on the plea of the good of those who are its victims. * * * *

I had more to say, Mr. Speaker, could I have said it, on this subject. But I can not sit down without asking those who were once my brethren of the church, the elders of the young family of this good old Republic of the Thirteen States, if they can consent to rivet upon us this system from which no benefit can possibly result to themselves. I put it to them as descendants of the renowned colony of Virginia; as children sprung from her loins; if for the sake of all the benefits with which this bill is pretended to be freighted to them, granting such to be the fact for argument's sake, they could consent to do such an act of violence to the unanimous opinion, feelings, prejudices, if you will, of the whole Southern States, as to pass it? I go farther. I ask of them what is there in the condition of the nation at this time that calls for the immediate adoption of this measure? Are the Gauls at the gate of the Capitol? If they are, the cacklings of the Capitoline geese will hardly save it. What is there to induce us to plunge into the vortex of those evils so severely felt in Europe from this very manufacturing and paper policy? For it is evident that if we go into this system of policy we must adopt the European institutions also. We have very good materials to work with; we have only to make our elective king President for life, in the first place, and then to make the succession hereditary in the family of the first that shall happen to have a promising son. For a king we can be at no loss—*ex quovis ligno*—any block will do for him. The Senate may, perhaps, be transmuted into a House of Peers, although we should meet with more difficulty than in the other case; for Bonaparte himself was not more hardly put to it to recruit the ranks of his mushroom nobility than we should be to furnish a House of Peers. As for us, we are the faithful Commons, ready made to hand; but with all our loyalty, I congratulate the House—I congratulate the nation—that, although this body is daily degraded by the sight of members of Congress manufactured into placemen, we have not yet reached such a point of degradation as to suffer Executive minions to be manufactured into members of Congress. We have shut *that* door; I wish we could shut the other also. I wish we could have a perpetual call of the House in this view, and suffer no one to get out from its closed doors. The time is peculiarly inauspicious for the change in our policy which is proposed by this bill. We are on the eve of an election that promises to be the most distracted that this

nation has ever yet undergone. It may turn out to be a Polish election. At such a time ought any measure to be brought forward which is supposed to be capable of being demonstrated to be extremely injurious to one great portion of this country and beneficial in proportion to another? Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. There are firebrands enough in the land without this apple of discord being cast into this assembly. Suppose this measure is not what it is represented to be; that the fears of the South are altogether illusory and visionary; that it will produce all the good predicted of it—an honorable gentleman from Kentucky said yesterday, and I was sorry to hear it, for I have great respect for that gentleman and for other gentlemen from that State—that the question was not whether a bare majority should pass the bill, but whether the majority or the minority should rule. The gentleman is wrong, and if he will consider the matter rightly he will see it. Is there no difference between the patient and the actor? *We* are passive; we do not call them to act or to suffer, but we call upon them not so to act as that we must necessarily suffer; and I venture to say that in any Government, properly constituted, this very consideration would operate conclusively, that if the burden is to be laid on 102 it ought not to be laid by 105. We are the eel that is being flayed, while the cook-maid pats us on the head and cries with the clown in King Lear, "Down, wantons, down." There is but one portion of the country which can profit by this bill, and from that portion of the country comes this bare majority in favor of it. I bless God that Massachusetts and old Virginia are once again rallying under the same banner against oppressive and unconstitutional taxation, for, if all the blood be drawn from out the body, I care not whether it be by the British Parliament or the American Congress, by an emperor or a king abroad, or by a President at home.

Under these views, and with feelings of mortification and shame at the very weak opposition I have been able to make to this bill, I entreat gentlemen to consent that it may lie over, at least until the next session of Congress. We have other business to attend to, and our families and affairs need our attention at home; and indeed I, sir, would not give one farthing for any man who prefers being here to being at home, who is a good public man and a bad private one. With these views and feelings, I move you, sir, that the bill be indefinitely postponed.

XII.

TENTH ADMINISTRATION—1825–1829.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, PRESIDENT. JOHN C. CALHOUN, VICE PRESIDENT.

XIXth and XXth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

The Election of 1824.

The "era of good feeling" did not outlast the Presidency of Monroe. Four candidates contended for the succession of the Government. There was an appearance of sectionalism in the canvass. As there were no recognized parties, the election degenerated into a personal contest. John Quincy Adams was put forward as the candidate of the East; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, as the choice of the South; Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson as the favorites of the West. Clay and Adams were *Loose Constructionists*. Crawford and Jackson were *Strict Constructionists*, but Jackson was objectionable to the Crawford faction, on account of his leaning toward a Protective Tariff. Neither candidate received a majority of the votes, and for the second time in the history of the Government, the choice of President was referred to the House of Representatives. In February, 1825, the electoral votes were counted and were found to be, for President, 99 for Andrew Jackson, 84 for John Quincy Adams, 41 for William H. Crawford, and 37 for Henry Clay; and for Vice President, 182 for John C. Calhoun, and 78 for various other persons. CALHOUN was therefore declared elected Vice President, and the House proceeded to choose a President from the three highest on the list, each State having one vote. As Clay stood fourth on the list, he was not eligible, and it was natural that he and his friends should unite on John Quincy Adams, the other Loose Constructionist candidate. Through this coalition, thirteen States voted for Adams, seven for Jackson, and four for

Crawford. ADAMS was therefore declared elected President. On March 4 (1825), Adams and Calhoun were duly inaugurated.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, sixth President of the United States, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, on the 11th of July, 1767. His character was formed under the ennobling influences of a cultured home, and developed amid rare social and literary advantages. The influence of his noble mother, as well as of his father, is apparent in the development of his moral and intellectual nature.

His youthful ear heard the thunder of the cannon that shook Bunker's Hill, and his eye eagerly watched the clouds of smoke as they ascended from the burning ruins of Charlestown. In his eleventh year he accompanied his father to France, and thus had rare opportunities to acquire a knowledge of the politics, manners, and language of the people. When he had attained his fourteenth year, he was acting as his father's secretary, and, notwithstanding his youth, was recognized as an officer in that capacity by Congress.

Returning from his foreign travels, he entered Harvard College, in 1786, and graduated the following year. He then studied law for three years, and was admitted to the bar in 1790. In 1794 he was appointed Minister to the Netherlands, and in 1797, he was honored with the appointment of Minister to Portugal, which was afterward changed to the mission to Berlin. He also served his country as Ambassador to Prussia, Russia, and England.

Washington entertained a high opinion of his diplomatic abilities, and pronounced him the ablest American Minister ever sent to a foreign court.

He was also elected to the Senate of the United States, but resigned before the close of the Senatorial term. In 1806, he was elected to the Professorship of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres at Harvard, and was a great favorite with the friends and students of the University. He was appointed by Presi-

J. Q. Adams

dent Monroe to the office of Secretary of State, and served in that capacity through both terms of Monroe's Administration. In the next Presidential election the suffrages of the people were divided among four candidates, none of whom received a majority of the electoral votes, and consequently the election of a President devolved upon the House of Representatives. The members of that body in performing the duty assigned them elected John Quincy Adams as the successor of President Monroe, and he was inaugurated March 4, 1825. His Administration was somewhat embarrassed by the strong party spirit that had been engendered previous to his election, and his political adherents being in a minority could not induce Congress to adopt his recommendations.

After his retirement from the Presidency he devoted his time chiefly to literary and religious researches. It is said that he translated the Psalms into English verse, and devoted much of his time to the study of the sacred Scriptures. In 1830, he was elected to the House of Representatives, and held the position until his death, which occurred on the 21st of February, 1848. He had just risen to address the Speaker of the House when he was smitten with paralysis, and fell, exclaiming, "This is the last of earth." Thus "the old man eloquent" fell at his post, and passed to his final reward.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1825–1829—FOUR YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1767–1848), of Massachusetts	March 4, 1825

Vice President.

JOHN C. CALHOUN (1782–1850), of South Carolinaa	March 4, 1825

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
HENRY CLAY (1777–1852), of Kentucky	March 7, 1825

Secretary of the Treasury.

RICHARD RUSH (Monroe's Admin.), of Pennsylvania.....March 7, 1825

Secretaries of War.

JAMES BARBOUR (1775–1842), of Virginia.....March 7, 1825
PETER B. PORTER (1773–1844), of New York.....May 26, 1828

Secretary of the Navy.

SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD (Monroe's Admin.), of New Jersey...March 4, 1825

Postmaster-General.

JOHN MCLEAN (Monroe's Admin.), of Ohio.....March 4, 1825

Attorney-General.

WILLIAM WIRT (Monroe's Admin.), of Virginia.....March 4, 1825

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.
JOHN W. TAYLOR (1784–1854), of New York.....19th Cong., 1827
ANDREW STEVENSON (1784–1857), of New York.....20th Cong., 1828

SECTION 3.

John Quincy Adams was the first President of a new generation. He had been brought up in the midst of public affairs. He had abundant and various learning, high intellectual powers, industry, energy, and endless pertinacity. The new Administration was an epoch of peace and prosperity in the country. The adherents of General Jackson and Mr. Crawford united in opposition to the policy of the President, and there was a want of unanimity between the different departments of the Government. In the Senate the political friends of Mr. Adams were in a minority, and their majority in the Lower House lasted only for one session. In his inaugural address the President strongly advocated the doctrine of internal improvements; but the adverse views of Congress prevented his recommendations from being adopted.

Party Spirit in the New Administration.

Both factions of the Strict Constructionists united in an opposition to the President, which became stronger through his whole term of office, until it overcame him. His nomination of Clay to a post in his Cabinet gave color to the charge of a corrupt bargain between him and Clay, by which Adams was to receive the Clay vote in the House, and Clay was to be rewarded by the position of Secretary of State, which was then usually considered a stepping-stone to the Presidency. Clay indignantly denied any such bargain, and the renewal of charges and denials, each with its appropriate arguments, gave abundant material for debate. Mr. Clay took upon himself the mission of reconciling the people to the election of Mr. Adams, in a series of public speeches. By this effort he crippled himself, and, losing his position in the Democratic party, he joined the NATIONAL REPUBLICANS, afterward called WHIGS. *National Republican* was the distinctive party name which the Clay and Adams factions took. This name was soon changed to that of *Whig*. They maintained the Loose Constructionist principles of the Federalists, and, in addition, desired a Protective Tariff and a system of public improvement at national expense. This policy was suggested by the President's inaugural, and reported in his first Message. The democratic principle vindicated the people in their right and their power. It re-established parties upon the basis of principle, and drew anew party lines, then almost obliterated under the fusion of parties during the "era of good feeling," and the efforts of leading men to make personal parties for themselves. It showed the conservative power of our Government to lie in the PEOPLE, more than in its constituted authorities. It showed that they were capable of exercising the function of self-government, and lastly, it assumed the supremacy of the Democracy for a long time, and until lost by causes to be referred to hereafter.

Origin of the Whigs.

The declared policy of the Administration was internal national improvement by the Federal Government. It furnished a ground of opposition against Mr. Adams, and went to the reconstruction of parties on the old line of strict, or latitudinous, construction of the Constitution. It was evident that the new Administration was to have a settled and strong opposition, and that founded in principles of Government—the same principles, under different forms, which had discriminated parties at the commencement of the Federal Government. The Senate by a decided majority, and the House by a strong minority, were opposed to the policy of the President.

Policy of the Administration.

In the second year of Mr. Adams's Administration occurred the famous debates in Congress, on the proposed "Congress of American States," to contract alliances to guard against and prevent the establishment of any future European colony within its borders. The mission, though sanctioned, was never acted upon or carried out. It was authorized by very nearly a party vote, the Democracy, as a party, being against it. The President stated the object of the Congress to be as follows: "An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting, that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders, may be advisable. This was, more than two years since, announced by my predecessor to the world, as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be so developed to the new Southern nations, that they may feel it as an essential appendage to their independence."

Congress of American States.

According to this, the "Monroe Doctrine" was entirely confined to our own borders; it was only proposed to get the other States of the New World to agree that, each for itself, and by its own means, should guard its own territories; and, consequently, that the United States, so far from extending

gratuitous protection to the territories of other States, would neither give, nor receive, aid in any such enterprise, but that each should use its own means, within its own borders, for its own exemption from European colonial intrusion. This proposed Congress of American nations excited much intemperate discussion, excitement, and feeling between the Executive and the Senate. It died out quickly, however. (*See also Arthur's Administration.*)

High Protective Tariff.

In 1828, in accordance with the views of the President, increased duties were laid on cotton, linen, and woolen fabrics, silk, iron, lead, etc. The North was, of course, benefited by this new tariff, because it prevented foreign goods from selling lower than those produced at home; but Southern statesmen, including Calhoun, violently opposed it, as, thereby, the South had to pay higher rates for articles it was obliged to use. The Legislatures of South Carolina and Georgia pronounced "the act to be unconstitutional, as well as unjust and oppressive, and, consequently, not obligatory on the States, if they thought proper to resist it." The tariff dispute soon assumed a geographical complexion, like the slavery question, with which it was intimately connected.

The **Tariff of 1828** is an era in our political legislation; from it the doctrine of "nullification" originated, and from that date began a serious division between the North and the South. This tariff law was projected in the interest of the woolen manufacturers, but ended by including all manufacturing interests. The passage of this measure was brought about not because it was favored by a majority, but because of political exigencies. In the approaching Presidential election, Mr. Adams, who was in favor of the "American System," supported by Mr. Clay (his Secretary of State), was opposed by General Jackson. This tariff was made an Administration measure, and became an issue in the canvass. The New England States, which had formerly favored free trade on account of their commercial interests, changed their

policy, and, led by Mr. Webster, became advocates of the protective system.

Modes of Electing President Discussed.

In 1825–26 attempt was again made to procure an amendment to the Constitution, in relation to the mode of election of President and Vice President, so as to do away with all intermediate agencies, and give the election to the direct vote of the people. In the Senate the matter was referred to a committee, who reported amendments dispensing with electors, providing for districts equal in number to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State was entitled in Congress, and obviating all excuses for caucuses and conventions to concentrate public opinion by providing that in the event of no one receiving a majority of the whole number of district votes cast, that a second election should be held limited to the two persons receiving the highest number of votes; and in case of an equal division of votes on the second election, then the House of Representatives shall choose one of them for President, as is prescribed by the Constitution; the idea being that the first election, if not resulting in any candidate receiving a majority, should stand for a popular nomination—a nomination by the people themselves—out of which the election is almost sure to be made on the second trial. The same plan was suggested for choosing a Vice President, except that the Senate was to elect finally, in case of failure to choose at first and second elections. The amendments did not receive the requisite support of two-thirds of either the Senate or the House. This movement was not of a partisan character; it was equally supported and opposed respectively by Senators and Representatives of both parties. Substantially the same plan was recommended by President Jackson in his first annual message to Congress, December 8, 1829.

It is interesting to note that at the session of Congress (1825–26) an attempt was made by the Democrats to pass a

tenure-of-office bill, as applicable to Government employes and office-holders; it provided "that in all nominations made by the President to the Senate, to fill vacancies occasioned by an exercise of the President's power to remove from office, the fact of the removal shall be stated to the Senate at the same time that the nomination is made, with a statement of the reasons for which such officer may have been removed." It was also sought at the same time to amend the Constitution to prohibit the appointment of any member of Congress to any Federal office of trust or profit, during the period for which he was elected; the design being to make the members wholly independent of the Executive, and not subservient to the latter, and incapable of receiving favors in the form of bestowals of official patronage.

Tenure-of-Office Discussed.

SECTION 4.

In the centre of the grounds included within the redoubt on Breed's Hill now stands the obelisk known as **Bunker Hill Monument**, raised to the memory of the patriots who fell there. It is a square shaft, built of Quincy granite, 221 feet high, 31 feet square at the base, and 15 feet at the top. The corner-stone was laid on the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, June 17, 1825, by Lafayette, who was then the "Nation's Guest." The monument was completed in 1842, its cost having been over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and dedicated on June 17, 1843. We here present a few

EXTRACTS FROM

DANIEL WEBSTER'S ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT, JUNE 17, 1825.

This uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and, from the impulses of a common gratitude,

turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling, have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be any thing in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand, a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent, and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to suffer and enjoy the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast, and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It is more impossible for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say the most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping—tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts—extending forward his harrassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

* * * * * * * * * * *

But the great event in the history of the continent which we are now met here to commemorate—that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world—is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction and power, we are brought together in this place by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The Society, whose organ I am, was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American independence. They have thought that, for this subject, no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful

period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot, and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted; and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain, as long as Heaven permits the work of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that, which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know, that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself, can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit, which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished, where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event, to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come on all nations, must be expected to come on us also, desponding

patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power still stand strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

* * * * * * * * * *

Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers, and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else, how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defense. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness ere you slumber in the grave forever. He has allowed you to behold and partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Reed, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amidst this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance, and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You

lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheath your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

"another morn,
Risen on mid-noon;"—

and the sky, on which you closed your eyes, was cloudless.

But—ah!—him! the first great martyr in this great cause; him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart; him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit; him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom—falling ere he saw the star of his country rise—pouring out his generous blood, like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage—how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! Our poor work may perish, but thine shall endure. This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail. Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found, that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

Veterans! You are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. Veterans of half a century! when, in your youthful days, you put everything at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive; at a moment of national prosperity, such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

* * * * * * * * * *

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of the great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy to the living. But, sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw

fit to ordain, that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots, fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you, and yours, forever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this edifice. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Sir, monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them, this day, to Warren and his associates. On other occasions, they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms—to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, Sullivan, and Lincoln. Sir, we have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cœlum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current beneath, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity till, at length,

like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for making the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great portion of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral and religious, and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement – it is the masterwork of the world—to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It can not be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest in which she has been so long engaged with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won, yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has ascertained and nothing can ascertain the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly-increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think and to reason on affairs of State. Regarding government as an institution for the public good,

they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis XIV. said, "I am the State," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the State; they are its subjects—it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they can not be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian combatant, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:

> "Dispel this cloud; the light of heaven restore;
> Give me TO SEE——and Ajax asks no more."

* * * * * * * * * * *

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that while, in the fullness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency can not extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half century, we must reckon, certainly, the Revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that Revolution, either to the people of the country itself, or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent States, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own Revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although, in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toler-

ation, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established States more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations. A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but constitutes, itself, the highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But, in our day, there hath been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out in beauty to the eye of civilized man, and, at the mighty being of the voice of political liberty, the waters of darkness retire.

And, now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. And let us endeavor to comprehend, in all its magnitude, and to feel, in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws and a just administration.

* * * * * * * * * * *

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those are daily dropping from among us who established our liberty and our government. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon and Alfred, and other founders of States. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation, and there is open to us, also, a noble pursuit to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its

institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction and an habitual feeling that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze, with admiration, forever.

On July 4, 1826, the semi-centennial of American Independence, the President's venerable father and Thomas Jefferson died at their respective homes—Massachusetts and Virginia. Fifty years before, both had set their names to the Immortal Document which placed their country among independent nations We have thought it appropriate to insert here some extracts from

A DISCOURSE,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LIVES AND SERVICES OF

JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON,

DELIVERED IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, AUG. 2, 1826,

BY DANIEL WEBSTER.

This is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, fellow-citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the arches of this hall. These walls, which were consecrated, so long ago, to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles, and rung with the shouts of her earliest victories, proclaim, now, that distinguished friends and champions of the great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which flow, and the honors that are paid, when the founders of the Republic die, give hope that the Republic itself may be immortal. It is fit, that by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and by eulogy, we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings, early given and long continued, to our favored country.

Adams and Jefferson are no more; and we are assembled, fellow-citizens, the aged, the middle-aged, and the young, by the spontaneous impulse of all, under the authority of the municipal government, with the presence of the Chief Magistrate of the commonwealth, and others its official representatives, the university, and the learned societies, to bear our part, in those manifestations of respect and gratitude which universally pervade the land. Adams and Jefferson are no more. On our fiftieth anniversary, the great day of national jubilee, in the very hour of public rejoicing, in the midst of echoing and reëchoing voices of thanksgiving, while their own names were on all tongues, they took their flight together to the world of spirits.

If it be true that no one can safely be pronounced happy while he lives; if that event which terminates life can alone crown its honors and its glory—what felicity is here! The great Epic of their lives, how happily concluded! Poetry itself has hardly closed illustrious lives, and finished the career of earthly renown, by such a consummation. If we had the power, we could not wish to reverse this dispensation of the Divine Providence. The great objects of life were accomplished; the drama was ready to be closed; it has closed; our patriots have fallen; but so fallen, at such age, with such coincidence, on such a day, that we can not rationally lament that that end has come which we knew could not be long deferred.

* * * * * * * * * *

Adams and Jefferson, I have said, are no more. As human beings, indeed, they are no more. They are no more, as in 1776, bold and fearless advocates of independence; no more, as on subsequent periods, the head of the Government; no more, as we have recently seen them, aged and venerable objects of admiration and regard. They are no more. They are dead. But how little is there of the great and good which can die! To their country they yet live, and live forever. They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth; in the recorded proofs of their own great actions, in the offspring of their intellect, in the deep engraved lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of mankind. They live in their example; and they live, emphatically, and will live in the influence which their lives and efforts, their principles and opinions, now exercise, and will continue to exercise, on the affairs of men, not only in their own country, but throughout the civilized world. A superior and commanding human intellect, a truly great man, when Heaven vouchsafes so rare a gift, is not a temporary flame, burning bright for a while, and then expiring, giving place to returning darkness. It is rather a spark of fervent heat, as well as radiant light, with power to enkindle the common mass of human mind; so that when it glimmers, in its own decay, and finally goes out in death, no night follows, but it leaves the world all light, all on fire, from the potent contact of its own spirit. Bacon died; but the human understanding, roused by the touch of his miraculous wand, to a perception of the true philosophy, and the just mode of inquiring after

truth, has kept on its course, successfully and gloriously. Newton died; yet the courses of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on, in the orbits which he saw, and described for them, in the infinity of space.

* * * * * * * * * *

We are not assembled, therefore, fellow-citizens, as men overwhelmed with calamity by the sudden disruption of the ties of friendship or affection, or as in despair for the republic, by the untimely blighting of its hopes. Death has not surprised us by an unseasonable blow. We have, indeed, seen the tomb close, but it has closed only over mature years, over long-protracted public service, over the weakness of age, and over life itself only when the ends of living had been fulfilled. These suns, as they rose slowly, and steadily, amidst clouds and storms, in their ascendant, so they have not rushed from their meridian to sink suddenly in the west. Like the mildness, the serenity, the continuing benignity of a summer's day, they have gone down with slow-descending, grateful, long-lingering light; and now that they are beyond the visible margin of the world, good omens cheer us from "the bright track of their fiery car!"

There were many points of similarity in the lives and fortunes of these great men. They belonged to the same profession, and had pursued its studies and its practice, for unequal lengths of time indeed, but with diligence and effect. Both were learned and able lawyers. They were natives and inhabitants, respectively, of those two of the colonies, which, at the Revolution, were the largest and most powerful, and which naturally had a lead in the political affairs of the times. When the colonies became, in some degree, united, by the assembling of a general Congress, they were brought to act together, in its deliberations, not indeed at the same time, but both at early periods. Each had already manifested his attachment to the cause of the country, as well as his ability to maintain it by printed addresses, public speeches, extensive correspondence, and whatever other mode could be adopted, for the purpose of exposing the encroachment of the British Parliament and animating the people to a manly resistance. Both were not only decided, but early friends of independence. While others yet doubted, they were resolved; while others hesitated, they pressed forward. They were both members of the committee for preparing the Declaration of Independence, and they constituted the sub-committee, appointed by the other members to make the draught. They left their seats in Congress, being called to other public employments, at periods not remote from each other, although one of them returned to it, afterwards, for a short time. Neither of them was of the assembly of great men which formed the present Constitution, and neither was at any time member of Congress under its provisions. Both have been public ministers abroad, both Vice Presidents, and both Presidents. These coincidences are now singularly crowned and completed. They have died together; and they died on the anniversary of liberty.

* * * * * * * * * *

The eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly and energetic, and such the crisis required. When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech further than it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It can not be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshaled in every way, but they can not compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire after it—they can not reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth or the bursting forth of volcanic fires with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech shock and disgust men, when their own lives and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then, patriotism is eloquent; then, self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence; or, rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloquence—it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action.

In July, 1776, the controversy had passed the stage of argument. An appeal had been made to force, and opposing armies were in the field. Congress, then, was to decide whether the tie which had so long bound us to the parent State was to be severed at once and severed forever. All the Colonies had signified their resolution to abide by this decision, and the people looked for it with the most intense anxiety. And surely, fellow-citizens, never, never were men called to a more important political deliberation. If we contemplate it from the point where they then stood, no question could be more full of interest; if we look at it now and judge of its importance by its effects, it appears in still greater magnitude.

Let us, then, bring before us the assembly which was about to decide a question thus big with the fate of empire. Let us open their doors and look in upon their deliberations. Let us survey the anxious and careworn countenances. Let us hear the firm-toned voices of this band of patriots.

Hancock presides over the solemn sitting, and one of those not yet prepared to pronounce for absolute independence is on the floor and is urging his reasons for dissenting from the declaration.

"Let us pause! This step, once taken, can not be retraced. This reso-

lution, once passed, will cut off all hope of reconciliation. If success attend the arms of England we shall then be no longer Colonies with charters and with privileges. These will all be forfeited by this act, and we shall be in the condition of other conquered people—at the mercy of the conquerors. For ourselves, we may be ready to run the hazard, but are we ready to carry the country to that length? Is success so probable as to justify it? Where is the military, where the naval power by which we are to resist the whole strength of the army of England? for she will exert that strength to the utmost. Can we rely on the constancy and perseverance of the people, or will they not act as the people of other countries have acted, and, wearied with a long war, submit, in the end, to a worse oppression? While we stand on our old ground and insist on redress of grievances, we know we are right, and are not answerable for consequences. Nothing, then, can be imputable to us. But if we now change our object, carry our pretensions further and set up for absolute independence, we shall lose the sympathy of mankind. We shall no longer be defending what we possess, but struggling for something which we never did possess, and which we have solemnly and uniformly disclaimed all intention of pursuing from the very outset of the troubles. Abandoning thus our old ground of resistance only to arbitrary acts of oppression, the nations will believe the whole to have been mere pretence, and they will look on us, not as injured, but as ambitious subjects. I shudder before this responsibility. It will be on us if, relinquishing the ground we have stood on so long and stood on so safely, we now proclaim independence and carry on the war for that object, while these cities burn, these pleasant fields whiten and bleach with the bones of their owners, and these streams run blood. It will be upon us, it will be upon us, if failing to maintain this unseasonable and ill-judged declaration, a sterner despotism, maintained by military power, shall be established over our posterity, when we ourselves, given up by an exhausted, a harassed, a misled people, shall have expiated our rashness and atoned for our presumption on the scaffold."

It was for Mr. Adams to reply to arguments like these. We know his opinions, and we know his character. He would commence with his accustomed directness and earnestness.

"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning we aimed not at independence. But there's a divinity that shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest, for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why, then, should we defer the declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life and his own honor? Are not you, sir, who sit in that chair—is not he, our venerable colleague near you—are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects

of punishment and of vengeance? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws? If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up, the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of Parliament, Boston Port Bill and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit. Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men—that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when, putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having, twelve months ago, in this place, moved you that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces raised or to be raised, for defense of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I hesitate or wave in the support I give him. The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And if the war must go on, why put off longer the declaration of independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us, which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects, in arms against our sovereign. Nay, I maintain that England herself will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our independence, than by yielding the points in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace. Why, then—why, then, sir, do we not, as soon as possible, change this from a civil to a national war? And since we must fight it through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

"If we fail, it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people—the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves, gloriously through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these Colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts, and can not be eradicated. Every Colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independ-

ence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

"Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly, through this day's business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time when this declaration shall be made good. We may die; die colonists; die slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of Heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the hope of a country, and that a free country.

"But whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured, that this declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, it may cost blood; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present I see the brightness of the future as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honor it. They will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires and illuminations. On its annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy. Sir, before God, I believe the hour has come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off, as I began, that, live or die, survive or perish, I am for the declaration. It is my living sentiment, and, by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment; independence now, and independence forever."

And so that day shall be honored, illustrious prophet and patriot! so that day shall be honored, and as often as it returns, thy renown shall come along with it, and the glory of thy life, like the day of thy death, shall not fail from the remembrance of men.

It would be unjust, fellow-citizens, on this occasion, while we express our veneration for him who is the immediate subject of these remarks, were we to omit a most respectful, affectionate, and grateful mention of those other great men, his colleagues, who stood with him, and, with the same spirit, the same devotion, took part in the interesting transaction. Hancock, the proscribed Hancock, exiled from his home by a Military Governor, cut off by proclamation from the mercy of the crown—Heaven reserved

for him the distinguished honor of putting this great question to the vote, and of writing his own name first and most conspicuously on that parchment which spoke defiance to the power of the crown of England. There, too, is the name of that other proscribed patriot, Samuel Adams—a man who hungered and thirsted for the independence of his country; who thought the declaration halted and lingered, being himself not only ready, but eager for it long before it was proposed; a man of the deepest sagacity, the clearest foresight, and the profoundest judgment in men. And there is Gerry, himself among the earliest and the foremost of the patriots, found, when the battle of Lexington summoned them to common councils, by the side of Warren; a man who lived to serve his country at home and abroad, and to die in the second place in the Government. There, too, is the inflexible, the upright, the Spartan character, Robert Treat Paine. He, also, lived to serve his country through the struggle, and then withdrew from her councils, only that he might give his labors and his life to his native State in another relation. These names, fellow-citizens, are the treasures of the Commonwealth; and they are treasures which grow brighter by time. * * * * * * * * *

Literature sometimes, and pretensions to it much oftener, disgusts, by appearing to hang loosely on the character, like something foreign or extraneous, not a part, but an ill-adjusted appendage; or by seeming to overload and weigh it down, by its unsightly bulk, like the productions of bad taste in architecture, where there is massy and cumbrous ornament, without strength or solidity of column. This has exposed learning, and especially classical learning, to reproach. Men have seen that it might exist, without mental superiority, without vigor, without good taste, and without utility. But, in such cases, classical learning has only not inspired natural talent; or, at most, it has but made original feebleness of intellect and natural bluntness of perception, something more conspicuous. The question, after all, if it be a question, is, whether literature, ancient as well as modern, does not assist a good understanding, improve natural good taste, add polished armor to native strength, and render its possessor not only more capable of deriving private happiness from contemplation and reflection, but more accomplished, also, for action in the affairs of life, and especially for public action. Those whose memories we now honor, were learned men; but their learning was kept in its proper place and made subservient to the uses and objects of life. They were scholars, not common, nor superficial; but their scholarship was so in keeping with their character, so blended and inwrought, that careless observers, or bad judges, not seeing an ostentatious display of it, might infer that it did not exist; forgetting, or not knowing, that classical learning, in men who act in conspicuous public stations, perform duties which exercise the faculty of writing, or address popular, deliberative, or judicial bodies, is often felt,

where it is little seen, and sometimes felt more effectually, because it is not seen at all.

* * * * * * * * * *

Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, fellow-citizens, were successively Presidents of the United States. The comparative merits of their respective Administrations for a long time agitated and divided public opinion. They were rivals, each supported by numerous and powerful portions of the people for the highest office. This contest, partly the cause, and partly the consequence of the long existence of two great political parties in the country, is now part of the history of our Government. We may naturally regret that any thing should have occurred to create difference and discord between those who had acted harmoniously and efficiently in the great concerns of the Revolution. But this is not the time, nor this the occasion, for entering into the grounds of that difference, or for attempting to discuss the merits of the questions which it involves. As practical questions, they were canvassed when the measures which they regarded were acted on and adopted; and as belonging to history, the time has not come for their consideration.

It is, perhaps, not wonderful, that when the Constitution of the United States went first into operation, different opinions should be entertained as to the extent of the powers conferred by it. Here was a natural source of diversity of sentiment. It is still less wonderful that that event, about contemporary with our Government, under the present Constitution, which so entirely shocked all Europe, and disturbed our relations with her leading powers, should be thought by different men, to have different bearings on our own prosperity; and that the early measures adopted by our Government, in consequence of this new state of things, should be seen in opposite lights. It is for the future historian, when what now remains of prejudice and misconception shall have passed away, to state these different opinions, and pronounce impartial judgment. In the mean time, all good men rejoice, and well may rejoice, that the sharpest differences sprung out of measures, which, whether right or wrong, have ceased, with the exigencies that gave them birth, and have left no permanent effect, either on the Constitution or on the general prosperity of the country. This remark, I am aware, may be supposed to have its exception in one measure, the alteration of the Constitution as to the mode of choosing President; but it is true in its general application. Thus the course of policy pursued towards France, in 1798, on the one hand, and the measures of commercial restriction, commenced in 1807, on the other, both subjects of warm and severe opposition, have passed away and left nothing behind them. They were temporary, and, whether wise or unwise, their consequences were limited to their respective occasions. It is equally clear, at the same time, and it is equally gratifying, that those measures of both Administrations, which were of durable importance, and which drew after them interesting and long-remaining consequences, have received general ap-

probation. Such was the organization, or rather the creation, of the navy in the Administration of Mr. Adams; such the acquisition of Louisiana, in that of Mr. Jefferson. The country, it may safely be added, is not likely to be willing either to approve, or to reprobate, indiscriminately, and in the aggregate, all the measures of either, or of any, Administration. The dictate of reason and of justice is, that, holding each one his own sentiments on the points in difference, we imitate the great men themselves, in the forbearance and moderation which they have cherished, and in the mutual respect and kindness which they have been so much inclined to feel and to reciprocate. * * * * * * *

XIII.

ELEVENTH ADMINISTRATION—1829–1833.

ANDREW JACKSON, PRESIDENT. JOHN C. CALHOUN, VICE PRESIDENT.

XXIst and XXIId Congresses.

SECTION 1.

John Quincy Adams had been opposed by Congress throughout his Administration. He alienated the South by favoring the tariff. He offended the East by repeating the charge that it had proposed the dissolution of the Union and a separate confederacy in 1803–4, and by alleging that the Hartford Convention had entertained the same design.

The question of protective tariff had now not only become political, but sectional. The Southern States, as a section, were arrayed against the system, though prior to 1816 had favored it, not merely as an incident to revenue, but as a substantive object. In fact these tariff bills, each exceeding the other in its degree of protection, had become a regular appendage of our Presidential elections—carrying round in every cycle of four years with that returning event; starting in 1816 and followed up in 1820–24, and now in 1828, with successive augmentations of duties; the last being often pushed as a party measure, and with the visible purpose of influencing the Presidential election.

Presidential Nominations in 1828.

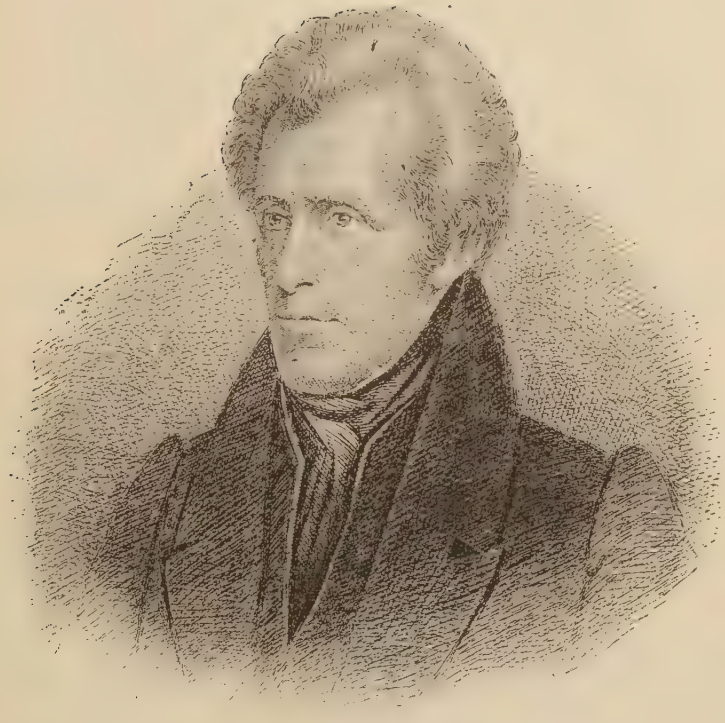
The Democratic candidates for the Presidential election in 1828 were Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. The National Republicans, or Whigs, brought forward John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania. The candidates on both sides were nominated by common consent, or by State Legislatures. The system of Congressional caucuses had been abandoned, and that of National Conventions had not yet been adopted.

Jackson and Calhoun Elected.

The election in November resulted in the complete success of the Democratic electors. In February, 1829, the electoral votes were counted and were found to be, for President, 178 for Jackson and 83 for Adams; for Vice President, 171 for Calhoun, 7 for William Smith, and 83 for Rush. Jackson and Calhoun were therefore declared elected. On March 4 (1829) they were duly inaugurated.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and was born on a plantation in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, March 15th, 1767. A few days before the birth of Andrew, his father died, leaving his widow, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Hutchinson, to struggle for the maintenance and culture of three children. Andrew received very little schooling, and was characterized for his boldness, activity, generosity, and self-reliance. At the age of thirteen, fired by the death of his eldest brother, who perished in the Indian battle of Stono, he entered his country's service in the struggle for Independence. Andrew and his brother, Robert, were captured by the British, and the latter died soon after their exchange. Their mother, in the meantime, who had acted as nurse to some captive friends on a prison ship, contracted fever and died suddenly, leaving Andrew, a half developed youth, the sole surviving represen-



Andrew Jackson

tative of the family. Andrew tried the saddlery trade and school teaching, after which he studied law, was admitted to practice at the age of twenty, and rose at once to prominence. He married Mrs. Robards in 1791.

On the 5th of December, 1796, Jackson took his seat in Congress as the first Representative of Tennessee, which had just been admitted. He was subsequently Senator from the same State, and at a later period Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. In 1806 he fought a duel with Charles Dickerson, when both were severely wounded, and Dickerson died.

The war of 1812 brought him prominently before the world as a dashing military chieftain. Fired by the massacre at Fort Mimms, he inaugurated a vigorous campaign against the British and the Creek Indians, which culminated in a great victory at New Orleans, January 8, 1815.

In 1823 he was again elected to the United States Senate, and nominated for the Presidency, receiving a large but unsuccessful vote. In 1828 he was elected to the Presidency, and re-elected in 1832. Many grave measures agitated the country during his Administration.

He retired to the "Hermitage," March 4th, 1837, where he died, June 8th, 1845. General Jackson was a fearless, honest man, of rare common sense. He was never vanquished. He conquered the wilderness, the savage, the trained European chieftain, the American duelist, and the politician.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1829–'37—EIGHT YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
ANDREW JACKSON (1767–1845), of Tennessee, President	March 4, 1829

Vice Presidents.

JOHN C. CALHOUN (Adams's Admin.), of South Carolina	March 4, 1829
MARTIN VAN BUREN (1782–1866), of New York	March 4, 1833

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
MARTIN VAN BUREN (Vice President), of New York	March 6, 1829

EDWARD LIVINGSTON (1764–1836), of Louisiana.....Jan. 12, 1832
LOUIS MCLANE (1786–1857), of Delaware.....May 29, 1833
JOHN FORSYTH (1780–1841), of Georgia.....Jan. 27, 1834

Secretaries of the Treasury.

SAMUEL D. INGHAM (1773–1860), of Pennsylvania.....March 6, 1829
LOUIS MCLANE (Secretary of State), of Delaware.....Aug. 8, 1831
WILLIAM J. DUANE (1760–1835), of Pennsylvania.....May 29, 1833
ROGER B. TANEY (1777–1864), of Maryland.....Sept. 23, 1833
LEVI WOODBURY (1789–1851), of New Hampshire.....Jan. 27, 1834

Secretaries of War.

JOHN H. EATON (1790–1856), of Tennessee.....March 9, 1829
LEWIS CASS (1783–1866), of Ohio.....Aug. 1, 1831

Secretaries of the Navy.

JOHN BRANCH (1782–1863), of North Carolina.....March 9, 1829
LEVI WOODBURY (Secretary of Treasury), of New Hampshire.May 23, 1831
MAHLON DICKERSON (1769–1853), of New Jersey.....June 30, 1834

Postmasters General.

WILLIAM T. BARRY (1785–1835), of Kentucky.....March 9, 1829
AMOS KENDALL (1788–1869), of Kentucky.....May 1, 1835

Attorneys General.

JOHN M. BERRIEN (1781–1856), of Georgia.....March 9, 1829
ROGER B. TANEY (Secretary of Treasury), of Maryland.....July 20, 1831
BENJAMIN F. BUTLER (1795–1858), of New York.....Nov. 15, 1833

Speakers of the House.

	SERVED.
ANDREW STEVENSON (20th Congress), of Virginia	21st Cong., 1829
ANDREW STEVENSON (1784–1857), of Virginia	22d Cong., 1831
ANDREW STEVENSON, of Virginia	23d Cong., 1833
HENRY HUBBARD (*pro tem.*), of New Hampshire	24th Cong., 1834
JOHN BELL (1797–1869), of Tennessee	24th Cong., 1834
JAMES K. POLK (1795–1849), of Tennessee	25th Cong., 1835

States Admitted.—During Jackson's Administration two new States were admitted, as follows:

Arkansas was admitted as the twenty-fifth State, June 15, 1836.

Michigan was admitted as the twenty-sixth State, January 26, 1837.

SECTION 3.

Results of Jackson's Election.

The election of General Jackson was a triumph of Democratic principle, and an assertion of the people's right to govern themselves. That principle had been violated in the Presidential election in the House of Representatives in the Session of 1824–'25; and the sanction, or rebuke, of that violation was a leading question in the whole canvass. It was also a triumph over the high protective policy, the Federal internal improvement policy, and the latitudinous construction of the Constitution; also of the Democracy over the Federalists, then called National Republicans. It was the re-establishment of parties on principle, according to the landmarks of the early years of the Government. For although Mr. Adams had received confidence and office from Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe, and had classed with the Democratic party during the "era of good feeling," yet he had previously been Federal; and, on the re-establishment of old party lines, which began to take place after the election of Mr. Adams in the House of Representatives, his affinities and policy became those of his former party; and as a party, with many individual exceptions, they became his supporters and his strength. General Jackson, on the contrary, had always been Democratic, so classing when he was a Senator in Congress under the Administration of the first Mr. Adams; also when party lines were most straightly drawn, and upon principle, and as such now receiving the support of men and States which took this political position at that time, and maintained it for years afterwards; among the latter, notably the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Rotation in Office.

Jackson began his Administration by removing from office all his political opponents and filling their places with his political friends. The system of rotation thus begun has ever since prevailed, on the

principle that "the spoils of the enemy belong to the victor."

Jackson brought to the discharge of his great office strong passions, decided views, unflinching resolution, and violent prejudices. His lot fell in critical times, and his Administration was the most startling and the boldest in the annals of the United States.

Nullification Debated.

The session of Congress (1829–30) was rendered famous by the long and earnest debates in the Senate on the doctrine of *nullification*, as it was then called. It started by a resolution of inquiry introduced by Mr. Foot, of Connecticut. It was united with a proposition to limit the sales of the public lands to those then in the market; to suspend the surveys of the public lands, and to abolish the office of Surveyor General. The effect of such a resolution, if sanctioned upon inquiry and carried into legislative effect, would have been to check emigration to the new States in the West, and to check the growth and settlement of these States and Territories. It was warmly opposed by Western members. The debate spread and took an acrimonious turn, and sectional, imputing to the quarter of the Union from which it came an old and early policy to check the growth of the West at the outset by proposing to limit the sale of the Western lands, by selling no tract in advance until all in the rear was sold out; and during the debate Mr. Webster referred to the famous Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwestern Territory, and especially the anti-slavery clause which it contained.

Rise of the Whigs.

In the early part of Jackson's Administration the partisan elements of the country resolved into the two great factions of *Whig* and *Democratic*—a form which remained as the established order in politics for a quarter of a century. The old Federal party, as we have seen, had lost control of national affairs on the retirement of John Adams from the Presidency. We have also noticed that during the "Era of

Good Feeling" in Monroe's second term, partisanship seemed ready to expire. The Anti-Federalists, opposing the National Constitution and the administrative policy of Washington and Adams, became *Republicans;* and with the Administration of Jefferson, they came into power as *Democrats.* The Administrations of Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams were under the same political banner. The new forces were already at work, however, in John Quincy Adams's term. In 1831 the NATIONAL REPUBLICANS, as the party was then called which afterward took the name of "*Whig,*" held its convention in Baltimore, and nominated candidates for President and Vice President, to be voted for at the election in the autumn of the ensuing year. "To this new party organization the name of *Whig* was given—a name taken from the old Scotch Covenanters and English Republicans of the seventeenth century, worn by the patriots of the American Revolution to distinguish them from the Tories, and now adopted as the permanent title of the opponents of Jeffersonian Democracy. The National Republicans (Whigs) were in a minority in 1829, but were continually reinforced by loose constructionist Democrats. They never became a majority party, but, by combining with the other elements of opposition, were frequently able to thwart the President's plans, and even to censure his actions. Their leader was HENRY CLAY, Senator from Kentucky. His popularity with his party was already great, though not so unbounded as afterward, when the Whig party almost became Clay's personal party."

Opponents of the Administration.

The Administration was engaged in constant struggle with its opponents, the Whigs, the Anti-Masons, and the United States Bank, and was abandoned by a part of its own party—the Loose Constructionists, who advocated Protection and Internal Improvements—and the Nullifiers. "The President's final success came from the impossibility of a hearty union of his opponents, though many doubtful voters

were attracted to him by his military achievements, by the undoubted sincerity of his intentions, and by natural sympathy for one man contending against odds."

Counter Political Toasts.

In April, 1830, the leading Democrats at Washington gave a dinner to celebrate Jefferson's birthday. At the close of the regular toasts, which had been so drawn as to suggest Nullification, the President rebuked the whole proceeding by giving a volunteer toast: "Our Federal Union—it *must* be preserved." The Vice President retorted with another to "Liberty, dearer than the Union." These counter defiances called the attention of the whole country to the progress of Nullification among Democratic leaders, and indirectly gave the Nullificationists warning to regard the President as an obstacle to their designs. Calhoun recognized the President's growing suspicion of him. In the summer of 1830 he devoted his time to obtaining materials for a pamphlet criticism of Jackson's course in the Seminole War of 1818.

Rupture between the President and the Vice President.

About the beginning of March, 1831, the pamphlet was issued in Washington, by Calhoun, and addressed to the people of the United States, explaining the cause of a difference which had taken place between himself and the President, instigated, as the pamphlet alleged, by Mr. Van Buren, and intended to make trouble between the first and second officers of the Government, and to effect the political destruction of himself (Mr. Calhoun) for the benefit of the contriver of the quarrel, the then Secretary of State, and indicated as a candidate for the Presidential succession upon the termination of Jackson's term. The differences grew out of certain charges against General Jackson, respecting his conduct during the Seminole War, which occurred in the Administration of President Monroe. The President justified himself in published correspondence, but the inevitable result followed—a rupture between the President and Vice President — which was

quickly followed by a dissolution and reconstruction of the Cabinet. Some of its members were classed as the political friends of Mr. Calhoun, and could hardly be expected to remain as ministers to the President. Mr. Van Buren resigned; a new Cabinet was appointed and confirmed. This change in the Cabinet made a great figure in the party politics of the day, and filled all the opposition newspapers, and had many sinister reasons assigned to it—all to the prejudice of General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren.

Anti-Masonic Party.

In 1826 WILLIAM MORGAN, of Batavia, New York, who had advertised a book exposing the secrets of Free Masonry, was kidnaped and never seen again. The crime was charged upon the society, and investigation, as it was alleged, was impeded by leading Free Masons. A party soon grew up in Western New York pledged to oppose the election of any Free Mason to public office. The ANTI-MASONIC PARTY acquired influence in other States, and began to claim rank as a national political party. On most points its principles were those of the National Republicans (Whigs). But Clay and Jackson were Free Masons, and consequently were to be opposed by this party. In 1832 this party even nominated a Presidential ticket of its own, but, having no national principle of controlling importance it soon after declined.

At Philadelphia, in September, 1830, the Anti-Masons passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention on Monday, the 26th day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representation in both Houses of Congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, to be supported at the next election, and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of Anti-Masonry may require."

Indian Policy

Jackson early urged the extinction of the Indian titles on the east of the Mississippi, and the removal of the savage tribes to the great prairies beyond. This policy accorded with his habit of thought, his experience, and his own procedure. The Saes and Foxes, occupying the Territory of Northern Illinois—land which they had years before sold to the United States—refused to vacate the region. Several skirmishes took place between these Indians under BLACK HAWK, their chief. General Scott, with an army, was sent against them, and after losing many of his men by the cholera—raging at the time—he defeated them in a final battle, August 2, 1832. Black Hawk and his tribe were removed to the western banks of the Mississippi.

Removal of the Cherokees.

The Cherokee Indian nation, previous to 1834, occupied the southern part of Georgia and the northern part of Florida. They had made considerable advancement in civilization, having a republican form of government, newspapers, churches, and schools. They numbered fifteen thousand. The Legislature of Georgia did not wait for the slow action of the General Government, but extended the laws of the State over the Cherokees, and thus provoked collision with the Federal authority. The Georgians suspected the Northern majority in Congress of a design to retard the settlement and growth of the Southern country. Under treaties with the United States, these Indians held lands desired by the State. Acts were passed by the Legislature to open up the Indian country to white settlers, against the protest of the Indians. To settle the trouble, an act was passed by Congress (1830) to pay the Indians for their lands, and to remove them beyond the Mississippi. It was opposed with much feeling by the National Republicans (Whigs), and failed to accomplish its purpose, for the Indians refused to sell their lands. In 1834 Congress set apart the INDIAN TERRITORY for their permanent residence. They still re-

fused to leave their homes; but, finally, for the sum of five million dollars, with the menace of force, they reluctantly gave up their lands and removed to the Territory assigned them (1837).

The Doctrine of Nullification.

The Tariff of 1828, as we have seen, gave general dissatisfaction to the cotton growing States. In South Carolina, especially, it was bitterly opposed by the leading men of the State, claiming that Congress had no Constitutional right to pass laws for the benefit of one section of the country to the serious detriment of another. The sectional animosity produced by the recent Tariff grew apace; South Carolina took the lead in proposing decisive measures of resistance to the law. The jealousies of the North and South were exposed, and the conflicting views of the hostile parties ably presented in a great debate in the Senate of the United States, between COLONEL HAYNE, of South Carolina, and DANIEL WEBSTER, of Massachusetts (February and March, 1830). In the Senate a resolution was introduced by Foot, of Connecticut, directing an inquiry into the expediency of limiting public land sales in the future. The debate upon this apparently harmless resolution lasted intermittently for five months, and drifted off to a great variety of subjects, such as *Slavery*, *Western* and *Southern grievances*, *New England Federalism*, the relative powers of the *State* and *Federal Governments*, and *Nullification*. During its progress the doctrine of Nullification was formally announced (February, 1830), by Mr. Hayne, in reply to Webster, but limited, as yet, to peaceable resistance. The eloquence, learning, and party zeal of the "GREAT DEBATE IN THE SENATE," as it has always been called, make it almost a political history of the United States to its date. (*See extracts from this debate at end of XIII.*)

The American system, and especially its prominent feature of a high protective tariff, was put in issue in the Presidential canvass of 1832, and the friends of that system labored

diligently in Congress in presenting its best points to the greatest advantage, and staking its fate upon the issue of the election. It was lost; not only by the result of the main contest, but by that of the Congressional election, which took place simultaneously with it. All the States dissatisfied with that system were satisfied with the view of its speedy and regular extinction, under the legislation of the approaching session of Congress, excepting only South Carolina. She had held aloof from the Presidential contest and cast her electoral votes for persons who were not candidates—doing nothing to aid the election of General Jackson, with whom her interests were apparently identified. On the 24th of November, 1832, two weeks after the election which decided the fate of the tariff, that State issued an "ordinance to nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws laying duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities." It declared that the Congress had exceeded its Constitutional powers in imposing high and excessive duties on the theory of "protection," had unjustly discriminated in favor of one class or employment, at the expense and to the injury and oppression of other classes and individuals; that said laws were in consequence not binding on the State and its citizens; and declaring its right and purpose to enact laws to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of said acts and parts of the acts of the Congress of the United States within the limits of that State after the first day of February following. This ordinance placed the State in the attitude of forcible resistance to the laws of the United States, to take effect on the first day of February next ensuing—a date prior to the meeting of the next Congress, which the country naturally expected would take some action in reference to the tariff laws complained of. The ordinance further provided that if, in the meantime, any attempt was made by the Federal Government to enforce the obnoxious laws, except through the tribunals, all the officers of which were sworn against them, the fact of such attempt was to terminate

the continuance of South Carolina in the Union—to absolve her from all connection with the Federal Government, and to establish her as a separate Government, wholly unconnected with the United States or any State. The Ordinance of Nullification was certified by the Governor of South Carolina to the President of the United States, and reached him in December of the same year, in consequence of which he immediately issued a proclamation, exhorting the people of South Carolina to obey the laws of Congress, pointing out and explaining the illegality of the procedure; stating clearly and distinctly his firm determination to enforce the laws as became him as Executive, even by resort to force if necessary. As a State Paper it is important, as it contains the views of General Jackson regarding the nature and character of our Federal Government, expressed in the following language:

"The people of the United States formed the Constitution, acting through the State Legislatures in making the compact, to meet and discuss its provisions and acting in separate conventions when they ratified those provisions; but the terms used in the Constitution show it to be a Government in which the people of all the States collectively are represented. We are one people in the choice of President and Vice President. Here the States have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given. * * The people, then, and not the States, are represented in the executive branch. * * * In the House of Representatives the members are all representatives of the United States, not representatives of the particular States from which they come. They are paid by the United States, not by the State, nor are they accountable to it for any act done in the performance of their Legislative functions. * * * * * * *

"The Constitution of the United States, then, forms a Government, not a league; and whether it be formed by a compact between the States, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a Government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individu-

ally, not upon the States—they retained all the power they did not grant. But each State, having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other States, a single nation, can not, from that period, possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of the Nation, and any injury to that unity, is not only a breach which could result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offense against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a Nation; because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offense."

Without calling on Congress for extraordinary powers, the President, in his annual message, merely adverted to the attitude of the State, and proceeded to meet the exigency by the exercise of the powers he already possessed. The proceedings in South Carolina not ceasing, and taking daily a more aggravated form in the organization of troops, the collection of arms and of munitions of war, and in declarations hostile to the Union, he round it necessary early in January to report the facts to Congress in a special message, and ask for extraordinary powers. Bills for the reduction of the tariff were early in the session introduced into both Houses, while at the same time the President, though not relaxing his efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the difficulty, made steady preparations for enforcing the law. The result of the bills offered in the two Houses of Congress, was the passage of Mr. Clay's "compromise" bill on the 12th of February, 1833, which radically changed the whole tariff system.

Forerunner of the Great Civil War of 1861.

The President in his message on the South Carolina proceedings had recommended to Congress the revival of some acts, heretofore in force, to enable him to execute the laws in

that State; and the Senate's Committee on the Judiciary had reported a bill accordingly early in the session. It was immediately assailed by several members as violent and unconstitutional, tending to civil war, and denounced as "the blood bill"—the "force bill," etc. The bill was vindicated in the Senate, by its author, who showed that it contained no novel principle; was substantially a revival of the laws previously in force; with the authority superadded to remove the office of Customs from one building or place to another in case of need. The bill was vehemently opposed, and every effort made to render it odious to the people, and even extended the odium to the President, and to every person urging or aiding in its passage. Mr. Webster justly rebuked all this vituperation, and justified the bill, both for the equity of its provisions, and the necessity for enacting them. He said, that an unlawful combination threatened the integrity of the Union; that the crisis called for a mild, temperate, forbearing but inflexibly firm execution of the laws; and finally, that public opinion set with an irresistible force in favor of the Union, in favor of the measures recommended by the President, and against the new doctrines which threatened the dissolution of the Union. The support which Mr. Webster gave to these measures was the regular result of the principles which he laid down in his first speeches against Nullification in the debate with Mr. Hayne, and he could not have done less without being derelict to his own principles then avowed. He supported with transcendent ability the cause of the Constitution and of the country, in the person of a President to whom he was politically opposed, whose gratitude and admiration he earned for his patriotic endeavors. The country, without distinction of party, felt the same; and the universality of the feeling was one of the grateful instances of popular applause and justice when great talents are seen exerting themselves for the good of the country. He was the colossal figure on the political stage during that

eventful time; and his labors, splendid in their day, survive for the benefit of distant posterity.

Soon after the meeting of Congress in December, 1832, Calhoun resigned the Vice Presidency, and became Senator from South Carolina. Early in 1833 he took an opportunity to declare that his State had never intended forcible resistance to the Federal Government, and a meeting of leading Nullifiers in Charleston decided to yield to the collection of the revenue until after the adjournment of Congress. The "bloody bill" provoked much angry declamation in South Carolina, but no secession. Clay's Compromise Tariff of 1833 was passed, and signed by the President. It provided for the gradual reduction of the Tariff until 1842, after which year the duties on all goods were to be 20 per cent. The Nullificationists claimed this as a complete triumph, and the Anti-Tariff excitement in South Carolina ended at once.

"A Pocket Veto."

In 1830 Congress passed a bill authorizing a Government subscription to the stock of the Maysville Turnpike Road in Kentucky. The President, believing that Congress had no power to pass such a law, vetoed it. Two days before the adjournment of Congress two bills of a similar nature to that of the Maysville Turnpike bill were passed. The President could legally retain them for ten days before signing them. He did so, and in the interval came the day previously fixed for the adjournment of Congress, while the bills remained, as it were, in the President's pocket, without force of law. This new method of veto, angrily called a POCKET VETO, was employed by the President on several occasions afterward. It is pertinent here to state that no other President made such unsparing use of his *veto power* as did Jackson.

The United States Bank.

Financial mismanagement, and the distress growing out of the War of 1812, had compelled Republicans in 1816 to abandon their strict constructionist principles and charter a NATIONAL BANK for twenty years. The renewal of the United

States Bank charter was a political issue against the second election of Jackson. But it had also Democratic friends, without whose aid the re-charter could not be got through Congress, and they labored assiduously for it. The first Bank of the United States, chartered in 1791, was a Federal measure, favored by Hamilton, opposed by Jefferson, Madison, and the Republican party, and became a great landmark of party, not merely for the bank itself, but for the latitudinarian construction of the Constitution in which it was founded, and the precedent it established that Congress might, in its discretion, do what it pleased, under the plea of being "*necessary*" to carry into effect some granted power. The non-renewal of the charter in 1811 was the act of the Republican party, then in possession of the Government, and taking the opportunity to terminate, upon its own limitation, the existence of an institution whose creation they had not been able to prevent. The charter of the second bank, in 1816, was the act of the Republican party, and to aid them in the administration of the Government, and, as such, was opposed by the Federal party—not seeming then to understand that, by its instincts, a great moneyed corporation was in sympathy with their own party, and would soon be with it in action—which the bank soon was—and now struggled for a continuation of its existence under the lead of those who had opposed its creation, and against the party which effected it. Mr. Webster was a Federal leader on both occasions—against the charter in 1816; for the re-charter in 1832. The bill passed the Senate after a long and arduous contest, and afterwards passed the House, quickly and with little or no contest at all.

It was sent to the President, and vetoed by him July 10, 1832; the message stating his objections being an elaborate review of the subject; the veto, being based mainly on the unconstitutionality of the measure, was sustained. An effort to pass it over the veto lacked a two-thirds majority, and failed. The veto made many new friends and many new en-

emies for the President, but only increased the bitterness of the struggle between him and the bank. (*For further data relating to the United States Bank, see Jackson's Second Administration.*)

The Democrats, at a ratification meeting held at Washington City, in May, 1832, adopted the following

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Democratic Platform of 1832.

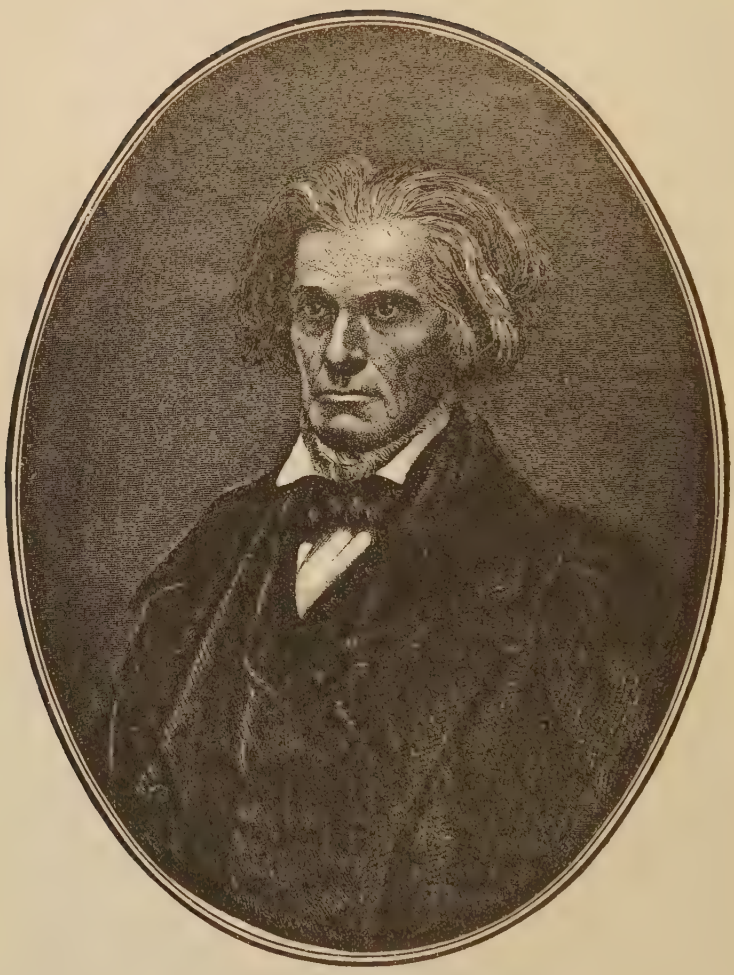
Resolved, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation.

Resolved, That a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the General Government, is calculated to secure, in the highest degree, the harmony, the strength and permanency of the Republic.

Resolved, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion is a gross abuse of power; and that the doctrine lately boldly preached in the United States Senate, that "to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of the country.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

John Caldwell Calhoun was born at Abbeville district, South Carolina, March 18, 1782. He graduated at Yale College in 1804, studied in the law school at Litchfield, Conn., and began practice in his native district. He was chosen a member of the Legislature, and in 1811 was elected to Congress. He was made chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, advocated the war with Great Britain, internal improvements, and the establishment of the United States Bank; and supported the Protective Tariff of 1816. He continued in Congress till 1817, when he entered President Monroe's Cabinet as Secretary of War. In 1824 he was elected Vice President of the United States, receiving most of the votes of the supporters of Adams and Jackson. He was re-elected on the ticket with Jackson in 1828, and resigned in 1832, when he was chosen to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate. In this body he continued to represent South Carolina till 1843,



J. C. Calhoun

when he declined a re-election. In 1844 he entered President Tyler's Cabinet as Secretary of State, and in 1845 was returned to the Senate, where he remained till his death, in 1850.

During the exciting discussions relating to the Tariff, Mr. Calhoun was recognized as the head of the free-trade section of his party. In 1828 he prepared an elaborate paper embodying the doctrine of NULLIFICATION, or the right of each State to prevent the execution, within its limits, of such acts of Congress as the State may judge unconstitutional. This paper was submitted to a committee of the South Carolina Legislature, and being reported to the House, was ordered to be printed, though not adopted, and became known as the "SOUTH CAROLINA EXPOSITION." The doctrine of Nullification was first brought forward in the United States Senate by Mr. Hayne in the speech to which Mr. Webster made his famous reply, in which, though he answered Hayne, he struck at Calhoun, who was supposed to be the author of the doctrine.

In 1831 Mr. Calhoun published an address in favor of free trade and maintaining the doctrine of State Rights, which he further elaborated in a letter to Governor Hamilton, of South Carolina. This led to the calling of a State Convention, which passed an ordinance to nullify the Tariff of 1828 and 1832. Mr. Calhoun soon after took his seat in the Senate, and maintained the right of nullification in an elaborate speech delivered February 15, 1833. The impending collision between South Carolina and the General Government was averted by Clay's Compromise Tariff of 1833, which was accepted by Calhoun.

In the violent struggle which soon followed, growing out of the removal, by the President's order, of the public deposits from the United States Bank, Calhoun joined with the Whigs against the Administration.

He was an earnest advocate of slavery, and held that Congress had no power to legislate concerning it, either in the

States or in the Territories, and that the slavery agitation, if not stopped, would end in disunion. He reported the bill, which failed to become a law, prohibiting the circulation by the United States mails of anti-slavery publications in the South, and argued that it belonged to the States respectively, and not to Congress, to determine what publications should be prohibited. He was regarded as the author of the scheme to annex Texas, but opposed the Mexican War.

In 1844 Calhoun's name was brought forward as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency; but a majority of the delegates having been instructed to vote for Van Buren, Calhoun refused to allow his name to go before the convention.

Calhoun's oratorical power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, the closeness of his logic, and the earnestness and energy of his manner.

EXTRACTS FROM THE

SPEECH OF JOHN C. CALHOUN,

ON THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES, DELIVERED JULY 26, 1831.

The question of the relation which the States and General Government bear to each other, is not one of recent origin. From the commencement of our system it has divided public sentiment. Even in the Convention, while the Constitution was struggling into existence, there were two parties as to what this relation should be, whose different sentiments constituted no small impediment in forming that instrument. After the General Government went into operation, experience soon proved that the question had not terminated with the labors of the Convention. The great struggle that preceded the political revolution of 1801, which brought Mr. Jefferson into power, turned essentially on it, and the doctrines and arguments on both sides were embodied and ably sustained; on the one, in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and the report of the Virginia Legislature, and on the other in the replies of the Legislature of Massachusetts and some of the other States. These resolutions and this report, with the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania about the same time (particularly in the case of Cobbett, delivered by Chief Justice McKean, and concurred in by the whole bench), contain what I believe to be the true doctrine on this

important subject. I refer to them in order to avoid the necessity of presenting my views, with the reasons in support of them, in detail.

* * * * * * * * * *

The great and leading principle is that the General Government emanated from the people of the several States, forming distinct political communities, and acting in their separate and sovereign capacity, and not from all of the people forming one aggregate political community; that the Constitution of the United States is in fact a compact, to which each State is a party in the character already described, and that the several States, or parties, have a right to judge of its infractions, and in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of power not delegated, they have the right, in the last resort, to use the language of the Virginia resolutions, "to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them." This right of interposition thus solemnly asserted by the State of Virginia, be it called what it may—State right, veto, nullification, or by any other name—I conceive to be the fundamental principle of our system, resting on facts, historically as certain as our revolution itself, and deductions as simple and demonstrative as that of any political or moral truth whatever; and I firmly believe that on its recognition depends the stability and safety of our political institutions.

* * * * * * * * * *

That different opinions are entertained on this subject, I consider but as an additional evidence of the great diversity of the human intellect. Had not able, experienced, and patriotic individuals, for whom I have the highest respect, taken different views, I would have thought the right too clear to admit of doubt; but I am taught by this, as well as by many similar instances, to treat with deference opinions differing from my own. The error may possibly be with me; but, if so, I can only say, that after the most mature and conscientious examination, I have not been able to detect it. But with all proper deference, I must think that theirs is the error, who deny what seems to be an essential attribute of the conceded sovereignty of the States, and who attribute to the General Government a right utterly incompatible with what all acknowledge to be its limited and restricted character; an error originating principally, as I must think, in not duly reflecting on the nature of our institutions, and on what constitutes the only rational object of all political Constitutions.

It has been well said by one of the most sagacious men of antiquity, that the object of a Constitution is to restrain the Government, as that of laws is to restrain individuals. The remark is correct, nor is it less true where the Government is vested in a majority than where it is in a single or a few individuals; in a republic, than a monarchy or aristocracy. No one can have a higher respect for the maxim that the majority ought to govern than I have, taken in its proper sense, subject to the restrictions imposed by the Constitution, and confined to subjects in which every por-

tion of the community has similar interests; but it is a great error to suppose, as many do, that the right of a majority to govern is a natural and not a conventional right, and, therefore, absolute and unlimited. By nature every individual has the right to govern himself; and Governments, whether founded on majorities or minorities, must derive their right from the assent, expressed or implied, of the governed, and be subject to such limitations as they may impose. Where the interests are the same, that is, where the laws that may benefit one will benefit all, or the reverse, it is just and proper to place them under the control of the majority; but where they are dissimilar, so that the law that may benefit one portion may be ruinous to another, it would be, on the contrary, unjust and absurd to subject them to its will; and such I conceive to be the theory on which our Constitution rests.

That such dissimilarity of interests may exist it is impossible to doubt. They are to be found in every community, in a greater or less degree, however small or homogeneous, and they constitute, everywhere, the great difficulty of forming and preserving free institutions. To guard against the unequal action of the laws, when applied to dissimilar and opposing interests, is in fact what mainly renders a Constitution indispensable; to overlook which in reasoning on our Constitution, would be to omit the principal element by which to determine its character. Were there no contrariety of interests, nothing would be more simple and easy than to form and preserve free institutions. The right of suffrage alone would be a sufficient guarantee. It is the conflict of opposing interests which renders it the most difficult work of man. * * * *

Happily for us, we have no artificial and separate classes of society. We have wisely exploded all such distinctions; but we are not, on that account, exempt from all contrariety of interests, as the present distracted and dangerous condition of our country unfortunately but too clearly proves. With us they are almost exclusively geographical, resulting from difference of climate, soil, situation, industry, and production, but are not, therefore, less necessary to be protected by an adequate Constitutional provision than where the distinct interests exist in separate classes. The necessity is, in truth, greater, as such separate and dissimilar geographical interests are more liable to come into conflict, and more dangerous when in that state than those of any other description; so much so, that ours is the first instance on record where they have not formed in an extensive territory separate and independent communities, or subjected the whole to despotic sway. That such may not be our unhappy fate also, must be the sincere prayer of every lover of his country.

So numerous and diversified are the interests of our country, that they could not be fairly represented in a single Government, organized so as to give each great and leading interest a separate and distinct voice, as in Governments to which I have referred. A plan was adopted better suited to our situation, but perfectly novel in its character. The powers of the

Government were divided, not as heretofore, in reference to classes, but geographically. One General Government was formed for the whole, to which was delegated all of the powers supposed to be necessary to regulate the interests common to all of the States, leaving others subject to the separate control of the States, being from their local and peculiar character such that they could not be subject to the will of the majority of the whole Union, without the certain hazard of injustice and oppression. It was thus that the interests of the whole were subjected, as they ought to be, to the will of the whole, while the peculiar and local interests were left under the control of the States separately, to whose custody only they could be safely confided. This distribution of power, settled solemnly by a Constitutional compact, to which all of the States are parties, constitutes the peculiar character and excellence of our political system. It is truly and emphatically American, without example or parallel.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The question is new when applied to our peculiar political organization, where the separate and conflicting interests of society are represented by distinct but connected Governments; but is in reality an old question under a new form, long since perfectly solved. Whenever separate and dissimilar interests have been separately represented in any Government; whenever the sovereign power has been divided in its exercise, the experience and wisdom of ages have devised but one mode by which such political organization can be preserved; the mode adopted in England, and by all Governments, ancient or modern, blessed with Constitutions deserving to be called free; to give to each co-estate the right to judge of its powers, with a negative or veto on the acts of the others, in order to protect against encroachments the interests it particularly represents; a principle which all of our Constitutions recognize in the distribution of power among their respective departments, as essential to maintain the independence of each, but which, to all who will duly reflect on the subject, must appear far more essential, for the same object, in that great and fundamental distribution of powers between the States and General Government. So essential is the principle that to withhold the right from either, where the sovereign power is divided, is, in fact, to annul the division itself, and to consolidate in the one left in the exclusive possession of the right, all of the powers of the Government; for it is not possible to distinguish practically between a Government having all power, and one having the right to take what powers it pleases. Nor does it in the least vary the principle, whether the distribution of power between co-estates, as in England, or between distinctly organized but connected Governments, as with us. The reason is the same in both cases, while the necessity is greater in our case, as the danger of conflict is greater where the interests of a society are divided geographically than in any other, as has already been shown.

These truths do seem to me to be incontrovertible; and I am at a loss to

understand how any one who has maturely reflected on the nature of our institutions, or who has read history or studied the principles of free Government to any purpose, can call them in question. The explanation must, it appears to me, be sought in the fact that in every free State there are those who look more to the necessity of maintaining power than guarding against its abuses. I do not intend reproach, but simply to state that a fact apparently necessary to explain the contrariety of opinions, among the intelligent, where the abstract consideration of the subject would seem scarcely to admit of doubt. If such be the true cause, I must think the fear of weakening the Government too much in this case to be in a great measure unfounded, or at least that the danger is much less from that than the opposite side. I do not deny that a power of so high a nature may be abused by a State, but when I reflect that the States unanimously called the General Government into existence with all of its powers, which they freely surrendered on their part, under the conviction that their common peace, safety, and prosperity required it; that they are bound together by a common origin, and the recollection of common suffering and common triumph in the great and splendid achievement of their independence; and the strongest feelings of our nature, and among them, the love of national power and distinction, are on the side of the Union; it does seem to me, that the fear which would strip the States of their sovereignty, and degrade them, in fact, to mere dependent corporations, lest they should abuse a right indispensable to the peaceable protection of those interests which they reserved under their own peculiar guardianship when they created the General Government, is unnatural and unreasonable. If those who voluntarily created the system can not be trusted to preserve it, what power can?

* * * * * * * * * *

I yield, I trust, to few in my attachment to the Judiciary department. I am fully sensible of its importance, and would maintain it to the fullest extent in its Constitutional powers and independence; but it is impossible for me to believe that it was ever intended by the Constitution that it should exercise the power in question, or that it is competent to do so, and, if it were, that it would be a safe depository of the power.

Its powers are judicial and not political, and are expressly confined by the Constitution "to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under its authority;" and which I have high authority in asserting, excludes political questions, and comprehends those only where there are parties amenable to the process of the court. Nor is its incompetency less clear than its want of Constitutional authority. There may be many and the most dangerous infractions on the part of Congress, of which it is conceded by all, the court, as a judicial tribunal, can not from its nature take cognizance. The tariff itself is a strong case in point; and the reason applies equally to all others, where Congress perverts a power from an object

intended to one not intended, the most insidious and dangerous of all the infractions; and which may be extended to all of its powers, more especially to the taxing and appropriating. But supposing it competent to take cognizance of all infractions of every description, the insuperable objection still remains, that it would not be a safe tribunal to exercise the power in question.

It is an universal and fundamental political principle, that the power to protect can safely be confided only to those interested in protecting, or their responsible agents—a maxim not less true in private than in public affairs. The danger in our system is, that the General Government, which represents the interests of the whole, may encroach on the States, which represent the peculiar and local interests, or that the latter may encroach on the former.

In examining this point, we ought not to forget that the Government, through all of its departments, Judicial as well as others, is administered by delegated and responsible agents; and that the power which really controls ultimately all the movements, is not in the agents, but those who elect or appoint them. To understand then its real character, and what would be the action of the system in any supposable case, we must raise our view from the mere agents to this high controlling power which finally impels every movement of the machine. By doing so, we shall find all under the control of the will of a majority of the States, taken as corporate bodies, and the majority of the people of the States estimated in federal numbers. These united constitute the real and final power which impels and directs the movements of the General Government. The majority of the States elect the majority of the Senate; of the people of the States, that of the House of Representatives; the two united, the President; and the President and a majority of the Senate appoint the judges, a majority of whom and a majority of the Senate and the House, with the President, really exercise all of the powers of the Government with the exception of the cases where the Constitution requires a greater number than a majority. The judges are, in fact, as truly the judicial representatives of this united majority, as the majority of Congress itself, or the President, is its legislative or executive representative; and to confide the power to the Judiciary to determine finally and conclusively what powers are delegated and what reserved, would be in reality to confide it to the majority, whose agents they are, and by whom they can be controlled in various ways; and, of course, to subject (against the fundamental principle of our system, and all sound political reasoning), the reserved powers of the States, with all of the local and peculiar interests they were intended to protect, to the will of the very majority against which the protection was intended. Nor will the tenure by which the judges hold their office, however valuable the provision in many other respects, materially vary the case. Its highest possible effect would be to retard, and not finally to resist, the will of a dominant majority.

* * * * * *

Against these conclusive arguments, as they seem to me, it is objected, that if one of the parties has the right to judge of infractions of the Constitution, so has the other, and that consequently in cases of contested powers between a State and the General Government, each would have a right to maintain its opinion, as is the case when sovereign powers differ in the construction of treaties or compacts, and that of course it would come to be a mere question of force. The error is in the assumption that the General Government is a party to the Constitutional compact. The States, as has been shown, formed the compact, acting as sovereign and independent communities. The General Government is but its creature; and though in reality a Government with all the rights and authority which belong to any other Government, within the orb of its powers, it is, nevertheless, a Government emanating from a compact between sovereigns, and partaking, in its nature and object, of the character of a joint commission, appointed to superintend and administer the interests in which all are jointly concerned, but having, beyond its proper sphere, no more power than if it did not exist. To deny this would be to deny the most incontestable facts and the clearest conclusions; while to acknowledge its truth, is to destroy utterly the objection that the appeal would be to force, in the case supposed. For if each party has a right to judge, then under our system of government, the final cognizance of a question of contested power would be in the States, and not in the General Government. It would be the duty of the latter, as in all similar cases of a contest between one or more of the principals and a joint commission or agency, to refer the contest to the principals themselves. Such are the plain dictates of reason and analogy both. On no sound principle can the agents have a right to final cognizance, as against the principals, much less to use force against them, to maintain their construction of their powers. Such a right would be monstrous; and has never, heretofore, been claimed in similar cases.

* * * * * * * * * *

How the States are to exercise this high power of interposition which constitutes so essential a portion of their reserved rights that it can not be delegated without an entire surrender of their sovereignty, and converting our system from a Federal into a consolidated Government, is a question that the States only are competent to determine. The arguments which prove that they possess the power, equally prove that they are, in the language of Jefferson, "the rightful judges of the mode and measure of redress." But the spirit of forbearance, as well as the nature of the right itself, forbids a recourse to it, except in cases of dangerous infractions of the Constitution; and then only in the last resort, when all reasonable hope of relief from the ordinary action of the Government has failed; when, if the right to interpose did not exist, the alternative would be submission and oppression on the one side, or resistance by force on the other. That our system should afford, in such extreme cases, an intermediate

point between these dire alternatives, by which the Government may be brought to a pause, and thereby an interval obtained to compromise differences, or, if impracticable, be compelled to submit the question to a Constitutional adjustment, through an appeal to the States themselves, is an evidence of its high wisdom; an element not, as is supposed by some, of weakness, but of strength; not of anarchy or revolution, but of peace and safety. Its general recognition would of itself, in a great measure, if not altogether, supersede the necessity of its exercise, by impressing on the movements of the Government that moderation and justice so essential to harmony and peace, in a country of such vast extent and diversity of interests as ours; and would, if controversy should come, turn the resentment of the aggrieved from the system to those who had abused its powers (a point all important), and cause them to seek redress, not in revolution or overthrow, but in reformation. It is, in fact, properly understood, a substitute where the alternative would be force, tending to prevent, and if that fails, to correct peaceably the aberrations to which all political systems are liable, and which, if permitted to accumulate, without correction, must finally end in a general catastrophe.

EXTRACTS FROM THE

SPEECH OF HENRY CLAY,

In Defense of the American System, in which is Given the Previous History of Tariff Contests in the Senate of the United States, February 2, 3, and 6, 1832.

Eight years ago it was my painful duty to present to the other House of Congress, an unexaggerated picture of the general distress pervading the whole land. We must all yet remember some of its frightful features. We all know that the people were then oppressed and borne down by an enormous load of debt; that the value of property was at the lowest point of depression; that ruinous sales and sacrifices were everywhere made of real estate; that stop laws, and relief laws, and paper money were adopted to save the people from impending destruction; that a deficit in the public revenue existed, which compelled Government to seize upon, and divert from its legitimate object the appropriations to the sinking fund, to redeem the national debt; and that our commerce and navigation were threatened with a complete paralysis. In short, sir, if I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present Constitution which exhibited a scene of the most wide-spread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly that term of seven years which immediately preceded the establishment of the tariff of 1824.

I have now to perform the more pleasing task of exhibiting an imper-

fect sketch of the existing state of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey, we behold cultivation extended, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people fully and profitably employed, and the public countenance exhibiting tranquillity, contentment and happiness. And if we descend into particulars, we have the agreeable contemplation of a people out of debt, land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready though not extravagant market for all the surplus productions of our industry; innumerable flocks and herds browsing and gamboling on ten thousand hills and plains, covered with rich and verdant grasses; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up, as it were, by enchantment; our exports and imports increased and increasing; our tonnage, foreign and coastwise, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the perpetual thunder and lightning of countless steamboats; the currency sound and abundant; the public debt of two wars nearly redeemed; and, to crown all, the public Treasury overflowing, embarrassing Congress, not to find subjects of taxation, but to select the objects which shall be liberated from the impost. If the term of seven years were to be selected, of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824.

This transformation of the condition of the country from gloom and distress to brightness and prosperity, has been mainly the work of American legislation, fostering American industry, instead of allowing it to be controlled by foreign legislation, cherishing foreign industry. The foes of the American System, in 1824, with great boldness and confidence, predicted, 1st. The ruin of the public revenue, and the *creation* of *a necessity* to resort to direct taxation. The gentleman from South Carolina (General Hayne), I believe, thought that the tariff of 1824 would operate a reduction of revenue to the large amount of eight millions of dollars. 2d. The destruction of our navigation. 3d. The desolation of commercial cities; and 4th. The augmentation of the price of objects of consumption, and further decline in that of the articles of our exports. Every prediction which they made has failed—utterly failed. Instead of the ruin of the public revenue, with which they then sought to deter us from the adoption of the American System, we are now threatened with its subversion, by the vast amount of the public revenue produced by that system. Every branch of our navigation has increased. * * * * *

It is now proposed to abolish the system, to which we owe so much of the public prosperity, and it is urged that the arrival of the period of the redemption of the public debt has been confidently looked to as presenting a suitable occasion to rid the country of evils with which the system is alleged to be fraught. Not an inattentive observer of passing events, I have been aware that among those who were most early pressing the payment of the public debt, and upon that ground were opposing appropri-

ations to other great interests, there were some who cared less about the debt than the accomplishment of other objects. But the people of the United States have not coupled the payment of *their* public debt with the destruction of the protection of *their* industry against foreign laws and foreign industry. They have been accustomed to regard the extinction of the public debt as relief from a burthen, and not as the infliction of a curse. If it is to be attended or followed by the subversion of the American system, and an exposure of our establishments and our productions to the unguarded consequences of the selfish policy of foreign powers, the payment of the public debt will be the bitterest of curses. Its fruit will be like the fruit

> "Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
> With loss of Eden."

If the system of protection be founded on principles erroneous in theory, pernicious in practice—above all, if it be unconstitutional, as is alleged, it ought to be forthwith abolished, and not a vestige of it suffered to remain. But, before we sanction this sweeping denunciation, let us look a little at this system, its magnitude, its ramifications, its duration, and the high authorities which have sustained it. We shall see that its foes will have accomplished comparatively nothing, after having achieved their present aim of breaking down our iron foundries, our woolen, cotton, and hemp manufactories, and our sugar plantations. The destruction of these would, undoubtedly, lead to the sacrifice of immense Capitol, the ruin of many thousands of our fellow-citizens, and incalculable loss to the whole community. But their prostration would not disfigure, nor produce greater effect upon the *whole* system of protection, in all its branches, than the destruction of the beautiful domes upon the Capitol would occasion to the magnificent edifice which they surmount. Why, sir, there is scarcely an interest, scarcely a vocation in society, which is not embraced by the beneficence of this system.

It comprehends our coasting tonnage and trade, from which all foreign tonnage is absolutely excluded.

It includes all our foreign tonnage, with the inconsiderable exception made by treaties of reciprocity with a few foreign powers.

It embraces our fisheries, and all our hardy and enterprising fishermen.

It extends to almost every mechanic art. * * * *

It extends to all Lower Louisiana, the Delta of which might as well be submerged again in the Gulf of Mexico, from which it has been a gradual conquest, as now to be deprived of the protecting duty upon its great staple.

If affects the cotton planter himself, and the tobacco planter, both of whom enjoy protection. * * * * * *

The wars of the French Revolution commenced about this period, and streams of gold poured into the United States through a thousand channels, opened or enlarged by the successful commerce which our neutrality enabled us to prosecute. We forgot or overlooked, in the general prosperity, the necessity of encouraging our domestic manufactures. Then came the edicts of Napoleon, and the British orders in council, and our embargo, non-intercourse, non-importation, and war, followed in rapid succession. These national measures, amounting to a total suspension, for the period of their duration, of our foreign commerce, afforded the most efficacious encouragement to American manufactures, and accordingly they everywhere sprung up. While these measures of restriction and this state of war continued, the manufacturers were stimulated in their enterprise by every assurance of support, by public sentiment, and by legislative resolves. It was about that period (1808) that South Carolina bore her high testimony to the wisdom of the policy, in an act of her Legislature, the preamble of which, now before me, reads:

"WHEREAS, The establishment and *encouragement* of domestic manufactures is conducive to the interests of a State, by adding new *incentives to industry*, and as being the means of disposing to advantage the surplus productions of the *agriculturist;* and whereas, in the present unexampled state of the world, their establishment in our country is not only *expedient*, but politic in rendering us *independent* of foreign nations."

The Legislature, not being competent to afford the most efficacious aid, by imposing duties on foreign rival articles, proceeded to incorporate a company. * * * * * * * *

The subject of the American system was again brought up in 1820, by the bill reported by the chairman of the committee of manufactures, now a member of the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the principle was successfully maintained by the representatives of the people; but the bill which they passed was defeated in the Senate. It was revived in 1824; the whole ground carefully and deliberately explored, and the bill then introduced, receiving all the sanctions of the Constitution, became the law of the land. An amendment of the system was proposed in 1828, to the history of which I refer with no agreeable recollections. The bill of that year, in some of its provisions, was framed on principles directly adverse to the declared wishes of the friends of the policy of protection. I have heard, without vouching for the fact, that it was so framed, upon the advice of a prominent citizen, now abroad, with the view of ultimately defeating the bill, and with assurances that, being altogether unacceptable to the friends of the American system, the bill would be lost. Be that as it may, the most exceptional features of the bill were stamped upon it, against the earnest remonstrances of the friends of the system, by the votes of Southern members, upon a principle, I think, as unsound in legislation as it is reprehensible in ethics. The bill was passed, notwith-

standing all this, it having been deemed better to take the bad along with the good which it contained, than reject it altogether. Subsequent legislation has corrected the error then perpetrated, but still that measure is vehemently denounced by gentlemen who contributed to make it what it was.

Thus, sir, has this great system of protection been gradually built, stone upon stone, and step by step, from the fourth of July, 1789, down to the present period. In every stage of its progress it has received the deliberate sanction of Congress. A vast majority of the people of the United States has approved and continue to approve it. Every Chief Magistrate of the United States, from Washington to the present, in some form or other, has given to it the authority of his name; and however the opinions of the existing President are interpreted south of Mason and Dixon's line, on the north they are at least understood to favor the establishment of a *judicious* tariff. * * * * * * *

Gentlemen deceive themselves. It is not free trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. It is, in effect, the British colonial system that we are invited to adopt; and, if their policy prevail, it will lead substantially to the re-colonization of these States, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain. And who do we find some of the principal supporters, out of Congress, of this foreign system? Mr. President, there are some foreigners who always remain exotics, and never become naturalized in our country; whilst, happily, there are many others who readily attach themselves to our principles and our institutions. The honest, patient and industrious German readily unites with our people, establishes himself upon some of our fat land, fills his capacious barn, and enjoys in tranquillity the abundant fruits which his diligence gathers around him, always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country, or of its laws, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophic Frenchman, accommodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself without difficulty in our society. But, of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was originally part and parcel of this continent, and that, by some extraordinary convulsion of nature, it was torn from America, and drifting across the ocean, was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness; the same generous hospitality; the same careless and uncalculating indifference about human life, characterize the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that if the current of emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, instead of bearing from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, as every Irish immigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home!

But I have said that the system nominally called "free trade," so earnestly and eloquently recommended to our adoption, is a mere revival of the British colonial system, forced upon us by Great Britain during the existence of our colonial vassalage. The whole system is fully explained and illustrated in a work published as far back as the year 1750, entitled "The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, by Joshua Gee," with extracts from which I have been furnished by the diligent researches of a friend. It will be seen from these, that the South Carolina policy now is identical with the long-cherished policy of Great Britain, which remains the same as it was when the thirteen Colonies were part of the British empire.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I plant myself upon this fact, of cheapness and superiority, as upon impregnable ground. Gentlemen may tax their ingenuity and produce a thousand speculative solutions of the fact, but the fact itself will remain undisturbed.

This brings me to consider what I apprehend to have been the most efficient of all the causes in the reduction of the prices of manufactured articles—and that is COMPETITION. By competition, the total amount of the supply is increased, and by increase of the supply, a competition in the sale ensues, and this enables the consumer to buy at lower rates. Of all human powers operating on the affairs of mankind, none is greater than that of competition. It is action and re-action. It operates between individuals in the same nation, and between different nations. It resembles the meeting of the mountain torrent, grooving, by its precipitous motion, its own channel, and ocean's tide. Unopposed, it sweeps everything before it; but, counterpoised, the waters become calm, safe, and regular. It is like the segments of a circle or an arch; taken separately, each is nothing; but in their combination they produce efficiency, symmetry, and perfection. By the American system this vast power has been excited in America, and brought into being to act in coöperation or collision with European industry. Europe acts within itself, and with America; and America acts within itself, and with Europe. The consequence is, the reduction of prices in both hemispheres. Nor is it fair to argue from the reduction of prices in Europe, to her own presumed skill and labor, exclusively. We affect her prices, and she affects ours. This must always be the case, at least in reference to any articles as to which there is not a total non-intercourse; and if our industry, by diminishing the demand for her supplies, should produce a diminution in the price of those supplies, it would be very unfair to ascribe that reduction to her ingenuity instead of placing it to the credit of our own skill and *excited* industry.

The great law of *price* is determined by supply and demand. Whatever affects either affects the price. If the supply is increased, the demand remaining the same, the price declines; if the demand is increased, the supply remaining the same, the price advances; if both supply and de-

mand are undiminished, the price is stationary, and the price is influenced exactly in proportion to the degree of disturbance to the demand or supply. It is therefore a great error to suppose that an existing or new duty *necessarily* becomes a component element to its exact amount of price. If the proportion of demand and supply is varied by the duty, either in augmenting the supply, or diminishing the demand, or *vice versa*, price is affected to the extent of that variation. But the duty never becomes an integral part of the price, except in the instances where the demand and the supply remain after the duty is imposed, precisely what they were before, or the demand is increased, and the supply remains stationary.

Competition, therefore, wherever existing, whether at home or abroad, is the parent cause of cheapness. If a high duty excites production at home, and the quantity of the domestic article exceeds the amount which had been previously imported the price will fall. This accounts for an extraordinary fact stated by a Senator from Missouri. Three cents were laid as a duty upon a pound of lead, by the act of 1828. The price at Galena, and the other lead mines, afterwards fell to one and a half cents per pound. Now it is obvious that the duty did not, in this case, enter into the price; for it was twice the amount of the price. What produced the fall? It was *stimulated* production at home, excited by the temptation of the exclusive possession of the home market. This state of things could not last. Men would not continue an unprofitable pursuit; some abandoned the business, or the total quantity produced was diminished, and living prices have been the consequence. But break down the domestic supply, place us again in a state of dependence on the foreign source, and can it be doubted that we should ultimately have to supply ourselves at dearer rates? It is not fair to credit the foreign market with the depression of prices produced there by the influence of our own competition. Let the competition be withdrawn, and their prices would instantly rise.

* * * * * * * * * * *

But if all this reasoning were totally fallacious—if the price of manufactured articles were really higher under the American system than without it, I should still argue that high or low prices were themselves relative—relative to the ability to pay them. It is in vain to tempt, to tantalize us with the lower prices of European fabrics than our own, if we have nothing wherewith to purchase them. If, by the home exchanges, we can be supplied with necessary, even if they are dearer and worse, articles of American production than the foreign, it is better than not to be supplied at all. And how would the large portion of our country which I have described be supplied, but for the home exchanges? A poor people, destitute of wealth or of exchangeable commodities, has nothing to purchase foreign fabrics. To them they are equally beyond their reach, whether their cost be a dollar or a guinea. It is in this view of the matter that Great Britain, by her vast wealth—her *excited and protected* industry—is enabled to bear a burden of taxation which, when compared to

that of other nations, appears enormous, but which, when her immense riches are compared to theirs, is light and trivial.

The gentleman from South Carolina has drawn a lively and flattering picture of our coasts, bays, rivers, and harbors; and he argues that these proclaimed the design of Providence that we should be a commercial people. I agree with him. We differ only as to the means. He would cherish the foreign, and neglect the internal trade. I would foster both. What is navigation without ships, or ships without cargoes? By penetrating the bosoms of our mountains, and extracting from them their precious treasures; by cultivating the earth, and *securing* a home market for its rich and abundant products; by employing the water-power with which we are blessed; by stimulating and protecting our native industry, in all its forms, we shall but nourish and promote the prosperity of commerce, foreign and domestic.

* * * * * * * * * *

EXTRACTS FROM THE

SPEECH OF HON. ROBERT Y. HAYNE,

SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA,

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER, JANUARY 21, 1830, ON MR. FOOT'S RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE SALES OF THE PUBLIC LANDS.

* * * * The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster), after deliberating a whole night upon his course, comes into this chamber to vindicate New England; and instead of making up his issue with the gentleman from Missouri, on the charges which *he had preferred*, chooses to consider me as the author of those charges, and losing sight entirely of that gentleman, selects me as his adversary, and pours out all the vials of his mighty wrath upon my devoted head. Nor is he willing to stop there. He goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the South, and calls in question the principles and conduct of the State which I have the honor to represent. When I find a gentleman of mature age and experience, of acknowledged talents and profound sagacity, pursuing a course like this, declining the contest offered from the West, and making war upon the unoffending South, I must believe, I am bound to believe, he has some object in view which he has not ventured to disclose. Mr. President, why is this? Has the gentleman discovered in former controversies with the gentleman from Missouri, that he is overmatched by that Senator? And does he hope for an easy victory over a more feeble adversary? Has the gentleman's distempered fancy been disturbed by gloomy forebodings of "new alliances to be formed," at which he hinted? Has the ghost of the murdered COALITION come back, like the ghost of Banquo, to "sear the

eyeballs of the gentleman," and will it not down at his bidding? Are dark visions of broken hopes, and honors lost forever, still floating before his heated imagination? Sir, if it be his object to thrust me between the gentleman from Missouri and himself, in order to rescue the East from the contest it has provoked with the West, he shall not be gratified. Sir, I will not be dragged into the defense of my friend from Missouri. The South shall not be forced into a conflict not its own. The gentleman from Missouri is able to fight his own battles. The gallant West needs no aid from the South to repel any attack which may be made on them from any quarter. Let the gentleman from Massachusetts controvert the facts and arguments of the gentleman from Missouri, if he can, and if he win the victory, let him wear the honors; I shall not deprive him of his laurels.

* * * * * * * * * *

I contended that the public lands ought not to be treated merely as "a fund for revenue;" that they ought not to be hoarded "as a great treasure." On this point the Senator expressed himself thus: "Government, he believed, had received eighteen or twenty millions of dollars from the public lands, and it was with the greatest satisfaction he adverted to the change which had been introduced in the mode of paying for them; *yet he could never think the national domain was to be regarded as any great source of revenue.* The great object of the Government in respect of these lands was not so much *the money derived from their sale* as it was *the getting them settled.* What he meant to say was, *he did not think they ought to hug that domain* AS A GREAT TREASURE *to enrich the Exchequer.*"

* * * * * * * * * *

The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to present, in strong contrast, the friendly feelings of the East towards the West, with sentiments of an opposite character displayed by the South in relation to appropriations for *internal improvements.* Now, sir, let it be recollected that the South had made no professions. I have certainly made none in their behalf, of regard for the West. It has been reserved for the gentleman from Massachusetts, while he vaunts over his own personal devotion to Western interests, to claim for the entire section of country to which he belongs an ardent friendship for the West, as manifested by their support of the system of internal improvement, while he casts in our teeth the reproach that the South has manifested hostility to Western interests in opposing appropriations for such objects. That gentleman, at the same time, acknowledged that the South entertains *Constitutional scruples* on this subject. Are we then, sir, to understand that the gentleman considers it a just subject of reproach that we respect our oaths, by which we are bound "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States?" Would the gentleman have us manifest our love to the West by trampling under foot our Constitutional scruples? Does he not perceive, if the South is to *be reproached* with unkindness to the West, in voting against appropriations which the gentleman admits they could not vote for without doing vio-

lence to their Constitutional opinions, that he exposes himself to the question, whether, if he was in our situation, he could vote for these appropriations regardless of his scruples? No, sir, I will not do the gentleman so great injustice. He has fallen into this error from not having duly weighed the force and effect of the reproach which he was endeavoring to cast upon the South. In relation to the other point, the friendship manifested by New England towards the West, in their support of the system of internal improvement, the gentleman will pardon me for saying that I think he is equally unfortunate in having introduced that topic. As that gentleman has forced it upon us, however, I can not suffer it to pass unnoticed. When the gentleman tells us that the appropriations for internal improvement in the West would, in almost every instance, have failed but for New England votes, he has forgotten to tell us the *when*, the *how*, and the *wherefore* this new-born zeal for the West sprung up in the bosom of New England. If we look back only a few years, we will find in both Houses of Congress a uniform and steady opposition on the part of the members from the Eastern States, generally, to all appropriations of this character. At the time I became a member of this House, and for some time afterwards, a decided majority of the New England Senators were opposed to the very measures which the Senator from Massachusetts tells us they now cordially support. Sir, the Journals are before me, and an examination of them will satisfy every gentleman of that fact.

* * * * * * * * * *

In the session of 1824 and '25, however, (a memorable era in the history of this country) a wonderful change took place in New England in relation to Western interests. Sir, an extraordinary union of sympathies and of interests was then effected which brought the East and the West into close alliance. The book from which I have before read contains the first public annunciation of that happy reconciliation of conflicting interests, personal and political, which brought the East and West together and locked in a fraternal embrace the two great orators of the East and the West. Sir, it was on the 18th of January, 1825, while the result of the Presidential election, in the House of Representatives, was still doubtful, while the whole country was looking with intense anxiety to that Legislative Hall where the mighty drama was so soon to be acted, that we saw the leaders of two great parties in the House and in the Nation, "taking sweet counsel together," and in a celebrated debate on the *Cumberland road*, fighting side by side for *Western interests*.

It was on that memorable occasion that the Senator from Massachusetts *held out the white flag to the West*, and uttered those liberal sentiments which he yesterday so indignantly repudiated. Then it was that that happy union between the two members of the celebrated *coalition* was consummated, whose immediate issue was a President from *one quarter of the Union*, with the succession (as it was supposed) *secured to another*. The "American system," before a rude, disjointed, and misshapen mass, now assumed

form and consistency. Then it was that it became "the settled policy of the Government" that this system should be so administered as to create a reciprocity of interests and a reciprocal distribution of Government favors, East and West (the tariff and internal improvements), while the South—yes, sir, the impracticable South—was to be "out of your protection." The gentleman may boast as much as he pleases of the friendship of New England for the West, as displayed in their support of internal improvement; but when he next introduces that topic, I trust that he will tell us *when* that friendship commenced, *how* it was brought about, and *why* it was established. Before I leave this topic, I must be permitted to say that the true character of the policy now pursued by the gentleman from Massachusetts and his friends, in relation to appropriations of land and money, for the benefit of the West, is, in my estimation, very similar to that pursued by Jacob of old towards his brother Esau: "it robs them of their birthright for a mess of pottage." * * * *

Sir, let me tell that gentleman that the South repudiates the idea that a *pecuniary dependence* on the Federal Government is one of the legitimate means of holding the States together. A moneyed interest in the Government is essentially a base interest; and just so far as it operates to bind the feelings of those who are subjected to it to the Government—just so far as it operates in creating sympathies and interests that would not otherwise exist—is it opposed to all the principles of free Government, and at war with virtue and patriotism. Sir, the link which binds the public creditors, *as such*, to their country, binds them equally to all Governments, whether arbitrary or free. In a free Government, this principle of abject dependence, if extended through all the ramifications of society, must be fatal to liberty. Already have we made alarming strides in that direction. The entire class of manufacturers, the holders of stocks, with their hundreds of millions of capital, are held to the Government by the strong link of *pecuniary interests;* millions of people—entire sections of country, interested, or believing themselves to be so, in the public lands, and the public treasure—are bound to the Government by the expectation of *pecuniary favors.* * * * * * * *

It is a popular error to suppose that, in any possible state of things, the people of a country could ever be called out *en masse*, or that a half, or a third, or even a fifth part of the physical force of any country could ever be brought into the field. The difficulty is, not to procure men, but to provide *the means of maintaining them;* and in this view of the subject, it may be asked whether the Southern States are not a source of *strength* and *power*, and not of *weakness*, to the country—whether they have not contributed, and are not now contributing, largely to the wealth and prosperity of every State in this Union. From a statement which I hold in my hand, it appears that in ten years—from 1818 to 1827, inclusive—the whole amount of the domestic exports of the United States was $521,811,045; of which three articles (*the product of slave labor*), viz., cotton, rice, and tobacco,

amounted to $339,203,232—equal to *about two-thirds of the whole.* It is not true, as has been supposed, that the advantage of this labor is confined almost exclusively to the Southern States. Sir, I am thoroughly convinced that, at this time, *the States north of the Potomac actually derive greater profits from the labor of our slaves than we do ourselves.* It appears from our public documents, that in seven years—from 1821 to 1827, inclusive—the six Southern States *exported* $190,337,281, and *imported* only $55,646,301. Now, the difference between these two sums (near $140,000,000), *passed through the hands of the Northern merchants,* and enabled them to carry on their commercial operations with all the world. Such part of these goods as found its way back to our hands came charged with the duties, as well as the profits, of the merchant, the ship owner, and a host of others, who found employment in carrying on these immense exchanges; and for such part as was consumed at the North, we received in exchange *Northern manufactures,* charged with an increased price, to cover all the taxes which the Northern consumer had been compelled to pay on the imported article. It will be seen, therefore, at a glance, how much slave labor has contributed to the wealth and prosperity of the United States, and how largely our Northern brethren have participated in the profits of that labor. Sir, on this subject I will quote an authority, which will, I doubt not, be considered by the Senator from Massachusetts as entitled to high respect. It is from the great father of the "American System," *honest Matthew Carey*—no great friend, it is true, at this time, to Southern rights and Southern interests, but not the worst authority on that account, *on the point in question.*

* * * * * * * * * *

There is a *spirit,* which, like the father of evil, is constantly "walking to and fro about the earth, seeking whom it may devour;" it is the spirit of FALSE PHILANTHROPY. The persons whom it possesses do not indeed throw themselves into the flames, but they are employed in lighting up the torches of discord throughout the community. Their first principle of action is to leave their own affairs, and neglect their own duties, to regulate the affairs and duties of others. Theirs is the task to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, of other lands, while they thrust the naked, famished, and shivering beggar from their own doors; to instruct the heathen, while their own children want the bread of life. When this spirit infuses itself into the bosom of a statesman (if one so possessed can be called a statesman), it converts him at once into a visionary enthusiast. Then it is that he indulges in golden dreams of national greatness and prosperity. He discovers that "liberty is power," and not content with vast schemes of improvement at home, which it would bankrupt the treasury of the world to execute, he flies to foreign lands to fulfill obligations to "the human race" by inculcating the principles of "political and religious liberty," and promoting the "general welfare" of the whole human race. It is a spirit which has long been busy with the *slaves of the South;* and is even now displaying itself in vain efforts to drive the Government from its

wise policy in relation to the *Indians*. It is this spirit which has filled the land with thousands of wild, visionary projects, which can have no effect but to waste the energies and dissipate the resources of the country. It is the spirit of which the aspiring politician dexterously avails himself, when, by inscribing on his banner the magical words LIBERTY AND PHILANTHROPY, he draws to his support that class of persons who are ready to bow down at the very name of their idols.

* * * * * * * * * *

The gentleman boasts of belonging to the party of NATIONAL REPUBLICANS. National Republicans! A new name, sir, for a very old thing. The National Republicans of the present day were the *Federalists* of '98, who became *Federal Republicans* during the war of 1812, and were *manufactured* into *National Republicans* somewhere about the year 1825.

As a party (by whatever name distinguished), they have always been animated by the same principles, and have kept steadily in view a common object, the consolidation of the Government. Sir, the party to which I am proud of having belonged, from the very commencement of my political life to the present day, were the *Democrats* of '98 (*Anarchists*, *Anti-Federalists*, *Revolutionists*, I think, they were sometimes called). They assumed the name of *Democratic Republicans* in 1822, and have retained their name and principles up to the present hour. True to their political faith, they have always, as a party, been in favor of limitations of power; they have insisted that all powers not delegated to the Federal Government are reserved, and have been constantly struggling, as they now are, to preserve the rights of the States, and to prevent them from being drawn into the vortex and swallowed up by one great consolidated Government.

Sir, any one acquainted with the history of parties in this country will recognize in the points now in dispute between the Senator from Massachusetts and myself, the very grounds which have, from the beginning, divided the two great parties in this country, and which (call these parties by what name you will and *amalgamate* them as you may) will divide them forever. The true distinction between those parties is laid down in a celebrated manifesto issued by the convention of the Federalists of Massachusetts, assembled in Boston in February, 1824, on the occasion of organizing a party opposition to the reëlection of Governor Eustis. The gentleman will recognize this as "the canonical book of political scripture," and it instructs us that when the American Colonies redeemed themselves from British bondage, and became so many *independent nations*, they proposed to form a NATIONAL UNION (not a *Federal* Union, sir, but a National Union). Those who were in favor of a *union of the States in this form* became known by the name of *Federalists;* those who wanted no union of the States, or disliked the proposed form of union, became known by the name of *Anti-Federalists*. By means which need not be enumerated, the *Anti-Federalists* became (after the expiration of twelve years) our National rulers, and for a period of sixteen years, until the close of Mr. Madison's Administration,

in 1817, continued to exercise the exclusive direction of our public affairs. Here, sir, is the true history of the origin, rise and progress of the party of *National Republicans*, who date back to the very origin of the Government, and who, then, as now, chose to consider the Constitution as having created, not a *Federal*, but a *National Union*, who regarded "consolidation" as no evil, and who doubtless considered it "a consummation devoutly to be wished" to build up a great "central Government, one and indivisible." Sir, there have existed, in every age and every country, two distinct orders of men—the *lovers of freedom* and the devoted *advocates of power*.

The same great leading principles, modified only by the peculiarities of manners, habits, and institutions, divided parties in the ancient republics, animated the *Whigs* and *Tories* of Great Britain, distinguished in our own times the *Liberals* and *Ultras* of France, and may be traced even in the bloody struggles of unhappy Spain. Sir, when the gallant *Riego*, who devoted himself and all that he possessed to the liberties of his country, was dragged to the scaffold, followed by the tears and lamentations of every lover of freedom throughout the world, he perished amid the deafening cries of "Long live the absolute king!" The people whom I represent, Mr. President, are the descendants of those who brought with them to this country, as the most precious of their possessions, "an ardent love of liberty;" and while that shall be preserved, they will always be found manfully struggling against the *consolidation of the Government*—AS THE WORST OF EVILS. * * * * * * * *

But, Mr. President, to be more serious, what are we of the South to think of what we have heard this day? The Senator from Massachusetts tells us that the tariff is not an Eastern measure, and treats it as if the East had no interest in it. The Senator from Missouri insists it is not a Western measure, and that it has done no good to the West. The South comes in, and, in the most earnest manner, represents to you that this measure, which we are told "is of no value to the East or the West," is utterly destructive of our interests." We represent to you that it has spread ruin and devastation through the land and prostrated our hopes in the dust. We solemnly declare that we believe the system to be wholly unconstitutional, and a violation of the compact between the States and the Union; and our brethren *turn a deaf ear to our complaints*, and refuse to relieve us from a system "which not enriches them, but makes us poor indeed." Good God! Mr. President, *has it come to this?* Do gentlemen hold the feelings and wishes of their brethren at so cheap a rate that they refuse to gratify them at so small a price? Do gentlemen value so lightly the peace and harmony of the country, that they will not yield a measure of this description to the affectionate entreaties and earnest remonstrances of their friends? Do gentlemen estimate the value of the Union at so low a price that they will not even make one effort to bind the States together with the cords of affection? And has it come to this? Is this the spirit in which this Government is to be administered? If so,

let me tell gentlemen the seeds of dissolution are already sown, and our children will reap the bitter fruit.

* * * * * * * * * *

Who then, Mr. President, are the true friends of the Union? Those who would confine the Federal Government strictly within the limits prescribed by the Constitution; who would preserve to the States and the people all powers not expressly delegated; who would make this a Federal and not a National Union, and who, administering the Government in a spirit of equal justice, would make it a blessing, and not a curse. And who are its enemies? Those who are in favor of consolidation; who are constantly stealing power from the States, and adding strength to the Federal Government; who, assuming an unwarrantable jurisdiction over the States and the people, undertake to regulate the whole industry and capital of the country. But, sir, of all descriptions of men, I consider those as the worst enemies of the Union, who sacrifice the equal rights which belong to every member of the confederacy to combinations of interested majorities, for personal or political objects. But the gentleman apprehends no evil from the dependence of the States on the Federal Government; he can see no danger of corruption from the influence of money or of patronage. Sir, I know that it is supposed to be a wise saying that "patronage is a source of weakness;" and in support of that maxim, it has been said, that "every ten appointments make a hundred enemies." But I am rather inclined to think, with the eloquent and sagacious orator now reposing on his laurels on the banks of the Roanoke, that "the power of conferring favors creates a crowd of dependants;" he gave a forcible illustration of the truth of the remark, when he told us of the effect of holding up the savory morsel to the eager eyes of the hungry hounds gathered around his door. It mattered not whether the gift was bestowed on Towzer or Sweetlips, "Tray, Blanche, or Sweetheart;" while held in suspense, they were governed by a nod, and when the morsel was bestowed, expectation of favors of to-morrow kept up the subjection of to-day.

* * * * * * * * * *

EXTRACTS FROM

WEBSTER'S GREAT REPLY TO HAYNE,

IN WHICH HE "EXPOUNDS THE CONSTITUTION," DELIVERED IN SENATE, JANUARY 26, 1830.

[Following Mr. Hayne in the debate, Mr. Webster addressed the Senate.]

Mr. President: When the mariner has been tossed, for many days, in thick weather, and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude, and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence, and before we float further, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least be able to conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution.

[The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to inquire and report the quantity of the public lands remaining unsold within each State and Territory, and whether it be expedient to limit, for a certain period, the sales of the public lands to such lands only as have heretofore been offered for sale, and are now subject to entry at the minimum price. And, also, whether the office of the Surveyor-General, in some of the land offices, may not be abolished without detriment to the public interest; or whether it be expedient to adopt measures to hasten the sales, and extend more rapidly the surveys of the public lands."]

We have thus heard, sir, what the resolution is, which is actually before us for consideration; and it will readily occur to every one that it is almost the only subject about which something has not been said in the speech, running through two days, by which the Senate has been now entertained by the gentleman from South Carolina. Every topic in the wide range of our public affairs, whether past or present—everything, general or local, whether belonging to National politics or party politics—seems to have attracted more or less of the honorable member's attention, save only the resolution before us. He has spoken of everything but the public lands. They have escaped his notice. To that subject, in all his excursions, he has not paid even the cold respect of a passing glance.

* * * * * * * * * * *

When the present Constitution was submitted for the ratification of the people, there were those who imagined that the powers of the Government which it proposed to establish might, perhaps, in some possible mode, be exerted in measures tending to the abolition of slavery. This suggestion

would, of course, attract much attention in the Southern conventions. In that of Virginia, Governor Randolph said:

"I hope that there is none here, who, considering the subject in the calm light of philosophy, will make an objection dishonorable to Virginia—that, at the moment they are securing the rights of their citizens, an objection is started, that there is a spark of hope that those unfortunate men now held in bondage may, by the operation of the General Government, be made free."

At the very first Congress, petitions on the subject were presented, if I mistake not, from different States. The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, took a lead, and laid before Congress a memorial, praying Congress to promote the abolition by such powers as it possessed. This memorial was referred, in the House of Representatives, to a select committee, consisting of Mr. Foster, of New Hampshire; Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts; Mr. Huntington, of Connecticut; Mr. Lawrence, of New York, Mr. Dickinson, of New Jersey; Mr. Hartley, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Parker of Virginia; all of them, sir, as you will observe, Northern men, but the last. This committee made a report, which was committed to a committee of the whole House, and there considered and discussed on several days; and being amended, although in no material respect, it was made to express three distinct propositions on the subject of slavery and the slave trade. First, in the words of the Constitution, that Congress could not, prior to the year 1808, prohibit the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States then existing should think proper to admit. Second, that Congress had authority to restrain the citizens of the United States from carrying on the African slave trade for the purpose of supplying foreign countries. On this proposition, our early laws against those who engage in that traffic are founded. The third proposition, and that which bears on the present question, was expressed in the following terms:

"*Resolved*, That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or of the treatment of them in any of the States; it remaining with the several States alone to provide rules and regulations therein, which humanity and true policy may require."

This resolution received the sanction of the House of Representatives so early as March, 1790. And, now, sir, the honorable member will allow me to remind him, that not only were the select committee who reported the resolution, with a single exception, all Northern men, but also that of the members then composing the House of Representatives, a large majority, I believe nearly two-thirds, were Northern men also.

The House agreed to insert these resolutions in its journal; and, from that day to this, it has never been maintained or contended that Congress had any authority to regulate or interfere with the condition of slaves in the several States. No Northern gentleman, to my knowledge, has moved any such question in either House of Congress.

The fears of the South, whatever fears they might have entertained, were allayed and quieted by this early decision; and so remained till they were excited afresh without cause, but for collateral and indirect purposes. When it became necessary, or was thought so, by some political persons, to find an unvarying ground for the exclusion of Northern men from confidence and from lead in the affairs of the Republic, then, and not till then, the cry was raised, and the feeling industriously excited, that the influence of Northern men in the public councils would endanger the relation of master and slave. For myself, I claim no other merit, than that this gross and enormous injustice towards the whole North has not wrought upon me to change my opinions, or my political conduct. I hope I am above violating my principles, even under the smart of injury and false imputations. Unjust suspicions and undeserved reproach, whatever pain I may experience from them, will not induce me, I trust, nevertheless, to overstep the limits of Constitutional duty, or to encroach on the rights of others. The domestic slavery of the South I leave where I find it—in the hands of their own Governments. It is their affair, not mine. Nor do I complain of the peculiar effect which the magnitude of that population has had in the distribution of power under this Federal Government. We know, sir, that the representation of the States in the other House is not equal. We know that great advantage, in that respect, is enjoyed by the slaveholding States; and we know, too, that the intended equivalent for that advantage—that is to say, the imposition of direct taxes in the same ratio—has become merely nominal; the habit of the Government being almost invariably to collect its revenues from other sources and in other modes. Nevertheless, I do not complain; nor would I countenance any movement to alter this arrangement of representation. It is the original bargain, the compact—let it stand! let the advantage of it be fully enjoyed. The Union itself is too full of benefit to be hazarded in propositions for changing its original basis. I go for the Constitution as it is, and for the Union as it is. But I am resolved not to submit, in silence, to accusations, either against myself individually, or against the North, wholly unfounded and unjust—accusations which impute to us a disposition to evade the Constitutional compact, and to extend the power of the Government over the internal laws and domestic condition of the States. All such accusations, wherever and whenever made, all insinuations of the existence of any such purposes, I know and feel to be groundless and injurious. And we must confide in Southern gentlemen themselves; we must trust to those whose integrity of heart and magnanimity of feeling will lead them to a desire to maintain and disseminate truth, and who possess the means of its diffusion with the Southern public; we must leave it to them to disabuse that public of its prejudices. But, in the mean time, for my own part, I shall continue to act justly, whether those towards whom justice is exercised receive it with candor or with contumely

* * * * * * * * * * *

I need not repeat at large the general topics of the honorable gentleman's speech. When he said, yesterday, that he did not attack the Eastern States, he certainly must have forgotten not only particular remarks, but the whole drift and tenor of his speech; unless he means by not attacking that he did not commence hostilities, but that another had preceded him in the attack. He, in the first place, disapproved of the whole course of the Government for forty years in regard to its dispositions of the public land, and then, turning northward and eastward, and fancying he had found a cause for alleged narrowness and niggardliness in the "accursed policy" of the tariff, to which he represented the people of New England as wedded, he went on for a full hour with remarks, the whole scope of which was to exhibit the results of this policy in feelings and in measures unfavorable to the West. I thought his opinions unfounded and erroneous as to the general course of the Government, and ventured to reply to them.

The gentleman had remarked on the analogy of other cases, and quoted the conduct of European Governments towards their own subjects settling on this continent, as in point, to show that we had been harsh and rigid in selling when we should have given the public lands to settlers. I thought the honorable member had suffered his judgment to be betrayed by a false analogy; that he was struck with an appearance of resemblance where there was no real similitude. I think so still. The first settlers of North America were enterprising spirits, engaging in private adventure or fleeing from tyranny at home. When arrived here, they were forgotten by the mother country or remembered only to be oppressed. Carried away again by the appearance of analogy, or struck with the eloquence of the passage, the honorable member yesterday observed that the conduct of the Government towards the Western emigrants, or my representation of it, brought to his mind a celebrated speech in the British Parliament. It was, sir, the speech of Colonel Barre. On the question of the Stamp Act or tea tax, I forget which, Colonel Barre had heard a member on the treasury bench argue that the people of the United States, being British colonists, planted by the maternal care, nourished by the indulgence and protected by the arms of England, would not grudge their mite to relieve the mother country from the heavy burden under which she groaned. The language of Colonel Barre in reply to this was, "They planted by your care? Your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny and grew by your neglect of them. So soon as you began to care for them, you showed your care by sending persons to spy out their liberties, misrepresent their character, prey upon them and eat out their substance."

And does this honorable gentleman mean to maintain that language like this is applicable to the conduct of the Government of the United States towards the Western emigrants, or to any representation given by me of

that conduct? Were the settlers in the West driven thither by our oppression? Have they flourished only by our neglect of them? Has the Government done nothing but prey upon them and eat out their substance? Sir, this fervid eloquence of the British speaker, just when and where it was uttered, and fit to remain an exercise for the schools, is not a little out of place, when it was brought thence to be applied here, to the conduct of our own country towards her own citizens. From America to England it may be true; from Americans to their own Government it would be strange language. Let us leave it to be recited and declaimed by our boys against a foreign nation, not introduce it here to recite and declaim ourselves against our own.

But I come to the point of the alleged contradiction. In my remarks on Wednesday, I contended that we could not give away gratuitously all the public lands; that we held them in trust; that the Government had solemnly pledged itself to dispose of them as a common fund for the common benefit, and to sell and settle them as its discretion should dictate. Now, sir, what contradiction does the gentleman find to this sentiment in the speech of 1825? He quotes me as having then said that we ought not to hug these lands as a very great treasure. Very well, sir; supposing me to be accurately reported in that expression, what is the contradiction? I have not now said that we should hug these lands as a favorite source of pecuniary income. No such thing. It is not my view. What I have said and what I do say is, that they are a common fund, to be disposed of for the common benefit—to be sold at low prices for the accommodation of settlers, keeping the object of settling the lands as much in view as that of raising money from them. This I say now, and this I have always said. Is this hugging them as a favorite treasure? Is there no difference between hugging and hoarding this fund on the one hand as a great treasure, and on the other of disposing of it at low prices, placing the proceeds in the general treasury of the Union? My opinion is that as much is to be made of the land, as fair and reasonably may be, selling it all the while at such rates as to give the fullest effect to settlement. This is not giving it all away to the States, as the gentleman would propose, nor is it hugging the fund closely and tenaciously as a favorite treasure; but it is, in my judgment, a just and wise policy, perfectly according with all the various duties which rest on government. So much for my contradiction. And what is it? Where is the ground of the gentleman's triumph? What inconsistency, in word or doctrine, has he been able to detect. Sir, if this be a sample of that discomfiture with which the honorable gentleman threatened me, commend me to the word *discomfiture* for the rest of my life.

* * * * * * * * * *

We approach, at length, sir, to a more important part of the honorable gentleman's observations. Since it does not accord with my views of justice and policy, to vote away the public lands altogether, as mere matter of gratuity, I am asked, by the honorable gentleman, on what ground it is

that I consent to give them away in particular instances. How, he inquires, do I reconcile with these professed sentiments my support of measures appropriating portions of the lands to particular roads, particular canals, particular rivers, and particular institutions of education in the West? This leads, sir, to the real and wide difference in political opinions between the honorable gentleman and myself. On my part, I look upon all these objects as connected with the common good, fairly embraced in its objects and its terms; he, on the contrary, deems them all, if good at all, only local good. This is our difference. The interrogatory which he proceeded to put, at once explains this difference: "What interest," asks he, "has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio?" Sir, this very question is full of significance. It develops the gentleman's whole political system; and its answer expounds mine. Here we differ *toto cœlo*. I look upon a road over the Alleghany, a canal round the falls of the Ohio, or a canal or railway from the Atlantic to the Western waters, as being objects large and extensive enough to be fairly said to be for the common benefit. The gentleman thinks otherwise, and this is the key to open his construction of the powers of the Government. He may well ask, upon his system, What interest has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio? On that system, it is true, she has no interest. On that system, Ohio and Carolina are different Governments and different countries, connected here, it is true, by some slight and ill-defined bond of union, but in all main respects separate and diverse. On that system, Carolina has no more interest in a canal in Ohio than in Mexico. The gentleman, therefore, only follows out his own principles; he does no more than arrive at the natural conclusions of his own doctrines; he only announces the true results of that creed which he has adopted himself, and would persuade others to adopt, when he thus declares that South Carolina has no interest in a public work in Ohio. Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. Our notion of things is entirely different. We look upon the States not as separated, but as united. We love to dwell on that Union, and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted, and the common renown which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. In our contemplation, Carolina and Ohio are parts of the same country—States united under the same General Government, having interests common, associated, intermingled. In whatever is within the proper sphere of the Constitutional power of this Government, we look upon the States as one. We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers, and mountains, and lines of latitude, to find boundaries beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. We, who come here as agents and representatives of those narrow-minded and selfish men of New England, consider ourselves as bound to regard, with equal eye, the good of the whole, in whatever is within our power of legislation. Sir, if a railroad or canal, beginning in South Carolina, appeared to me to be of National importance and National

magnitude, believing as I do that the power of Government extends to the encouragement of works of that description, if I were to stand up here and ask, "What interest has Massachusetts in a railroad in South Carolina?" I should not be willing to face my constituents. These same narrow-minded men would tell me that they had sent me to act for the whole country, and that one who possessed too little comprehension, either of intellect or feeling—one who was not large enough, in mind and heart, to embrace the whole—was not fit to be intrusted with the interest of any part. Sir, I do not desire to enlarge the powers of Government by unjustifiable construction, nor to exercise any not within a fair interpretation. But when it is believed that a power does exist, then it is, in my judgment, to be exercised for the general benefit of the whole. So far as respects the exercise of such a power, the States are one. It was the very great object of the Constitution to create unity of interests to the extent of the powers of the General Government. In war and peace we are one; in commerce one; because the authority of the General Government reaches to war and peace, and to the regulation of commerce. I have never seen any more difficulty in erecting light-houses on the lakes than on the ocean; in improving the harbors of inland seas, than if they were within the ebb and flow of the tide; or of removing obstructions in the vast streams of the West, more than in any work to facilitate commerce on the Atlantic coast. If there be power for one, there is also for the other; and they are all and equally for the country.

* * * * * * * * * *

And now, sir, there are two measures to which I will refer, not so ancient as to belong to the early history of the public lands, and not so recent as to be on this side of the period when the gentleman charitably imagines a new direction may have been given to New England feeling and New England votes. These measures, and the New England votes in support of them, may be taken as samples and specimens of all the rest. In 1820—observe, Mr. President, in 1820—the people of the West besought Congress for a reduction in the price of lands. In favor of that reduction, New England, with a delegation of forty members in the other House, gave thirty-three votes, and one only against it. The four Southern States, with fifty members, gave thirty-two votes for it, and seven against it. Again, in 1821 (observe again, sir, the time), the law passed for the relief of the purchasers of the public lands. This was a measure of vital importance to the West, and more especially to the Southwest. It authorized the relinquishment of contracts for lands, which had been entered into at high prices, and a reduction, in other cases, of not less than thirty-seven and a half per cent. on the purchase money. Many millions of dollars, six or seven, I believe, at least—probably much more—were relinquished by this law. On this bill New England, with her forty members, gave more affirmative votes than the four Southern States with their fifty-two or three members. These two are far the most important measures

respecting the public lands which have been adopted within the last twenty years. They took place in 1820 and 1821. That is the time when. And as to the manner how, the gentleman already sees that it was by voting, in solid column, for the required relief; and, lastly, as to cause why, I tell the gentleman, it was because the members from New England thought the measures just and salutary; because they entertained towards the West neither envy, hatred, nor malice; because they deemed it becoming them, as just and enlightened public men, to meet the exigency which had arisen in the West with the appropriate measure of relief; because they felt it due to their own characters of their New England predecessors in this Government, to act towards the new States in a spirit of liberal, patronizing, magnanimous policy. So much, sir, for the cause *why;* and I hope by this time, sir, the honorable gentleman is satisfied; if not, I do not know *when*, or *how*, or *why* he ever will be.

* * * * * * * * * *

I go to other remarks of the honorable member—and I have to complain of an entire misapprehension of what I said on the subject of the national debt—though I can hardly perceive how any one could misunderstand me. What I said was, not that I wished to put off the payment of the debt, but, on the contrary, that I had always voted for every measure for its reduction as uniformly as the gentleman himself. He seems to claim the exclusive merit of a disposition to reduce the public charge; I do not allow it to him. As a debt I was, I am, for paying it; because it is a charge on our finances and on the industry of the country. But I observed that I thought I perceived a morbid fervor on that subject; an excessive anxiety to pay off the debt; not so much because it is a debt simply, as because, while it lasts, it furnishes one objection to disunion. It is a tie of common interest while it lasts. I did not impute such motive to the honorable member himself; but that there is such a feeling in existence I have not a particle of doubt. The most I said was, that if one effect of the debt was to strengthen our Union, that effect itself was not regretted by me, however much others might regret it. The gentleman has not seen how to reply to this otherwise than by supposing me to have advanced the doctrine that a national debt is a national blessing. Others, I must hope, will find less difficulty in understanding me. I distinctly and pointedly cautioned the honorable member not to understand me as expressing an opinion favorable to the continuance of the debt. I repeated this caution, and repeated it more than once, but it was thrown away.

On yet another point I was still more unaccountably misunderstood. The gentleman had harangued against "consolidation." I told him, in reply, that there was one kind of consolidation to which I was attached, and that was the CONSOLIDATION OF OUR UNION, and that this was precisely that consolidation to which I feared others were not attached; that such consolidation was the very end of the Constitution—the leading object, as they had informed us themselves, which its framers had kept in

view. I turned to their communication and read their very words—"the consolidation of the Union"—and expressed my devotion to this sort of consolidation. I said in terms that I wished not, in the slightest degree, to augment the powers of this Government; that my object was to preserve, not to enlarge; and that, by consolidating the Union, I understood no more than the strengthening of the Union and perpetuating it. Having been thus explicit; having thus read, from the printed book, the precise words which I adopted as expressing my own sentiments, it passes comprehension how any man could understand me as contending for an extension of the powers of the Government, or for consolidation in the odious sense in which it means an accumulation, in the Federal Government, of the powers properly belonging to the States.

* * * * * * * * * *

As well as I recollect the course of his remarks, the honorable gentleman next recurred to the subject of the tariff. He did not doubt the word must be of unpleasant sound to me, and proceeded, with an effort neither new nor attended with new success, to involve me and my votes in inconsistency and contradiction. I am happy the honorable gentleman has furnished me an opportunity of a timely remark or two on that subject. I was glad he approached it, for it is a question I enter upon without fear from anybody. The strenuous toil of the gentleman has been to raise an inconsistency between my dissent to the tariff, in 1824, and my vote in 1828. It is labor lost. He pays undeserved compliment to my speech in 1824; but this is to raise me high, that my fall, as he would have it, in 1828, may be the more signal. Sir, there was no fall at all. Between the ground I stood on in 1824 and that I took in 1828, there was not only no precipice, but no declivity. It was a change of position to meet new circumstances, but on the same level. A plain tale explains the whole matter. In 1816, I had not acquiesced in the tariff, then supported by South Carolina. To some parts of it, especially, I felt and expressed great repugnance. I held the same opinions in 1821, at the meeting in Faneuil Hall, to which the gentleman has alluded. I said then, and say now, that, as an original question, the authority of Congress to exercise the revenue power, with direct reference to the protection of manufacturers, is a questionable authority, far more questionable, in my judgment, than the power of internal improvements. I must confess, sir, that, in one respect, some impression has been made on my opinions lately. Mr. Madison's publication has put the power in a very strong light. He has placed it, I must acknowledge, upon grounds of construction and argument which seem impregnable. But even if the power were doubted, on the face of the Constitution itself, it had been assumed and asserted in the first revenue law ever passed under the same Constitution; and, on this ground, as a matter settled by contemporaneous practice, I had refrained from expressing the opinion that the tariff laws transcended Constitutional limits, as the gentleman supposes. What I did say at Faneuil Hall, as far as I now re-

member, was, that this was originally matter of doubtful construction. The gentleman himself, I suppose, thinks there is no doubt about it, and that the laws are plainly against the Constitution. Mr. Madison's letters, already referred to, contain, in my judgment, by far the most able exposition extant of this part of the Constitution. He has satisfied me, so far as the practice of the Government had left it an open question.

With a great majority of the representatives of Massachusetts, I voted against the tariff of 1824. My reasons were then given, and I will not now repeat them. But notwithstanding our dissent, the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky went for the bill, in almost unbroken column, and it passed. Congress and the President sanctioned it, and it became the law of the land. What, then, were we to do? Our only option was either to fall in with this settled course of public policy, and to accommodate ourselves to it as well as we could, or to embrace the South Carolina doctrine, and talk of nullifying the statute by State interference.

The last alternative did not suit our principles, and, of course, we adopted the former. In 1827, the subject came again before Congress, on a proposition favorable to wool and woolens. We looked upon the system of protection as being fixed and settled. The law of 1824 remained. It had gone into full operation, and in regard to some objects intended by it, perhaps most of them had produced all its expected effects. No man proposed to repeal it—no man attempted to renew the general contest on its principle. But, owing to subsequent and unforeseen occurrences, the benefit intended by it to wool and woolen fabrics had not been realized. Events, not known here when the law passed, had taken place, which defeated its object in that particular respect. A measure was accordingly brought forward to meet this precise deficiency, to remedy this particular defect. It was limited to wool and woolens. Was ever anything more reasonable? If the policy of the tariff laws had become established in principle as the permanent policy of the Government, should they not be revised and amended, and made equal, like other laws, as exigencies should arise, or justice require? Because we had doubted about adopting the system, were we to refuse to cure its manifest defects after it became adopted, and when no one attempted its repeal? And this, sir, is the inconsistency so much bruited. I had voted against the tariff of 1824—but it passed; and in 1827 and 1828, I voted to amend it in a point essential to the interest of my constituents. Where is the inconsistency? Could I do otherwise?

* * * * * * * * * *

The bill of 1827, limited, as I have said, to the single object in which the tariff of 1824 had manifestly failed in its effects, passed the House of Representatives, but was lost here. We had then the act of 1828. I need not recur to the history of a measure so recent. Its enemies spiced it with whatsoever they thought would render it distasteful; its friends took it,

drugged as it was. Vast amounts of property, many millions, had been invested in manufactures, under the inducements of the act of 1824. Events called loudly, I thought, for further regulations to secure the degree of protection intended by that act. I was disposed to vote for such regulations and desired nothing more; but certainly was not to be bantered out of my purpose by a threatened augmentation of duty on molasses, put into the bill for the avowed purpose of making it obnoxious. The vote may have been right or wrong, wise or unwise; but it is a little less than absurd to allege against it an inconsistency with opposition to the former law.

* * * * * * * * * *

Whether any other Constitution than the old Articles of Confederation was desirable, was itself a question on which parties divided; if a new Constitution was framed what powers should be given to it was another question; and when it had been formed, what was, in fact, the just extent of the powers actually conferred, was a third. Parties, as we know, existed under the first Administration as distinctly marked as those which manifested themselves at any subsequent period.

The contest immediately preceding the political change in 1801, and that, again, which existed at the commencement of the late war, are other instances of party excitement of something more than usual strength and intensity. In all these conflicts there was, no doubt, much of violence on both and all sides. It would be impossible, if one had a fancy for such employment, to adjust the relative *quantum* of violence between these two contending parties. There was enough in each, as must always be expected in popular Governments. With a great deal of proper and decorous discussion there was mingled a great deal, also, of declamation, virulence, crimination, and abuse.

* * * * * * * * * *

But, sir, if, in the course of forty years, there have been undue effervescences of party in New England, has the same thing happened no where else? Party animosity and party outrage, not in New England, but elsewhere, denounced President Washington, not only as a Federalist, but as a Tory, a British agent, a man who, in his high office, sanctioned corruption. But does the honorable member suppose that if I had a tender here who should put such an effusion of wickedness and folly in my hand, that I would stand up and read it against the South? Parties ran into great heats again in 1799. What was said, sir, or rather what was not said, in those years, against John Adams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and its admitted ablest defender on the floor of Congress? If the gentleman wants to increase his stores of party abuse and frothy violence, if he has a determined proclivity for such pursuits, there are treasures of that sort south of the Potomac much to his taste yet untouched. I shall not touch them.

* * * * * * * * * *

The gentleman, sir, has spoken at large of former parties now no longer in being, by their received appellations, and has undertaken to instruct us, not only in the knowledge of their principles, but of their respective pedigrees also. He has ascended to their origin and run out their genealogies. With most exemplary modesty he speaks of the party to which he professes to have belonged himself, as the true, pure, the only honest, patriotic party, derived by regular descent from father to son, from the time of the virtuous Romans! Spreading before us the family tree of political parties, he takes especial care to show himself snugly perched on a popular bough! He is wakeful to the expediency of adopting such rules of descent for political parties as shall bring him in, in exclusion of others, as an heir to the inheritance of all public virtue and all true political principles. His doxy is always orthodoxy. Heterodoxy is confined to his opponents. He spoke, sir, of the Federalists, and I thought I saw some eyes begin to open and stare a little when he ventured on that ground. I expected he would draw his sketches rather lightly when he looked on the circle around him, and especially if he should cast his thoughts to the high places out of the Senate. Nevertheless, he went back to Rome, *ad annum urbs condita*, and found the fathers of the Federalists in the primeval aristocrats of that renowned empire! He traced the flow of Federal blood down through successive ages and centuries till he got into the veins of the American Tories (of whom by the way, there were twenty in the Carolinas for one in Massachusetts). From the Tories he followed it to the Federalists, and as the Federal party was broken up and there was no possibility of transmitting it farther on this side of the Atlantic, he seems to have discovered that it has gone off, collaterally, though against all the canons of descent, into the Ultras of France, and finally became extinguished, like exploded gas, among the adherents of Don Miguel.

* * * * * * * * * *

Mr. President, in carrying his warfare, such as it was, into New England, the honorable gentleman all along professes to be acting on the defensive. He desires to consider me as having assailed South Carolina, and insists that he comes forth only as her champion, and in her defense. Sir, I do not admit that I made any attack whatever on South Carolina. Nothing like it. The honorable member, in his first speech, expressed opinions in regard to revenue, and some other topics, which I heard both with pain and surprise. I told the gentleman that I was aware that such sentiments were entertained OUT of the Government, but had not expected to find them advanced in it; that I knew there were persons in the South who speak of our Union with indifference, or doubt, taking pains to magnify its evils, and to say nothing of its benefits; that the honorable member himself, I was sure, could never be one of these; and I regretted the expression of such opinions as he had avowed, because I thought their obvious tendency was to encourage feelings of disrespect to the Union, and to weaken its connection. This, sir, is the sum and substance of all I said

on the subject. And this constitutes the attack which called on the chivalry of the gentleman, in his opinion, to harry us with such a forage among the party pamphlets and party proceedings of Massachusetts. If he means that I spoke with dissatisfaction or disrespect of the ebullitions of individuals in South Carolina, it is true. But, if he means that I had assailed the character of the State, her honor, or patriotism, that I had reflected on her history or her conduct, he had not the slightest ground for any such assumption. I did not even refer, I think, in my observations, to any collection of individuals. I said nothing of the recent conventions. I spoke in the most guarded and careful manner, and only expressed my regret for the publication of opinions which I presumed the honorable member disapproved as much as myself. In this, it seems, I was mistaken.

I do not remember that the gentleman has disclaimed any sentiment, or any opinion, of a supposed anti-Union tendency, which on all or any of the recent occasions has been expressed. The whole drift of his speech has been rather to prove that, in divers times and manners, sentiments equally liable to objection have been promulgated in New England. And one would suppose that his object, in this reference to Massachusetts, was to find a precedent to justify proceedings in the South, were it not for the reproach and contumely with which he labors, all along, to load his precedents. * * * * * * * * *

Mr. President, I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts—she needs none. There she is—behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history—the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain forever. The bones of her sons, fallen in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever. And, sir, where American liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it; if folly and madness, if uneasiness under salutary and necessary restraint, shall succeed to separate it from that Union by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand, in the end, by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm, with whatever vigor it may still retain, over the friends who gather around it; and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its glory, and on the very spot of its origin.

There yet remains to be performed, Mr. President, by far the most grave and important duty, which I feel to be devolved on me by this occasion. It is to state, and to defend, what I conceive to be the true principles of the Constitution under which we are here assembled. I might well have desired that so weighty a task should have fallen into other and abler hands. I could have wished that it should have been executed by those

whose character and experience give weight and influence to their opinions, such as can not possibly belong to mine. But, sir, I have met the occasion, not sought it; and I shall proceed to state my own sentiments, without challenging for them any particular regard, with studied plainness, and as much precision as possible.

I understand the honorable gentleman from South Carolina to maintain that it is a right of the State Legislatures to interfere, whenever in their judgment this Government transcends its Constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws.

I understand him to maintain this right as a right existing under the Constitution, not as a right to overthrow it, on the ground of extreme necessity, such as would justify violent revolution.

I understand him to maintain an authority, on the part of the States, thus to interfere for the purpose of correcting the exercise of power by the General Government, of checking it, and of compelling it to conform to their opinion of the extent of its power. I understand him to maintain that the ultimate power of judging of the Constitutional extent of its own authority is not lodged exclusively in the General Government or any branch of it; but that, on the contrary, the States may lawfully decide for themselves, and each State for itself, whether, in a given case, the act of the General Government transcends its power.

I understand him to insist that, if the exigency of the case, in the opinion of any State Government, require it, such State Government may, by its own sovereign authority, annul an act of the General Government which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional.

This is the sum of what I understand from him to be the South Carolina doctrine. I propose to consider it, and to compare it with the Constitution. Allow me to say, as a preliminary remark, that I call this the South Carolina doctrine, only because the gentleman himself has so denominated it. I do not feel at liberty to say that South Carolina, as a State, has ever advanced these sentiments. I hope she has not, and never may. That a great majority of her people are opposed to the tariff laws is doubtless true. That a majority, somewhat less than that just mentioned, conscientiously believe these laws unconstitutional, may probably be also true. But that any majority holds to the right of direct State interference, at State discretion, the right of nullifying acts of Congress by acts of State legislation, is more than I know, and what I shall be slow to believe.

That there are individuals, besides the honorable gentleman, who do maintain these opinions, is quite certain. I recollect the recent expression of a sentiment which circumstances attending its utterance and publication justify us in supposing was not unpremeditated—"The sovereignty of the State; never to be controlled, construed, or decided on, but by her own feelings of honorable justice."

[Mr. Hayne here rose, and said, that for the purpose of being clearly understood, he would state that his proposition was in the words of the Virginia resolution, as follows:

"That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from the compact, to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the same compact, the States which are parties thereto have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties pertaining to them."]

Mr. Webster resumed:

I am quite aware, Mr. President, of the existence of the resolution which the gentleman read, and has now repeated, and that he relies on it as his authority. I know the source, too, from which it is understood to have proceeded. I need not say, that I have much respect for the Constitutional opinions of Mr. Madison; they would weigh greatly with me, always. But, before the authority of his opinion be vouched for the gentleman's proposition, it will be proper to consider what is the fair interpretation of that resolution, to which Mr. Madison is understood to have given his sanction. As the gentleman construes it, it is an authority for him. Possibly he may not have adopted the right construction. That resolution declares, *that in the case of the dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the General Government, the States may interpose to arrest the progress of the evil.* But how interpose? and what does this declaration purport? Does it mean no more than that there may be extreme cases in which the people, in any mode of assembling, may resist usurpation, and relieve themselves from a tyrannical Government? No one will deny this. Such resistance is not only acknowledged to be just in America, but in England also. Blackstone admits as much, in the theory of practice, too, of the English constitution. We, sir, who oppose the Carolina doctrine, do not deny that the people may, if they choose, throw off any Government when it becomes oppressive and intolerable, and erect a better in its stead. We all know that civil institutions are established for the public benefit, and that, when they cease to answer the ends of their existence they may be changed.

But I do not understand the doctrine now contended for to be that which, for the sake of distinctness, we may call the right of revolution. I understand the gentleman to maintain, that without revolution, without civil commotion, without rebellion, a remedy for supposed abuse and transgression of the powers of the General Government lies in a direct appeal to the interference of the State Governments. [Mr. Hayne here rose: He did not contend, he said, for the mere right of revolution, but

for the right of Constitutional resistance. What he maintained was, that, in case of a plain, palpable violation of the Constitution by the General Government, a State may interpose, and that this interposition is Constitutional.]

Mr. Webster resumed:

So, sir, I understood the gentleman, and am happy to find that I did not misunderstand him. What he contends for is, that it is Constitutional to interrupt the administration of the Constitution itself, in the hands of those who are chosen and sworn to administer it, by the direct interference, in form of law, of the States, in virtue of their sovereign capacity. The inherent right in the people to reform their Government I do not deny; and that they have another right, and that is, to resist unconstitutional laws without overturning the Government. It is no doctrine of mine that unconstitutional laws bind the people. The great question is, *Whose prerogative is it to decide on the Constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the laws?* On that the main debate hinges. The proposition that, in the case of a supposed violation of the Constitution by Congress, the States have a Constitutional right to interfere and annul the law of Congress is the proposition of the gentleman; I do not admit it. If the gentleman had intended no more than to assert the right of revolution for justifiable cause, he would have said only what all agree to. But I can not conceive that there can be a middle course between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced Constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution or rebellion, on the other. I say the right of a State to annul a law of Congress can not be maintained but on the ground of the unalienable right of man to resist oppression; that is to say, upon the ground of revolution. I admit that there is no ultimate violent remedy, above the Constitution, and defiance of the Constitution, which may be resorted to when a revolution is to be justified. But I do not admit that under the Constitution, and in conformity with it, there is any mode in which a State Government, as a member of the Union, can interfere and stop the progress of the General Government, by force of her own laws, under any circumstances whatever.

This leads us to inquire into the origin of this Government, and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the State Legislatures, or the creature of the people? If the Government of the United States be the agent of the State Governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it is the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough, that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman contends leads him to the necessity of maintaining, not only that this General Government is the creature of the States, but that it is the creature of each of the States severally; so that each may assert the power, for itself, of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority. It is the servant of four and twenty masters, of different

wills and different purposes; and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less), arises from a misconception as to the origin of this Government and its true character. It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's Government; made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or dispute their authority. The States are unquestionably sovereign, so far as their own sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. The State Legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given power to the General Government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the Government holds of the people, and not of the State Governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people. The General Government and the State Governments derive their authority from the same source. Neither can, in relation to the other, be called primary; though one is definite and restricted, and the other general and residuary.

The National Government possesses those powers which it can be shown the people have conferred on it, and no more. All the rest belongs to the State Governments, or to the people themselves. So far as the people have restrained State sovereignty by the expression of their will, in the Constitution of the United States, so far, it must be admitted, State sovereignty is effectually controlled. I do not contend that it is, or ought to be, controlled further. The sentiment to which I have referred propounds that State sovereignty is only to be controlled by its own "feelings of justice;" that is to say, it is not to be controlled at all; for one who is to follow his feelings is under no legal control. Now, however men may think this ought to be, the fact is that the people of the United States have chosen to impose control on State sovereignties. The Constitution has ordered the matter differently from what this opinion announces. To make war, for instance, is an exercise of sovereignty; but the Constitution declares that no State shall make war. To coin money is another exercise of sovereign power; but no State is at liberty to coin money. Again: the Constitution says, that no sovereign State shall be so sovereign as to make a treaty. These prohibitions, it must be confessed, are a control on the State sovereignty of South Carolina, as well as of the other States, which does not arise "from feelings of honorable justice." Such an opinion, therefore, is in defiance of the plainest provisions of the Constitution. * * * * * * * * *

In Carolina the tariff is a palpable, deliberate usurpation; Carolina, therefore, may *nullify* it and refuse to pay the duties. In Pennsylvania it is both clearly Constitutional and highly expedient, and there the duties are to be paid. And yet we live under a Government of uniform laws and under a Constitution, too, which contains an express provision, as it happens, that all duties shall be equal in all the States! Does not this approach absurdity? * * * * * * *

If there be no power to settle such questions, independent of any of the States, is not the whole Union a rope of sand? Are we not thrown back again precisely upon the old confederation?

It is too plain to be argued. Four and twenty interpreters of Constitutional law, each with a power to decide for itself, and none with authority to bind anybody else, and this Constitutional law the only bond of their union! What is such a state of things but a mere connection during pleasure, or, to use the phraseology of the times, *during feeling?* And that feeling, too, not the feeling of the people who established the Constitution, but the feeling of the State Governments.

* * * * * * * * * *

I wish now, sir, to make a remark upon the Virginia resolutions of 1798. I can not undertake to say how these resolutions were understood by those who passed them. Their language is not a little indefinite. In the case of the exercise by Congress of a dangerous power not granted to them, the resolutions assert the right, on the part of the State, to interfere and arrest the progress of the evil. This is susceptible of more than one interpretation. It may mean no more than that the States may interfere by complaint and remonstrance, or by proposing to the people an alteration of the Federal Constitution. This would all be quite unobjectionable; or it may be that no more is meant than to assert the general right of revolution, as against all governments, in cases of intolerable oppression. This no one doubts, and this, in my opinion, is all that he who framed these resolutions could have meant by it; for I shall not readily believe that he was ever of opinion that a State, under the Constitution, and in conformity with it, could, upon the ground of her own opinion of its unconstitutionality, however clear and palpable she might think the case, annul a law of Congress, so far as it should operate on herself by her own legislative power.

I must now beg to ask, sir, whence is this supposed right of the States derived? Where do they get the power to interfere with the laws of the Union? Sir, the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains is a notion founded in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this Government and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular Government, erected by the people, those who administer it responsible to the people, and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people as the State Governments. It is created for one purpose; the State Governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress than with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State Governments. It is of no moment to the argument that certain acts of the State Legislatures are necessary to fill our

seats in this body. That is not one of their original State powers, a part of the sovereignty of the State. It is a duty which the people, by the Constitution itself, have imposed on the State Legislatures, and which they might have left to be performed elsewhere if they had seen fit. So they have left the choice of President with electors; but all this does not affect the proposition that this whole Government—President, Senate and House of Representatives—is a popular Government. It leaves it still all its popular character. The Governor of a State (in some of the States) is chosen not directly by the people for the purpose of performing, among other duties, that of electing a Governor. Is the Government of the State on that account not a popular Government? This Government, sir, is the independent offspring of the popular will. It is not the creature of State Legislatures; nay, more, if the whole truth must be told, the people brought it into existence, established it, and have hitherto supported it for the very purpose, amongst others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on State sovereignties. The States can not now make war; they can not contract alliances; they can not make, each for itself, separate regulations of commerce; they can not lay imposts; they can not coin money. If this Constitution, sir, be the creature of State Legislatures, it must be admitted that it has obtained a strange control over the volition of its creators.

The people then, sir, erected this Government. They gave it a Constitution, and in that Constitution they have enumerated the powers which they bestow on it. They have made it a limited Government. They have defined its authority. They have restrained it to the exercise of such powers as are granted, and all others, they declare, are reserved to the States or the people. But, sir, they have not stopped here. If they had they would have accomplished but half their work. No definition can be so clear as to avoid possibility of doubt; no limitation so precise as to exclude all uncertainty. Who, then, shall construe this grant of the people? Who shall interpret their will where it may be supposed they have left it doubtful? With whom do they leave this ultimate right of deciding on the powers of the Government? Sir, they have settled all this in the fullest manner. They have left it with the Government itself in its appropriate branches. Sir, the very chief end, the main design for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a Government that should not be obliged to act through State agency or depend on State opinion and discretion. The people had had quite enough of that kind of government under the confederacy. Under that system the legal action—the application of law to individuals—belonged exclusively to the States. Congress could only recommend—their acts were not of binding force till the States had adopted and sanctioned them. Are we in that condition still? Are we yet at the mercy of State discretion and State construction? Sir, if we are, then vain will be our attempt to maintain the Constitution under which we sit.

But, sir, the people have wisely provided, in the Constitution itself, a

proper, suitable mode and tribunal for settling questions of Constitutional law. There are, in the Constitution, grants of powers to Congress and restrictions on those powers. There are also prohibitions on the States. Some authority must therefore necessarily exist, having the ultimate jurisdiction to fix and ascertain the interpretation of these grants, restrictions, and prohibitions. The Constitution has itself pointed out, ordained and established that authority. How has it accomplished this great and essential end? By declaring, sir, that "*the Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.*"

* * * * * * * * * * *

For myself, sir, I doubt the jurisdiction of South Carolina, or any other State, to prescribe my Constitutional duty, or to settle, between me and the people, the validity of laws of Congress for which I have voted. I decline her umpirage. I have not sworn to support the Constitution according to her construction of its clauses. I have not stipulated, by my oath of office or otherwise, to come under any responsibility, except to the people and those whom they have appointed to pass upon the question, whether the laws, supported by my votes, conform to the Constitution of the country. And, sir, if we look to the general nature of the case, could anything have been more preposterous than to have made a Government for the whole Union, and yet left its powers subject, not to one interpretation, but to thirteen or twenty-four interpretations? Instead of one tribunal, established by all, responsible to all, with power to decide for all, shall Constitutional questions be left to four and twenty popular bodies, each at liberty to decide for itself, and none bound to respect the decisions of others; and each at liberty, too, to give a new construction, on every new election of its own members? Would anything, with such a principle in it, or rather with such a destitution of all principle, be fit to be called a Government? No, sir, it should not be denominated a Constitution. It should be called, rather, a collection of topics for everlasting controversy; heads of debate for a disputatious people. It would not be a Government. It would not be adequate to any practical good, nor fit for any country to live under. To avoid all possibility of being misunderstood, allow me to repeat again, in the fullest manner, that I claim no powers for the Government by forced or unfair construction. I admit that it is a Government of strictly limited powers; of enumerated, specified, and particularized powers; and that whatsoever is not granted is withheld. But, notwithstanding all this, and however the grant of powers may be expressed, its limits and extent may yet, in some cases, admit of doubt; and the General Government would be good for nothing, it would be incapable of long existence, if some mode had not been provided in which those doubts, as they should arise, might be peaceably, but not authoritatively solved.

And now, Mr. President, let me run the honorable gentleman's doctrine a little into its practical application. Let us look at his probable *modus operandi*. If a thing can be done, an ingenious man can tell *how* it is to be done. Now, I wish to be informed *how* this State interference is to be put in practice. We will take the existing case of the tariff law. South Carolina is said to have made up her opinion upon it. If we do not repeal it (as we probably shall not), she will then apply to the case the remedy of her doctrine. She will, we must suppose, pass a law of her Legislature, declaring the several acts of Congress, usually called the tariff laws, null and void, so far as they respect South Carolina, or the citizens thereof. So far, all is a paper transaction, and easy enough. But the Collector at Charleston is collecting the duties imposed by these tariff laws—he, therefore, must be stopped. The Collector will seize the goods if the tariff duties are not paid. The State authorities will undertake their rescue; the marshal, with his posse, will come to the Collector's aid; and here the contest begins. The militia of the State will be called out to sustain the nullifying act. They will march, sir, under a very gallant leader; for I believe the honorable member himself commands the militia of that part of the State. He will raise the NULLIFYING ACT on his standard, and spread it out as his banner. It will have a preamble, bearing that the tariff laws are palpable, deliberate, and dangerous violations of the Constitution. He will proceed, with his banner flying, to the Custom-house in Charleston—

"all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds."

Arrived at the Custom-house, he will tell the Collector that he must collect no more duties under any of the tariff laws. This he will be somewhat puzzled to say, by the way, with a grave countenance, considering what hand South Carolina herself had in that of 1816. But, sir, the Collector would, probably, not desist at his bidding. Here would ensue a pause; for they say that a certain stillness precedes the tempest. Before this military array should fall on Custom-house, Collector, clerks, and all, it is very probable some of those composing it would request of their gallant commander-in-chief to be informed a little upon the point of law; for they have doubtless a just respect for his opinion as a lawyer, as well as for his bravery as a soldier. They know he has read Blackstone and the Constitution, as well as Turenne and Vauban. They would ask him, therefore, something concerning their rights in this matter. They would inquire whether it was not somewhat dangerous to resist a law of the United States. What would be the nature of their offense, they would wish to learn, if they, by military force and array, resisted the execution in Carolina of a law of the United States, and it should turn out, after all, that the law *was Constitutional*. He would answer, of course, treason. No lawyer could give any other answer. John Fries, he would tell them, had learned that some years ago. How, then, they would ask, do you propose to defend us? We

are not afraid of bullets, but treason has a way of taking people off that we do not much relish. How do you propose to defend us? "Look at my floating banner," he would reply; "see there the *nullifying law!*" Is it your opinion, gallant commander, they would then say, that if we should be indicted for treason, that same floating banner of yours would make a good plea in bar? "South Carolina is a sovereign State," he would reply. That is true; but would the judge admit our plea? "These tariff laws," he would repeat, "are unconstitutional, palpably, deliberately, dangerously." That all may be so; but if the tribunals should not happen to be of that opinion, shall we swing for it? We are ready to die for our country, but it is rather an awkward business, this dying without touching the ground. After all, this is a sort of *hemp*-tax worse than any part of the tariff.

Mr. President, the honorable gentleman would be in a dilemma like that of another great general. He would have a knot before him which he could not untie. He must cut it with his sword. He must say to his followers, Defend yourselves with your bayonets; and this is war—civil war. * * * * * * * * * *

If anything be found in the National Constitution, either by original provision or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the people know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established unacceptable to them so as to become, practically, a part of the Constitution, they will amend it at their own sovereign pleasure. But while the people choose to maintain it as it is, while they are satisfied with it and refuse to change it, who has given, or who can give to the State Legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction or otherwise? Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the people have any power to do anything for themselves; they imagine there is no safety for them any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the State Legislatures. Sir, the people have not trusted their safety, in regard to the general Constitution, to these hands; they have required other security and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the Government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers under their oaths of office and subject to their responsibility to them, just as the people of a State trust their own State Governments with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents whenever they see cause. Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the Judicial power, which, in order that it might be trustworthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely, in case of necessity or high expediency, on their known and admitted power to alter or amend the Constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And, finally, the people of the United States have at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized

any State Legislature to construe or interpret *their* instrument of government, much less to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation. * * * * * * * *

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The people have preserved this, their own chosen Constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault it can not be; evaded, undermined NULLIFIED, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust—faithfully to preserve and wisely to administer it.

* * * * * * * * * *

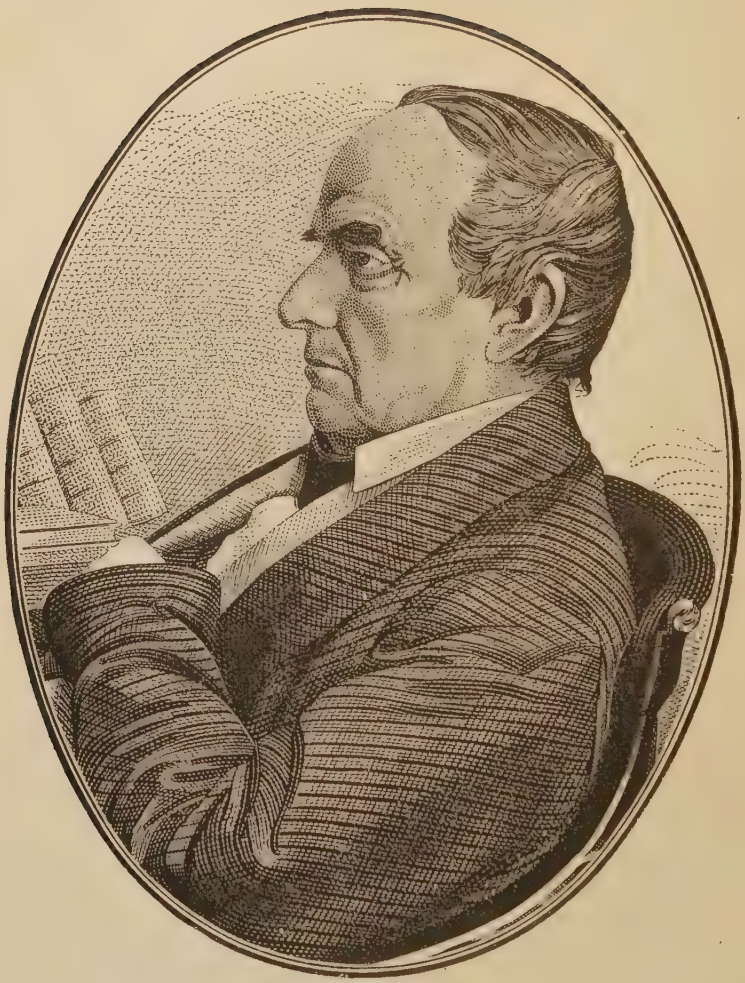
I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, personal happiness. I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance,

rather, behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured—bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, *What is all this worth?* nor those other words of delusion and folly, *Liberty first, and Union afterwards;* but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Daniel Webster was born in Salisbury (now Franklin), New Hampshire, January 18, 1782. He was the second son of Ebenezer Webster and his second wife, Abigail Eastman. He entered the Phillips Exeter Academy in 1796, and in 1801 graduated at Dartmouth College with the foremost position in his class. He finished his law studies in the office of Christopher Gore, in Boston, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1805. In 1806 he established himself at Portsmouth, then the capital of New Hampshire, where he rose at once to full practice. He took part in politics as a Federalist, and in 1812 was elected to Congress. He took his seat in the special session of May, 1813, and was placed on the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Early in the session he moved a series of resolutions on the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and on June 10 delivered his maiden speech, which took the House and the country by surprise. His subsequent speeches placed him in the front rank of debaters. He was reëlected in 1814, and in 1815 actively supported the charter of the Bank of the United States, which passed the House in April, 1816. His most important service at this session was the introduction of a successful resolution requiring all payments to the Treasury, after February 20, 1817, to be made in specie or its equivalent, which restored the depreciated currency of the country.

In December, 1813, Mr. Webster's house, at Portsmouth, was burned, and at the close of his Congressional term in



Daniel Webster

1816 he removed to Boston. In 1820 he was a member of the Massachusetts Convention to revise the Constitution of that State after the separation of Maine. During its session he pronounced, on December 22, 1820, his celebrated discourse at Plymouth on the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. This was the first of a series of similar performances, by which he placed himself at the head of American orators. In 1822 and 1824 he was elected to Congress from Boston. Early in the session of 1823–4 he made his speech on the Greek revolution, a powerful remonstrance against the principles of the "Holy Alliance." As chairman of the Judiciary Committee, he reported and carried through the House a complete revision of the criminal law of the United States.

In 1827 he was elected by the Legislature of Massachusetts to the Senate of the United States to fill a vacancy, and he retained his seat by reëlection till 1841. The first session of the XXIst Congress was signalized by the debate on Foote's resolution relative to the survey of the public lands, which gradually assumed the character of partisan warfare, and mainly related to the newly promulgated doctrines of the school of Mr. Calhoun on the right of an individual State to nullify an act of Congress. Two speeches were made by Mr. Webster, in reply to Mr. Hayne, of which the second, pronounced on January 26 and 27, 1830, is the most celebrated of his parliamentary efforts. From this time to the accession of General Harrison to the Presidency in 1841, Mr. Webster took a foremost part in the debates on all the principal topics, sharing with Henry Clay the lead of the Whig party in the contest with nullification, and subsequently with President Jackson.

In the spring of 1839 he made a hasty tour in England, Scotland, and France, and on his return yielded the most efficient aid in bringing about the great political change which was consummated in the election of General Harrison, in whose Cabinet he accepted the Secretaryship of the Department of State. Harrison's death and the succession of

Mr. Tyler to the Presidency menaced the harmony of the Administration, and finally overturned it; but Mr. Webster retained his seat in the Cabinet when the other members resigned, and completed the negotiation of the Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain, which settled the north-eastern boundary question, and other matters in dispute. He retired to private life in the spring of 1843.

At the First Session of the XXIXth Congress (December, 1845), Mr. Webster again took his seat in the Senate, as the successor of Mr. Choate. He opposed the annexation of Texas as unconstitutional; but he thought it his duty, after the war with Mexico was actually commenced, not to withhold the supplies of the army.

After the election to the Presidency of General Taylor, the controversies relative to slavery became violent beyond former example. A national crisis seemed to be impending. In the progress of the Senatorial debates on these subjects, Mr. Webster delivered his much criticised speech of the 7th of March, 1850, in which he abandoned the Wilmot Proviso and justified the Fugitive Slave Law. In the reorganization of the Cabinet by President Fillmore, after the death of Taylor, in 1850, Mr. Webster was called to the Secretaryship of the Department of State. In January, 1852, he argued the important India-rubber patent cause at Trenton. This was his last great forensic effort. His friends expected his nomination to the Presidency at the Whig Convention of that year, as they had on several previous occasions, but the choice fell upon General Scott.

In May, 1852, Mr. Webster was seriously injured by being thrown from his carriage, near his farm in Marshfield, where he spent the closing months of his life, and died October 24, 1852.

The most complete edition of his works is in six volumes (1851). Two volumes of his correspondence were published in 1858. His life was written by George Ticknor Curtis (1869).

ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

Robert Young Hayne was born in South Carolina in 1791. He practiced law in Charleston, was elected to the State Legislature in 1814, and was afterward elected Speaker of the House and Attorney-General of the State. In 1823 he was chosen a United States Senator. When the Tariff Bill of 1824 came before the Senate, he made an elaborate speech, in which for the first time the ground was taken that Congress had not the Constitutional right to impose duties on imports for the purpose of protecting domestic manufactures. He also opposed the Tariff of 1828, which roused in South Carolina the spirit of resistance that came to a crisis in 1832. Mr. Hayne was the first to declare in Congress the right of a State to arrest the operation of a law which she considered unconstitutional. This doctrine led to the celebrated debate between him and Webster.

In 1832 Mr. Hayne was elected Governor of South Caronina. On December 10th, President Jackson issued his proclamation denouncing the nullification acts of that State. The Governor replied with a proclamation of defiance, and South Carolina prepared for armed resistance; but the Tariff being modified, the ordinance of nullification was repealed. In December, 1834, Governor Hayne retired from office, and was soon after elected Mayor of Charleston. He died in 1840.

XIV.

TWELFTH ADMINISTRATION—1833–1837.

ANDREW JACKSON, PRESIDENT. MARTIN VAN BUREN, VICE PRESIDENT.

XXIIId and XXIVth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Presidential Nominations (1832).

In 1832 Presidential nominations were made for the first time by all the three parties in NATIONAL CONVENTIONS. All three Conventions were held at Baltimore. That of the Anti-Masons was held first, in September, 1831, in the hope of compelling the National Republicans (Whigs) to abandon Clay and adopt the Anti-Masonic candidates. WILLIAM WIRT, of Virginia, and AMOS ELLMAKER, of Pennsylvania, were nominated. In December, 1831, the National Republican Convention (Whig) nominated HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, and JOHN SERGEANT, of Pennsylvania. The platform pronounced in favor of Internal Improvements, Protection, and the Bank, and against the Administration and its course in the Cherokee case. JACKSON had already (in February, 1830,) been nominated for the Presidency by his friends in the New York Legislature. In March, 1832, the Democratic National Convention confirmed this nomination, and MARTIN VAN BUREN, of New York, for the Vice Presidency.

South Carolina chose electors pledged to candidates of her own—JOHN FLOYD, of Virginia, and HENRY LEE, of Massachusetts. Anti-Masonic electors were chosen by Vermont alone. All the other States, with the exception of six, chose Democratic electors.

Jackson Re-elected with Van Buren as Vice President.

In February, 1833, the electoral votes were counted, and were found to be, for President, 219 for Jackson, 49 for Clay, 11 for Floyd, and 7 for Wirt; and for Vice President, 189 for Van Buren, 30 for William Wilkins,

of Pennsylvania, 49 for Sergeant, 11 for Lee, and 7 for Ellmaker. JACKSON and VAN BUREN were therefore declared elected, and on March 4th they were duly inaugurated.

Bank Troubles Again.

The President still persisted in his warfare upon the UNITED STATES BANK. In his Message after re-election, he surprised the country by expressing doubts of the solvency of the Bank. He recommended Congress to order the removal of the deposits from the Bank, and Congress, by large majorities, had refused to do so. Taking his re-election as a popular approval of his war upon the Bank, he now determined to assume the responsibility of removal himself. At the opening of the first session of the XXIIId Congress, December 2, 1833, he referred to that act in his annual Message. Accompanying it was the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, HON. ROGER B. TANEY, afterward Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, giving the reasons of the Government for the withdrawal of the public funds. Long and bitter was the contest between the President on the one side and the Bank and its supporters in the Senate on the other side. The conduct of the Bank produced distress throughout the country, and was so intended, to coerce the President. Distress petitions flooded Congress, and the Senate even passed resolutions of censure of the President, who, however, held firm in his position. A committee of investigation was appointed by the House of Representatives to inquire into the causes of the commercial embarrassment and the public distress complained of in the numerous distress memorials presented to the two Houses during the session; and whether the Bank had been instrumental, through its management of money, in producing the distress and embarrassment of which so much complaint was made; to inquire whether the charter of the Bank had been violated, and what corruptions and abuses, if any, existed in its management; and to inquire whether the Bank had used its corporate power or money to control the press, to inter-

pose in politics, or to influence elections. The committee was granted ample powers for the execution of these inquiries. It was treated with disdain and contempt by the Bank management; refused access to the books and papers, and the directors and president refused to be sworn and testify. The committee at the next session made report of its proceedings, and asked for warrants to be issued against the managers to bring them before the bar of the House to answer for contempt; but the friends of the Bank in the House were able to check the proceedings and prevent action being taken. The Senate sought to punish the President by declining to confirm his nomination of the four Government directors of the Bank, who had served the previous year; and their renomination after that rejection again met with a similar fate. In like manner his re-nomination of Roger B. Taney to be Secretary of the Treasury was rejected, for the action of the latter in his support of the President and the removal of the public deposits. The Bank had lost much ground in the public estimation by resisting the investigation ordered and attempted by the House of Representatives, and in consequence the Finance Committee of the Senate made an investigation, with so weak an attempt to varnish over the affairs and acts of the corporation that the odious appellation of "white-washing committee" was fastened upon it. The downfall of the Bank speedily followed; it soon afterwards became a total financial wreck, and its assets and property were seized on executions. With its financial failure it vanished from public view, and public interest in it and concern with it died out.

The Specie Circular.

After the fall of the United States Bank a number of State banks had been formed, often without adequate capital, to supply the expected need of paper money. Their notes were used in large quantities for the purchase of public lands from the United States, and the Treasury was thus accumulating

paper currency of doubtful worth. Soon after the adjournment of Congress the Secretary of the Treasury, by direction of the President, issued the so-called SPECIE CIRCULAR, ordering United States agents to receive in future only gold and silver in payment for lands. This caused a demand for specie, which could only be met by the banks in which the revenue was deposited.

Imprisonment for Debt Abolished.

In 1833 Congress, as the consequence of the earnest efforts in that behalf of Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, aided by the recommendation and support of the President, passed the first laws abolishing imprisonment for debt under process from the Courts of the United States—the only extent to which an act of Congress could go by force of its enactments; but by force of example and influence, it has led to the cessation of the practice of imprisoning debtors, in all, or nearly all, of the States and Territories of the Union; and without the evil consequences which had been dreaded from the loss of this remedy over the person. The act was a total abolition of the practice, leaving in full force all the remedies against fraudulent evasions of debt.

Abolitionists First Appear.

In 1833 the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had been formed, and its branches multiplied rapidly. The renewal of the slavery question alarmed the Southern States and many of the Northern people, who considered any attack upon slavery dangerous to the peace of the Union. From this time dates the existence of the party opposed to slavery in the United States, at first known as ABOLITIONISTS. A requisition was made by Georgia upon the State of New York, for a leading Abolitionist, who had been indicted by a Georgia jury, and rewards were offered by citizens' committees in the South for the bodies of others, dead or alive, but without success. Finally, mob violence was resorted to in Boston and other Northern cities, to destroy Abolition printing presses, break up Abolition meetings, and intimidate

Abolition orators. These lawless outrages only increased the zeal of the Abolitionists in offering petitions to Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in sending Abolitionist books and papers to every part of the country. At its last session the House had resolved to lay all future petitions on the subject of slavery upon the table, without further action or notice.

The Government and Abolition.

The position of the Government at that time is embodied in the following resolution, which was adopted in the House of Representatives as early as 1790, and substantially reaffirmed in 1836, as follows: "That Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them within any of the States; it remaining with the several States to provide any regulations therein which humanity and true policy may require."

In 1836 the President, in his Message, referred to the practice of sending Abolition documents through the United States mails. A bill was introduced in the Senate prohibiting any postmaster from knowingly putting any Abolition newspapers or documents into the mails. The bill was rejected.

Action of the XXIVth Congress.

At the first session of the XXIVth Congress (December, 1835), Mr. James K. Polk was elected Speaker of the House by a large majority over Mr. John Bell, the previous Speaker, the former being supported by the Administration party, and the latter having become identified with those who, on siding with Mr. Hugh L. White as a candidate for the Presidency, were considered as having divided from the Democratic party. The chief subject of the President's Message was the relation of our country with France relative to the continued non-payment of the stipulated indemnity provided for in the treaty of 1831 for French spoliations of American shipping. The obligation to pay was admitted, and the money even voted, but offense was taken at

the President's Message and payment refused until an apology should be made. The Senate had under consideration measures authorizing reprisals on French shipping. At this point Great Britain offered her services as mediator, and as a result the indemnity was shortly afterwards paid.

The Democratic Party Crippled. State Bank Deposits.

A few months preceding the Presidential election of 1836, a measure was introduced into Congress, which, in after years, proved disastrous to the Democratic party. It was a plan for distributing the public land money among the States, either in the shape of a credit distribution, or in the disguise of a deposit of surplus revenue; and this for the purpose of enhancing the value of the State stocks held by the United States Bank, which institution, aided by the party which it favored, led by Mr. Clay, was the prime mover in the plan. Clay was the author of the scheme, and the Democratic party made great calculations upon its effects in adding to their popularity. The bill passed the Senate in its original form, but met with less favor in the House, where it was found unnecessary. To effect the same end, a Senate bill was introduced to regulate the keeping of the public money in the deposit banks, and this was turned into distribution of the surplus public moneys with the States, in proportion to their representation in Congress, to be returned when Congress should call for it. This was called a deposit with the States, and the faith of the States was pledged for a return of the money. It was stigmatized by its opponents in Congress as a distribution in disguise; as a deposit never to be reclaimed; as a miserable evasion of the Constitution; as an attempt to debauch the people with their own money; as plundering instead of defending the country. The bill passed both Houses, mainly by the efforts of a half dozen aspirants for the Presidency, who sought thus to increase their popularity. Politically, it was no advantage to its numerous and emulous supporters, and of no disadvantage to its few determined op-

ponents. It was a most unfortunate act, a plain evasion of the Constitution for a bad purpose; and it soon gave a sad overthrow to the Democracy, and disappointed every calculation made upon it. To the States it was no advantage, raising expectations which were not fulfilled, and upon which many of them acted as realities. The bill was signed by the President, but he did it with a repugnance of feeling, and a recoil of judgment, which required great efforts of his friends to overcome, and with a regret for it afterwards which he often and publicly expressed.

Origin of the Financial Panic of 1837.

In the excited state of the money market, it hastened a crisis of which we shall learn under the next (Van Buren's) Administration. When the public money, withdrawn from the United States Bank, was deposited in local banks, it became easy for any one to borrow money. Speculation extended to every branch of trade, but especially to Western lands. New cities (in imagination) were laid out in the wilderness. Fabulous prices were charged for building lots, which existed only on paper. Scarcely a man could be found who had not his pet project for realizing a fortune. The bitter fruits of these hot-house schemes were gathered in Van Buren's time.

Character of Jackson's Administration.

The harmony which sweetened Monroe's government was, during Jackson's Administration, changed for the violent antipathies and contending policies of the Democrats and the Whigs. The latter advocated a National Bank, a High Tariff, a liberal expenditure of the public money on works of internal improvement, and kindred schemes. The former maintained Jackson's principles, and, as much of their strength lay in the South, they resisted all interference with slavery. Supporters of the doctrine of State Rights were found in the ranks of both; but those who pushed the theory to its extreme consequences constituted the "Calhoun wing of the Democratic Party." This

wing exercised much influence by the ability of its leaders rather than by its numbers.

The growth of the country under Jackson's vigorous rule is shown by the progress made in removing the Indians from the eastern side of the Mississippi, by the accession of Arkansas and Michigan to the Union, and by the distribution of thirty-seven and a half millions of dollars of surplus revenue to the several States.

SECTION 2.

February 3, 1836, at Albany, New York, the WHIGS* passed the following

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That in support of our cause, we invite all citizens opposed to Martin Van Buren and the Baltimore nominees.

Whig Resolutions (1836).

Resolved, That Martin Van Buren, by intriguing with the Executive to obtain his influence to elect him to the Presidency, has set an example dangerous to our freedom and corrupting to our free institutions.

Resolved, That the support we render to William H. Harrison is by no means given to him solely on account of his brilliant and successful services as leader of our armies during the last war, but that in him we view also the man of high intellect, the stern patriot, uncontaminated by the machinery of hackneyed politicians—a man of the school of Washington.

Resolved, That in Francis Granger we recognize one of our most distinguished fellow-citizens, whose talents we admire, whose patriotism we trust, and whose principles we sanction.

1836.—"LOCOFOCO" PLATFORM†—NEW YORK, JANUARY.

"Locofoco" Platform (1836).

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the true foundation of Republican Govern-

*The National Republicans adopted this name in New York in the winter of 1834-5. (*See page* 285.)

†"*Locofoco*" was a name given to the Democrats by the Whigs.

ment is the equal rights of every citizen in his person and property, and in their management; that the idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up any natural right; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us; that no man has the natural right to commit aggressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him; that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions.

We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver is the only safe and Constitutional currency; hostility to any and all monopolies by legislation, because they are violations of equal rights of the people; hostility to the dangerous and unconstitutional creation of vested rights or prerogatives by legislation, because they are usurpations of the people's sovereign rights; no legislative or other authority in the body politic can rightfully, by charter or otherwise, exempt any man or body of men, in any case whatever, from trial by jury and the jurisdiction or operation of the laws which govern the community.

We hold that each and every law or act of incorporation, passed by preceding Legislatures, can be rightfully altered and repealed by their successors; and that they should be altered or repealed, when necessary for the public good, or when required by a majority of the people.

XV.

THIRTEENTH ADMINISTRATION—1837–1841.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, PRESIDENT. RICHARD M. JOHNSON, VICE PRESIDENT.

XXVth and XXVIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Van Buren and Johnson Elected.

The Presidential election of 1836 resulted in the choice of the Democratic candidate, Mr. VAN BUREN, who was elected by 170 electoral votes; his opponent, General Harrison, receiving 73 electoral votes. Scattering votes were given for Mr. Webster, Mr. Mangum, and Mr. Hugh L. White, the last named representing a fragment of

the Democracy, who, in a spirit of disaffection, attempted to divide the Democratic party and defeat Mr. Van Buren. No candidate having received a majority of all the votes for Vice President, the Senate chose RICHARD M. JOHNSON.

Jackson's Retirement.

At the opening of the second session of the XXIVth Congress, December, 1836, President Jackson delivered his last annual Message, under circumstances exceedingly gratifying to him. The powerful opposition in Congress had been broken down, and he had the satisfaction of seeing full majorities of ardent and tried friends in each House. The country was in peace and friendship with all the world; all exciting questions quieted at home; industry in all its branches prosperous, and the revenue abundant. As a happy sequence of this state of affairs, the Senate, on the 16th of March, 1837, expunged from the journal the resolution, adopted three years previously, censuring the President for ordering the removal of the deposits of public money in the United States Bank. "He retired from the Presidency with high honors, and died eight years afterwards at his home, the celebrated '**Hermitage**,' in Tennessee, in full possession of all his faculties, and strong to the last in the ruling passion of his soul—love of country."

Van Buren Inaugurated. His Policy Declared.

On the 4th of March, 1837, Martin Van Buren was inaugurated eighth President. In his inaugural address he commented on the prosperous condition of the country, and declared it to be his policy to strictly abide by the Constitution as written—no latitudinarian constructions permitted, or doubtful powers assumed; that his political chart should be the doctrines of the Democratic school, as understood at the original formation of parties. He inherited the policy of Jackson, whose Secretary of State he had been for two years, and in whose second term he had been Vice President. He was, however, personally altogether unlike his predecessor. Elegant, ac-

complished, adroit, and possessed of many social graces, he attained his ends by the exercise of consummate tact.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Martin Van Buren, eighth President of the United States, was a descendant of Holland ancestry, and was born on a farm at Kinderhook, Columbia county, New York, September 5th, 1782. He inherited a clear, logical intellect, which was quickened by academic culture. At the age of fourteen he began the study of law, and seven years later was duly admitted to practice. After a few years spent in his native village, he established himself at Hudson. He early evinced a taste for politics, and before he attained his majority was a delegate to a county convention. In 1808 he assumed his first public office, that of Surrogate of Columbia county. He was elected to the State Senate in 1812, and reëlected in 1816. In 1815 he was appointed Attorney-General of New York. In 1821 he was elected from New York to the United States Senate, where he continued until 1828, when he resigned to become Governor of New York. In the New York Senate he was a prominent leader in the Madison party, and when transferred to the Senate at Washington, he was a staunch supporter of the Democracy of those times.

On the 1st day of January, 1829, he entered upon the gubernatorial duties of the State of New York, but in March following resigned to become Secretary of State in President Jackson's Cabinet. In 1831 President Jackson reorganized his Cabinet, accepting the resignation of Mr. Van Buren, but appointing him at once Minister to England. He proceeded to London, but, on the assembling of Congress, the Senate refused to confirm his appointment. He immediately returned to the United States. Mr. Calhoun, the Vice President, having cast the deciding vote in the Senate against his appointment to England, was left out in the political slate at the National Convention in the following May, and Van Buren

M. Van Buren

was nominated to the second place on the ticket with Jackson, and was triumphantly elected.

On the 4th of March, 1837, he was inaugurated President of the United States, having been elected as the successor of Andrew Jackson. Mr. Jackson's financial measures and his war on the banks culminated, soon after his retirement, in the most disastrous monetary depression that has ever overtaken the country. Mr. Van Buren was held responsible. The Seminole War dragged wearily; the anti-slavery agitation increased, and the Administration lost favor steadily until its close, when Mr. Van Buren retired to Kinderhook, to appear again, in 1848, as a candidate for the Presidency on the "Free Soil" ticket, when he was defeated. He died at Kinderhook, July 24th, 1862, aged eighty years. Mr. Van Buren was a statesman of more than ordinary grasp; he was a gentleman of cultivated tastes and amiable disposition.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1837–'41—FOUR YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
MARTIN VAN BUREN (1782–1866), of New York, President	March 4, 1837

Vice President.

RICHARD M. JOHNSON (1780–1850), of Kentucky	March 4, 1837

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
JOHN FORSYTH (Jackson's Administration), of Georgia	March 4, 1837

Secretary of the Treasury.

LEVI WOODBURY (Jackson's Admin.), of New Hampshire	March 4, 1837

Secretary of War.

JOEL POINSETT (1778–1851), of South Carolina	March 7, 1837

Secretaries of the Navy.

MAHLON DICKERSON (Jackson's Admin.), of New Jersey	March 4, 1837
JAMES K. PAULDING (1779–1860), of New York	June 30, 1838

Postmasters General.

AMOS KENDALL (Jackson's Administration), of Kentucky...March 4, 1837
JOHN M. NILES (1787–1856), of Connecticut.....May 25, 1840

Attorneys General.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER (Jackson's Admin.), of New York.....March 4, 1837
FELIX GRUNDY (1777–1840), of Tennessee.....Sept. 1, 1838
HENRY D. GILPIN (1801–1860), of Pennsylvania.....Jan. 10, 1840

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.
JAMES K. POLK (25th Congress), of Tennessee.....26th Congress, 1837
ROBERT M. T. HUNTER (born 1809), of Virginia .....27th Congress, 1839

SECTION 3.

The Monetary Crisis.

Van Buren had been only a few weeks in office when a disastrous commercial revulsion took place. A general suspension of the banks, a depreciated currency and insolvency of the Federal Treasury were at hand. Speculation had reached the wildest excess in the late prosperous years. The public money had been placed in the custody of the local banks, and the notes of all these banks, and of all others in the country, were received in payment of public dues. In 1836 an effort was made to arrest the perilous infatuation of speculation by a "**specie circular**," which required gold and silver in payment of Government dues. This caused a demand for specie which could only be met by the banks in which the revenue was deposited. On the 10th of May, 1837, the banks throughout the country suspended specie payments. The stoppage of the deposit banks was the stoppage of the Treasury. Non-payment by the Government was an excuse for non-payment by others.

It was evident that this monetary panic was the effect of contrivance on the part of politicians and the so-called Bank of the United States, for the purpose of restoring themselves to power. The United States Bank, after the expiration of its national charter, had become a State corporation, chartered

by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in January, 1836. Any one could now see that the attempt to deposit forty millions with the States was destruction to the deposit banks; that the repeal of the "specie circular" was to fill the Treasury with paper money, to be found useless when wanted; that distress was purposely created to throw blame of it upon the party in power; that the promptitude with which the Bank of the United States had been brought forward as a remedy for the distress, showed that it had been held in reserve for that purpose; and the delight with which the Whig party saluted the general calamity, showed that they considered it their own passport to power.

The Financial Panic of 1837.

The "specie circular" by reviving the demand for gold and silver, had destroyed most of the banks which had not Government deposits at command. The demand for the deposits, for distribution among the States, completed the ruin of many of the "pet banks." They had treated the deposits as capital, to be used as loans to business men, and now had to return them. The sudden calling in of these loans started the PANIC OF 1837, to which nothing comparable had before been seen in America. In May of this year, the New York city banks refused to pay gold or silver for their notes, and the New York Legislature authorized a suspension of specie payments throughout the State for one year. Banks in other cities at once suspended.

Financial embarrassment and general stagnation of business diminished the current receipts from lands and customs, and actually caused an absolute deficit in the public Treasury. In May, the President, by proclamation, called an Extra Session of Congress, to meet on the first Monday of September, 1837, to consider and secure the financial interests of the Government. The Message was a review of the events and causes which had brought about the panic. In it the President recommended the severance of all connection with any bank of issue in any form, referring to the establishment of an

Independent Treasury, and suggesting that the Government provide for the deficit in the Treasury by the issue of treasury notes, and by withholding the deposit due to the States under the act then in force. Clay, Webster, Cushing, and other able and effective speakers in both Houses of Congress, assailed the Message and its recommendations. They made formal and elaborate reply to the document, reciting all the points of accusation against the Democratic policy, from the beginning of the Government down to that day. The "**Sub-Treasury plan,**" recommended by the President, was regarded by the Whigs, and by some of the Democrats, as an endeavor to break down all the banks in the country. Its Democratic opponents formed a temporary party, calling themselves CONSERVATIVES, and generally voting with the Whigs on financial matters. A bill for the establishment of an Independent Treasury passed the Senate, but was tabled in the House by a combination of Whigs and Conservatives. The result was that the measures proposed by Van Buren were in substance enacted. The Sub-Treasury scheme became a law at a subsequent session of Congress, in 1840. It provided that "all Government dues should be paid in gold or silver, which should not, as before, be deposited in banks, but should be kept in certain offices in the chief cities of the Union, under the care of persons appointed for the purpose, called Sub-Treasurers, who should give security for the proper discharge of their duty." The opponents of the bill contended that the distresses of the people did not, in this case, call for the interference of Government; but for a reformation in the individual extravagance which had prevailed, and a return to the neglected ways of industry.

The Sub-Treasury Scheme.

The Sub-Treasury Bill was repealed during the first year of Tyler's Administration (1841), but re-enacted under Polk. The public money is now kept in the United States Treasury at Washington and in sub-treasuries.

These enactments mark an era in our financial history—

making a total and complete separation of Bank and State, and firmly establishing the principle that the Government revenues should be receivable in coin only.

During Van Buren's Administration the slavery question was again agitated in consequence of petitions from citizens and societies in the Northern States, and a memorial from the General Assembly of Vermont, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and for the exclusion of future slave States from the Union. They were disposed of adversely. Mr. Calhoun, representing the ultra-Southern interest, in several able speeches, approved the Missouri Compromise. He urged and obtained of the Senate several resolutions declaring that the Federal Government had no power to interfere with slavery in the States; and that it would be inexpedient and impolitic to interfere, abolish, or control it in the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Slavery Question Agitated Again.

The apparent disinclination of Congress and the Administration to interfere in the financial troubles of the country, operated to the disadvantage of the Democratic party. Many of its former supporters joined the Whigs, whose continuous successes had given them a fair prospect. In the first session of the XXVIth Congress, a contested election involved a vital party question, as to the organization of the House. Five Democrats claimed seats against an equal number of Whigs. Neither set was admitted until after the election of Speaker, which resulted in the choice of Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, the Whig candidate, who was elected by the full Whig vote with the aid of a few Democrats acting with the Whigs. Excluding the five contested seats (from New Jersey), the House was really Democratic. It was really the vote of the conservative Democrats uniting with the solid Whig vote that gained the election of the Whig Speaker.

Condition of Parties (1840).

Presidential Nominations (1840).

Nominations for the Presidential election of 1840 were made early in the year. The WHIG NATIONAL CONVENTION, for the purpose of uniting the Anti-Masonic and other opposition elements, reluctantly abandoned Clay, and nominated General WILLIAM H. HARRISON, of Ohio, and JOHN TYLER, of Virginia. The managers of nominating conventions believing then, as since, that military renown was a passport to popularity and rendered a candidate more sure of election, Mr. Clay, the most prominent Whig in the country, and the acknowledged head of the party, was not deemed available. Though Mr. Clay was a candidate before the Convention, yet the proceedings were so regulated that his nomination was referred to a committee, ingeniously devised and directed for the afterwards avowed purpose of preventing his nomination and securing that of General Harrison. This maneuvering was resorted to in order to produce the intended result without showing the design, and without leaving a trace behind to show what was done.

The People's Choice Ignored.

The scheme (a modification of which has since been applied to subsequent National Conventions, and out of which many bitter dissensions have again and again arisen) is embodied and was executed in and by means of the following resolution adopted by the Convention:

"*Ordered*, That the delegates from each State be requested to assemble as a delegation, and appoint a committee, not exceeding three in number, to receive the views and opinions of such delegation, and communicate the same to the assembled committees of all the delegations, to be by them respectively reported to their principals; and that thereupon the delegates from each State be requested to assemble as a delegation and ballot for candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, and having done so, to commit the ballot designating the votes of each candidate, and by whom given, to its committee, and thereupon all the committees shall assemble and compare the several ballots and report the result of the same to their several delegations, together with such facts as may bear upon the nomination; and said delegation shall forthwith reassemble and ballot

again for candidates for the above offices, and again commit the result to the above committees, and if it shall appear that a majority of the ballots are for any one man for candidate for President, said committee shall report the result to the Convention for its consideration; but if there shall be no such majority, then the delegation shall repeat the balloting until such a majority shall be obtained, and then report the same to the Convention for its consideration. That the vote of a majority of each delegation shall be reported as the vote of that State, and each State represented here shall vote its full electoral vote by such delegation in the committee."

The DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION met at Baltimore in May, 1840, and adopted a strict constructionist platform, unanimously renominating Van Buren, but left nominations for the Vice Presidency to be made by the various States.

The Abolitionists, or LIBERTY PARTY, made Presidential nominations in November, 1839. The candidates were JAMES G. BIRNEY, of New York, and FRANCIS LEMOYNE, of Pennsylvania.

The Presidential contest was the severest ever known in the country, up to that time, and scarcely equaled since.

A Warm Presidential Contest.

"The whole Whig party and the large league of suspended banks, headed by the Bank of the United States making its last struggle for a new national charter in the effort to elect a President friendly to it, were arrayed against the Democrats, whose hard-money policy and Independent Treasury schemes, met with little favor in the then depressed condition of the country. Meetings were held in every State, county, and town; the people were thoroughly aroused; and every argument made in favor of the respective candidates and parties which could possibly have any effect upon the voters." At the election in November, the Whig electors were overwhelmingly successful. They received 234 electoral votes coming from nineteen States. Democratic electors were chosen by only two Northern and five Southern States. The new Abolition party did not succeed in choosing any electors, but polled a popular vote of

7,609. It was a complete rout of the Democratic party, but without the moral effect of victory.

Harrison and Tyler Elected.

When the electoral votes were counted in February, 1841, there were found to be for President, 234 for Harrison, and 60 for Van Buren; and for Vice President, 234 for Tyler, 48 for Richard M. Johnson, 11 for L. W. Tazewell, and 1 for James K. Polk. Harrison and Tyler were therefore declared elected.

SECTION 4.

1839.—ABOLITION RESOLUTION—WARSAW, N. Y., NOV. 13.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen, requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.

Abolition Platforms.

The first National platform of the Abolition party, upon which it went into the contest in 1840, favored the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories; the inter-state slave trade, and a general opposition to slavery to the full extent of Constitutional power.

In 1848, that portion of the party which did not support the Buffalo nominees took the ground of affirming the Constitutional authority and duty of the General Government to abolish slavery in the States.

1840.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—BALTIMORE, MAY 5.

Resolved, That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful Constitutional powers.

2. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete an ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government.

6. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts, by Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens, and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition Laws from our statute book.

WHEREAS, Several of the States which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the Presidency, have put in nomination different

individuals as candidates for Vice President, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to the nomination; and whereas, some of the said States are not represented in this convention; therefore,

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place, their opinions will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice President by the Electoral College.

MR. CLAY'S SPEECH ON HIS PUBLIC LANDS BILL.

Mr. President—Although I find myself borne down by the severest affliction with which Providence has ever been pleased to visit me, I have thought that my private griefs ought not longer to prevent me from attempting, ill as I feel qualified, to discharge my public duties. And I now rise, in pursuance of the notice which has been given, to ask leave to introduce a bill to appropriate, for a limited time, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands of the United States, and for granting lands to certain States.

I feel it incumbent on me to make a brief explanation of the highly important measure which I have now the honor to propose. The bill which I desire to introduce provides for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands in the years 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836 and 1837, among the twenty-four States of the Union, and conforms substantially to that which passed in 1833. It is therefore of a temporary character, but if it shall be found to have salutary operation, it will be in the power of a future Congress to give it an indefinite continuance; and if otherwise, it will expire by its own terms. In the event of war unfortunately breaking out with any foreign power the bill is to cease, and the fund which it distributes is to be applied to the prosecution of the war. The bill directs that ten per cent. of the net proceeds of the public lands sold within the limits of the seven new States, shall be first set apart for them, in addition to the five per cent. reserved by their several compacts with the United States; and that the residue of the proceeds, whether from sales made in the States or Territories, shall be divided among the twenty-four States in proportion to their respective Federal population. In this respect the bill conforms to that which was introduced in 1832. For one, I should have been willing to have allowed the new States twelve and a half instead of ten per cent., but as that was objected to by the President in his veto message, and has been opposed in other quarters, I thought it best to restrict the allowance to the more moderate sum. The bill also contains large and liberal grants of land to several of the new States, to place them upon an equality with others to which the bounty of Congress has been heretofore extended, and

provides that, when other new States shall be admitted into the Union, they shall receive their share of the common fund.

* * * * * * * * * *

Mr. President, I have ever regarded, with feelings of the profoundest regret, the decision which the President of the United States felt himself induced to make on the bill of 1833. If the bill had passed about twenty millions of dollars would have been, during the last three years, in the hands of the several States, applicable by them to the beneficent purposes of internal improvement, education or colonization. What immense benefits might not have been diffused throughout the land by the active employment of that large sum? What new channels of commerce and communication might not have been opened? What industry stimulated, what labor rewarded? How many youthful minds might have received the blessings of education and knowledge and been rescued from ignorance, vice and ruin? How many descendants of Africa might have been transported from a country where they never can enjoy political or social equality, to the native land of their fathers, where no impediment exists to their attainment of the highest degree of elevation, intellectual, social and political, where they might have been successful instruments in the hands of God, to spread the religion of His Son and to lay the foundation of civil liberty.

But, although we have lost three precious years, the Secretary of the Treasury tells us that the principal of this vast sum is yet safe; and much good may still be achieved with it. The spirit of improvement pervades the land in every variety of form, active, vigorous and enterprising, wanting pecuniary aid as well as intelligent direction. The States are strengthening the Union by various lines of communication thrown across and through the mountains. New York has completed one great chain. Pennsylvania another, bolder in conception and more arduous in the execution. Virginia has a similar work in progress, worthy of all her enterprise and energy. A fourth, further South, where the parts of the Union are too loosely connected, has been projected, and it can certainly be executed with the supplies which this bill affords, and perhaps not without them.

This bill passed, and these and other similar undertakings completed, we may indulge the patriotic hope that our Union will be bound by ties and interests that render it indissoluble. As the General Government withholds all direct agency from these truly national works, and from all new objects of internal improvement, ought it not to yield to the States what is their own, the amount received from the public lands? It would thus but execute faithfully a trust expressly created by the original deeds of cession, or resulting from the treaties of acquisition. With this ample resource, every desirable object of improvement, in every part of our extensive country, may in due time be accomplished. Placing this exhaustless fund in the hands of the several members of the confederacy, their com-

mon federal head may address them in the glowing language of the British bard, and,

> Bid harbors open, public ways extend,
> Bid temples worthier of the god ascend.
> Bid the broad arch the dangerous flood contain,
> The mole projecting break the roaring main.
> Back to his bounds their subject sea command,
> And roll obedient rivers through the land.

I confess I feel anxious for the fate of this measure, less on account of any agency I have had in proposing it, as I hope and believe, than from a firm, sincere and thorough conviction, that no one measure ever presented to the councils of the nation was fraught with so much unmixed good, and could exert such powerful and enduring influence in the preservation of the Union itself and upon some of its highest interests. If I can be instrumental, in any degree, in the adoption of it, I shall enjoy, in that retirement into which I hope shortly to enter, a heart-feeling satisfaction and a lasting consolation. I shall carry there no regrets, no complaints, no reproaches on my own account. When I look back on my humble origin, left an orphan too young to have been conscious of a father's smiles and caresses; with a widowed mother, surrounded by a numerous offspring, in the midst of pecuniary embarrassments; without a regular education, without fortune, without friends, without patrons, I have reason to be satisfied with my public career. I ought to be thankful for the high places and honors to which I have been called by the favor and partiality of my countrymen, and I am thankful and grateful. And I shall take with me the pleasing consciousness that in whatever station I have been placed, I have earnestly and honestly labored to justify their confidence by a faithful, fearless, and zealous discharge of my public duties. Pardon these personal allusions.

XVI.

FOURTEENTH ADMINISTRATION—1841–1845.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, PRESIDENT. JOHN TYLER, VICE PRESIDENT.

ALSO,

JOHN TYLER, PRESIDENT. PRESIDENT SENATE, ACTING VICE PRESIDENT.

XXVIIth and XXVIIIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Previous to the election of Harrison, the Democratic party had been in power forty years, with the exception of the four years of the second Adams's Administration. The Whigs

now comprised all that were left of the Federalists, with those who, for several reasons, had become dissatisfied with Democratic policy. Harrison was inaugurated on March 4, 1841. In his inaugural address he condemned any excessive use of the veto power, the employment for political purposes of Executive control over public officials, and all Presidential experiments upon the currency. An able Cabinet was organized, at the head of which was Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State. Everything promised well for the new Whig Administration; but before Congress could convene, the venerable President fell sick and died just one month after his inauguration. He was the first President that had died during his official term, and a messenger was immediately dispatched with a letter, signed by all the members of the Cabinet, conveying the melancholy intelligence to the Vice President, then at Williamsburg, Virginia. By extraordinary means he reached Washington at five o'clock on the morning of the 6th, and at twelve o'clock the Heads of the Departments waited upon him to pay their official and personal respects. After signifying his deep feeling of the public calamity sustained by the death of President Harrison, and expressing his profound sensibility of the heavy responsibilities so suddenly devolved upon himself, he made known his wishes that the several Heads of Departments would continue to fill the places which they then respectively occupied, and his confidence that they would afford all the aid in their power to enable him to carry on the Administration of the Government successfully. Mr. Tyler afterwards took and subscribed the following oath of office:

Harrison Inaugurated. His Death.

Vice President Tyler Becomes President.

"I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.

"April 6, 1841. JOHN TYLER."

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, was born at Berkeley, on the James River, Virginia, February 9, 1773. His father was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the Governors of Virginia. William Henry was educated at Hampden-Sydney College, Virginia, and pursued the study of medicine. He was, however, drawn from the duties of his profession by the barbarities of the Indians along our north-western frontier. In 1791, he received from President Washington a commission as ensign in the artillery, and was, during the next year, promoted for meritorious service to the rank of lieutenant. He served under General Wayne, and after the battle of Miami Rapids, he was made captain.

In 1800, he was made Governor of the "Indian Territory," including the Territories of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. This position he filled for twelve years, to the satisfaction of Indians and white settlers. He negotiated thirteen important treaties with Indian tribes.

In 1811, Harrison conducted the war against Tecumseh, and in a great battle on the Tippecanoe River defeated that illustrious chieftain, and so frustrated his plans that he never recovered. After the surrender of Detroit, by General Hull, Harrison was made Commander-in chief of the entire Northwest, where he proved himself a masterly organizer and a vigorous, intrepid commander. His fame, at the close of the war, was unbounded. Some difficulty with the Secretary of War, led to his resignation, but the President immediately appointed him to negotiate further treaties with the Indians.

In 1816, he became a Representative in Congress from Ohio, and immediately took rank as an eloquent and able member of the body.

In 1824, he was elected to the United States Senate from Ohio.

In 1836, Mr. Harrison was brought forward for the Presi-

W. H. Harrison

dency. He had three rivals, and was beaten by Mr. Van Buren. His popularity was so great that the Whigs again nominated him in 1840, and after one of the most stirring campaigns of the century, he was elected by electoral count of 234 out of 294. His Administration gave promise of great success, but his frail health was so overtaxed that he expired April 4, just one month after his inauguration. His funeral obsequies were performed on the 7th, and an immense concourse assembled to pay their testimony of respect. Funeral services and processions also took place in most of the principal cities throughout the country.

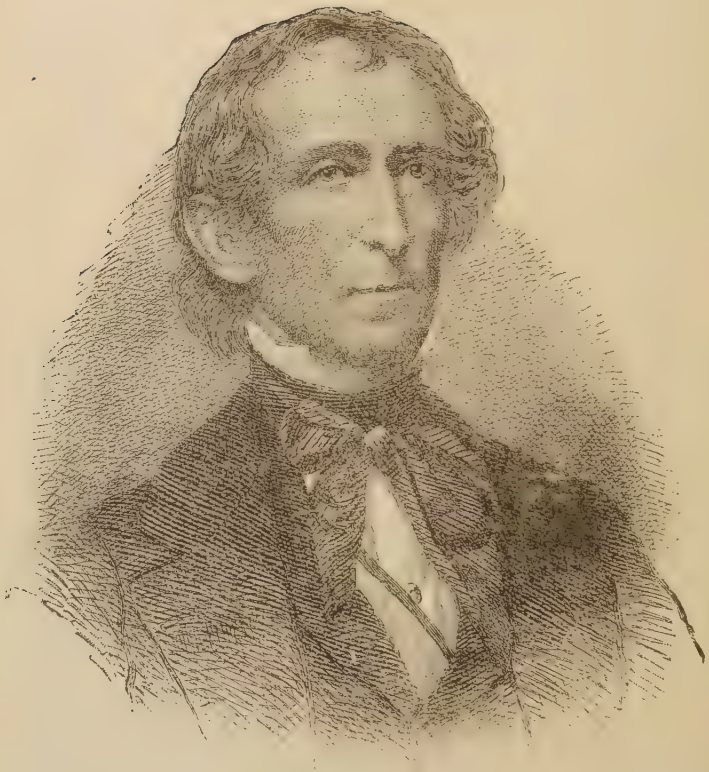
JOHN TYLER.

John Tyler, successor of Mr. Harrison, and tenth President of the United States, was born in Charles City county, Virginia, March 29, 1790. His ancestors were English, and were among the first settlers in the Old Dominion. His father was a patriot in the Revolution, a wealthy land proprietor, and at one time Governor of Virginia. Young Tyler entered William and Mary College at the age of twelve, where he graduated with the highest honors at seventeen. At nineteen he was admitted to the bar, and rose quickly to an honored and successful practice. At the age of twenty-one he was elected to the Legislature, and served five terms.

In 1816, he was elected to Congress, and was twice re-elected. In 1825, he was chosen Governor of Virginia.

In 1827, he was elected to the United States Senate, against John Randolph. In Congress, Tyler, in turn, supported and opposed the Administration of President Jackson. He voted for Clay's resolutions of censure on Jackson for removing the United States deposits ; he was subsequently instructed, by the Legislature of his State, to rescind that action, whereupon he resigned his seat, and returned to private life. He was nominated for the Vice Presidency in 1840 and elected.

At the death of General Harrison, April 4, 1840, Mr.



John Tyler

Tyler was, on the 6th, inaugurated President. His Administration failed to satisfy either Whigs or Democrats.

In 1861 he was President of the Peace Convention, and afterwards a member of the Confederate Congress. He died at Richmond, Virginia, January 17, 1862.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, MARCH 4 TO APRIL 4—ONE MONTH.

INAUGURATED.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (1773–1841), of Ohio, President ..... March 4, 1841

Vice President.

JOHN TYLER (1790–1862), of Virginia..... March 4, 1841

Secretary of State.

APPOINTED.

DANIEL WEBSTER (1782–1852), of Massachusetts..... March 5, 1841

Secretary of the Treasury.

THOMAS EWING (1789–1871), of Ohio..... March 5, 1841

Secretary of War.

JOHN BELL (1797–1869), of Tennessee..... March 5, 1841

Secretary of the Navy.

GEORGE E. BADGER (born 1795), of North Carolina (resigned). March 5, 1841

Postmaster-General.

FRANCIS GRANGER (1787–1868), of New York (resigned)..... March 6, 1841

Attorney-General.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN (1786–1863), of Kentucky (resigned).. March 5, 1841

Speaker of the House.

SERVED.

JOHN WHITE (1805–1845), of Kentucky..... 28th Cong., 1841

STATISTICS OF TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1841–'45—THREE YEARS AND ELEVEN MONTHS.

	INAUGURATED.
JOHN TYLER (former Vice President), of Virginia, President	April 4, 1841

Acting Vice Presidents.

SAMUEL L. SOUTHARD (President of Senate), of New Jersey	April 4, 1841
WILLIE P. MANGUM (1792–1861), President of Senate, of North Carolina	Mar. 31, 1842

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
DANIEL WEBSTER (Harrison's Admin.), of Massachusetts	April 4, 1841
HUGH S. LEGARE (1797–1848), of South Carolina	May 9, 1843
ABEL P. UPSHUR (died 1844), of Virginia	July 24, 1843
JOHN C. CALHOUN (1782–1850), of South Carolina	March 6, 1844

Secretaries of the Treasury.

THOMAS EWING (Harrison's Admin.), of Ohio (resigned)	April 4, 1841
WALTER FORWARD (1786–1842), of Pennsylvania	Sept. 13, 1841
JOHN C. SPENCER (1788–1855), of New York	March 3, 1843
GEORGE M. BIBB (1772–1859), of Kentucky	June 15, 1844

Secretaries of War.

JOHN BELL (Harrison's Admin.), of Tennessee (resigned)	April 4, 1841
JOHN MCLEAN (declined), of Ohio	Sept. 13, 1841
JOHN C. SPENCER (1788–1855), Secretary of Treasury, of New York	Oct. 12, 1841
JAMES M. PORTER (rejected), of Pennsylvania	March 8, 1843
WILLIAM WILKINS (1779–1865), of Pennsylvania	Feb. 15, 1844

Secretaries of the Navy.

GEORGE E. BADGER (Harrison's Administration), of North Carolina (resigned)	April 4, 1841
ABEL P. UPSHUR (Secretary of State), of Virginia	Sept. 13, 1841
DAVID HENSHAW (1790-1852), of Massachusetts	July 24, 1843
THOMAS W. GILMER (died 1844), of Virginia	Feb. 15, 1844
JOHN Y. MASON (1795–1859), of Virginia	Mar. 14, 1844

Postmasters General.

FRANCIS GRANGER (Harrison's Admin.), of New York (re-signed).....April 4, 1841
CHARLES A. WICKLIFFE (1788–1869), of Kentucky.....Sept. 13, 1841

Attorneys General.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN (Harrison's Admin.), of Kentucky (re-signed).....April 4, 1841
HUGH S. LEGARE (1797–1843), of South Carolina.....Sept. 13, 1841
JOHN NELSON (1791–1860), of Maryland.....July 1, 1843
JOHN Y. MASON (Secretary of Navy), of Virginia.....March 5, 1845

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.
JOHN WHITE (1805–1845), of Kentucky.....28th Congress, 1841
JOHN W. JONES (1806–1848), of Virginia.....29th Congress, 1843
GEORGE W. HOPKINS (1804–1861), of Virginia.....29th Congress, 1843

STATES ADMITTED.

On the last day of Tyler's Administration, Florida, Texas, and Iowa applied for admission into the Union, but the latter two were not admitted till afterward, namely:

Florida was admitted as the twenty-seventh State, March 3, 1845.

Texas was admitted as the twenty-eighth State, December 27, 1845.

Iowa was admitted as the twenty-ninth State, December 29, 1846.

SECTION 3.

Tyler's Position.

John Tyler was a gentleman of pure and simple character, of elegant manners, of more firmness than energy, and of considerable talents. His experience of public life, "which public manners breed," was limited when he found himself accidentally at the head of the Government and of a party from which he differed on the cardinal questions of the Bank, the Tariff, and State Rights.

Proceedings of Congress (1841).

Pursuant to the proclamation of President Harrison (March 17th), Congress met in Extra Session on the 31st of May, and continued in session until the 13th of September. A Whig member—Mr. White, of Kentucky—was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Whigs had a majority of forty-seven in the House and of seven in the Senate, and with the President and Cabinet of the same political party, presented a harmony of aspect frequently wanting during the three previous Administrations. The first measure of the new dominant party was the repeal of the Independent Treasury Act, passed at the previous session; and the next in order were bills to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States and for distribution of public land revenue. The former was practically an insolvent law for the abolition of debts at the will of the debtor. It applied to all persons in debt, allowed them to institute the proceedings in the district where the petitioner resided, allowed constructive notices to creditors in newspapers, declared the abolition of the debt where effects were surrendered and fraud not proved, and gave exclusive jurisdiction to the Federal courts at the will of the debtor. It was framed upon the model of the English insolvent debtors' act of George IV., and embodied most of the provisions of that act, but substituted a release from the debt instead of a release from imprisonment. The bill passed by a close vote in both Houses, but, meeting with very general condemnation, it was soon after repealed.

Bill for Harrison's Widow Passed.

A bill offered in the House for the relief of the widow of the late President—appropriating one year's salary—occasioned much discussion. It was strongly opposed by the Democratic members as unconstitutional, on account of its principle, as creating a private pension list, and as a dangerous precedent. Many able speeches were made against the bill, both in the Senate and House. The

question was a case for feeling more than of judgment, especially with the political friends of the deceased. The bill passed, and was approved. It established a precedent, which has since been followed in every similar case.

Tyler and his Party.

The great object of the Whig party was the re-charter of a National Bank. The President, while a member of the Democratic party, had been opposed to the United States Bank; and to overcome any objections he might have, the bill was carefully prepared, and studiously contrived to avoid the President's objections, and to save his consistency—a point upon which he was exceedingly sensitive. The Democratic members resisted strenuously, in order to make the measure odious, but successful resistance was impossible. It passed both Houses by a close vote; and contrary to all expectations, the President vetoed the act, but with such expressions of readiness to approve another bill which should be free from the objections which he named, as still to keep his party together, and to prevent the resignation of his Cabinet. His objection was that the powers given to the Bank were such as he and the majority of the people believed to be unwise and unconstitutional for Congress to grant.

Tyler Vetoes the United States Bank Bill.

The veto caused consternation among the Whig members. In the debate on the veto message, Mr. Clay openly gave expression to his dissatisfaction, intimating that President Tyler had violated his faith to the Whig party, and had been led off from them by new associations. Mr. Clay said: "It can not be forgotten that President Tyler came into his present office under peculiar circumstances. The people did not foresee the contingency which has happened. They voted for him as Vice President. They did not, therefore, scrutinize his opinions with the care which they probably ought to have done, and would have done, if they could have looked into futurity. If the present state of the fact could have

been anticipated—if at Harrisburg, or at the polls, it had been foreseen that General Harrison would die in one short month after the commencement of his Administration, so that Vice President Tyler would be elevated to the Presidential chair; that a bill passed by decisive majorities of the first Whig Congress, chartering a National Bank, would be presented for his sanction; and that he would veto the bill,—do I hazard anything when I express the conviction that he would not have received a solitary vote in the nominating convention, not a solitary electoral vote in any State of the Union?"

Tyler's Apparent Inconsistency.

The Whig leaders, anxious to prevent a party disaster, asked from the President an outline of a bill which he *would sign*. After consultation with the Cabinet, it was given, and passed by both Houses. The President vetoed this bill also, and an attempt to pass it over the veto failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority. The action of the President, in vetoing a bill drawn according to his own suggestions, and thus apparently provoking a contest with the party which had elected him, aroused the unconcealed indignation of the Whigs. This second movement to establish the Bank almost caused the establishment of a new party, with Mr. Tyler as its head; earnest efforts having been made in that behalf by many prominent Whigs and Democrats. The entire Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned within a few days after the second veto. Mr. Webster had resolved to tender his resignation also, but on consideration determined to remain on account of several important public interests which would have suffered from his resignation.

The President Renounced by his Party.

The President's vetoes of the two Bank Bills produced revolt against him in the party. The Whig members of Congress issued addresses to the people, in which they detailed the reforms designed by the

Whigs and impeded by the President, and declared that "all political connection between them and John Tyler was at an end from that day forth."

The subject of a National Bank was not, however, permitted to rest by the Whigs; it was the lever which was to give them power and the political and financial control of the Union.

The President's position was one of much difficulty. His constructionist opinions would not allow him to approve a National Bank, and yet he had accepted the Vice Presidency from a party pledged to establish one. He filled the vacancies in the Cabinet by appointing Whigs and Conservatives. The action of the Whigs compelled him to rely upon support from the Democrats. Only a few members of Congress, known as "the corporal's guard," recognized Tyler as a leader. The Democrats supported him only as a means to success.

Clay Retires from the Senate.

In March, 1842, Henry Clay resigned his place in the Senate, and delivered a valedictory address to that body. He resigned not on account of age, or infirmity, or disinclination for public life; but out of disgust—profound and inextinguishable. He had been basely defeated for the Presidential nomination, against the wishes of the Whig party, of which he was the acknowledged head—he had seen his leading measures vetoed by the President whom his party had elected—the downfall of the Bank for which he had so often pledged himself—and the insolent attacks of the petty adherents of the Administration in the two Houses; all these causes acting on his proud and lofty spirit, induced this withdrawal from public life for which he was so well fitted.

The address opened with a retrospect of his early entrance into the Senate, and a grand encomium upon its powers and dignity as he had found it, and left it. Memory went back to that early year, 1806, when just past thirty years of age, he entered the United States Senate, and commenced his high

career—a wide and luminous horizon before him, and will and talent to fill it. He said: "From the year 1806, the period of my entering upon this noble theatre of my public service, with but short intervals, down to the present time, I have been engaged in the service of my country. Of the nature and value of those services which I may have rendered during my long career of public life, it does not become me to speak. History, if she deigns to notice me, and posterity—if a recollection of any humble service which I may have rendered, shall be transmitted to posterity—will be the best, truest, and most impartial judges; and to them I defer for a decision upon their value. But, upon one subject, I may be allowed to speak. As to my public acts and public conduct, they are for the judgment of my fellow-citizens; but my private motives of action—that which prompted me to take the part which I may have done, upon great measures during their progress in the Nation's Councils, can be known only to the Great Searcher of the human heart and myself; and I trust I shall be pardoned for repeating again a declaration which I made thirty years ago; that whatever error I may have committed—and doubtless I have committed many during my public service—I may appeal to the Divine Searcher of hearts for the truth of the declaration which I now make, with pride and confidence, that I have been actuated by no personal motives—that I have sought no personal aggrandizement—no promotion from the advocacy of those various measures on which I have been called to act—that I have had an eye, a single eye; a heart, a single heart, ever devoted to what appeared to be the best interests of the country."

Mr. Clay led a great party, and for a long time, whether he dictated to it or not, and kept it well bound together, without the usual means of forming and leading parties. "He had great talents, but not equal to some whom he led. He had eloquence—superior in popular effect, but not equal in high oratory to that of some others. But his tempera-

ment was fervid, his will was strong, and his courage daring; and those qualities, added to his talents, gave him the lead and supremacy in his party, where he was always dominant." The farewell address made a deep impression upon the Senators present.

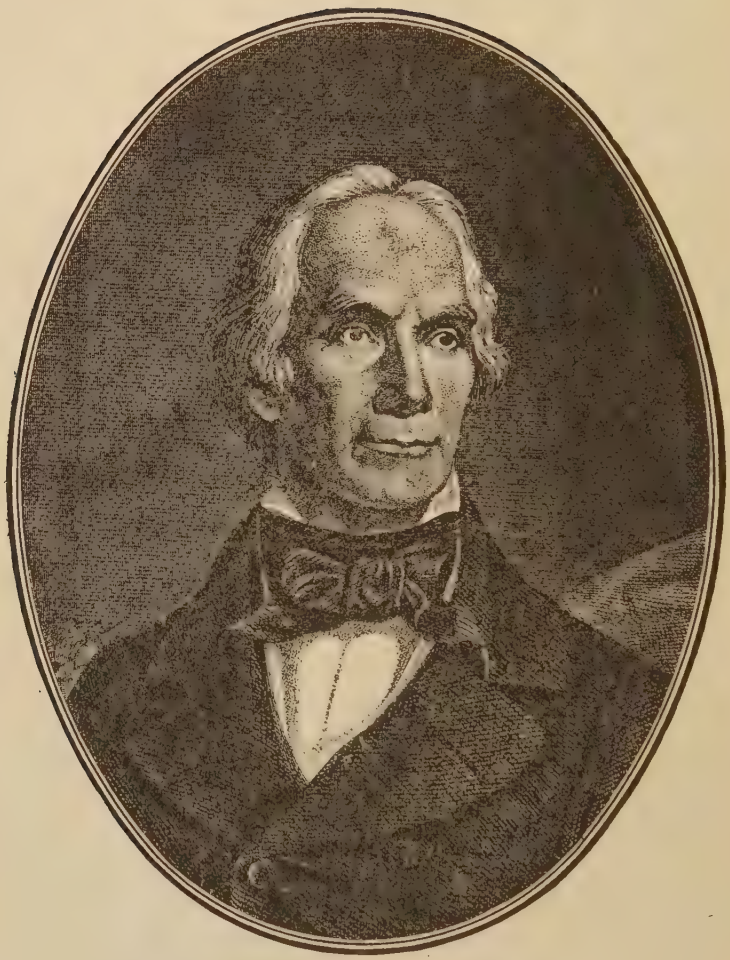
HENRY CLAY.

Henry Clay was born near Richmond, Virginia, April 12, 1777. After receiving a common school education he removed to Lexington, Kentucky (1797), and began the practice of law. In 1799 he advocated the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky, and in 1804 he was elected to the Legislature. He was chosen to fill vacancies in the United States Senate in 1806–7 and in 1810–11. In 1807 he was again elected to the Legislature, and in 1808 was made Speaker. Humphrey Marshall having stigmatized him as a demagogue, Clay fought a duel with him, in which both were slightly wounded.

In 1811 he was elected a Representative in Congress, and was at once chosen Speaker. He continued a member of the House and its Speaker till 1825, excepting 1814–15, when he was in Europe, assisting in the negotiation of a treaty of peace with Great Britain, becoming one of the signers of the Treaty of Ghent, and in 1821–3, for which term he declined a reëlection. He was a conspicuous advocate of the War with England, a Protective Tariff, and internal improvements. He at first opposed, but in 1816 favored, the United States Bank. He advocated the recognition of the independence of the Spanish American States and of insurgent Greece.

He took a leading part in the discussion (1819–21) relating to the admission of Missouri, and vehemently opposed any restrictions as to slavery in the proposed Constitution of that State.

In 1824 Mr. Clay was one of the four candidates for the Presidency, and received 37 electoral votes. The election devolved upon the House of Representatives, where Mr. Clay voted for John Quincy Adams. His action in connection with



H. Clay

his acceptance from Adams of the office of Secretary of State (1825–9), was denounced by his enemies as "bargain and corruption," and was stigmatized by John Randolph as a "coalition of Puritan with blackleg." A harmless duel followed between Clay and Randolph.

In 1831 Clay was elected to the United States Senate, where he continued till 1842, when he resigned his seat. He was the author of the Compromise Tariff of 1832–3. As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations he reported (1835) against the proposition of President Jackson to secure indemnity for French spoliations on American commerce by reprisals on French property; also (1836) in favor of recognizing the independence of Texas on evidence of the existence of a civil government. After the financial panic of 1837 he opposed the Administration project of an Independent Treasury. In 1836 he became president of the American Colonization Society, and in 1839 delivered a speech against the idea of an immediate abolition of slavery as visionary and impracticable.

Mr. Clay was the unsuccessful candidate of the Whigs for the Presidency against Andrew Jackson in 1832, and James K. Polk in 1844. In the latter campaign the leading issue related to the annexation of Texas, which was favored by the Democrats under Polk. Mr. Clay did not object to annexation in itself, nor on account of slavery, but was opposed to any absorption of Texas while it was at war with Mexico and its territory was claimed by that nation. He received 105 electoral votes, while 170 were cast for Polk. He entered the Senate again in 1849, and continued a member till his death.

In 1850 he introduced the famous Compromise measures for the settlement of the slavery controversy. The Resolutions, while maintaining the non-existence by law of slavery in the Territory acquired by the United States from Mexico, declared that in establishing Territorial Governments in such

Territory, Congress should impose no restriction or condition on the subject of slavery. They further provided for the admission of California, without any restriction by Congress as to slavery; opposed the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

As a leader in a deliberative body, Mr. Clay was said to have no equal in America; his eloquence gave him great influence with the masses. He died at Washington, June 28, 1852.

The Tariff of 1842.

The reduction of duties by the Compromise Tariff of 1833 had gone so far (1842), that the Government revenues were less than expenses. Never before were the coffers and the credit of the Treasury at so low an ebb. A deficit of fourteen millions in the Treasury—a total inability to borrow, either at home or abroad, the amount of the loan of twelve millions authorized the year before—the Treasury notes below par, and the revenues from imports decreasing. A new tariff became necessary and this brought on a party struggle. The Whig majority passed a bill continuing for the present the duties under the Tariff of 1833, and providing for the distribution of any surplus revenue among the States. The President vetoed it, on the ground that it was in violation of the Compromise of 1833 by which Protection was to cease after 1842. A Tariff designed to afford a revenue was then passed by both Houses, still continuing the objectionable provision for the distribution of the surplus. This was also vetoed. In the House the Veto Message was referred to a committee, whose report condemned the President's undue assumption of power. Against this the President sent a formal protest. The bill was then passed by both Houses, without the distributing clause, signed by the President, and became the Tariff of

The Tariff Bill Passed over President's Veto.

1842. The distributing clause was passed as a separate bill, and disposed of by a "pocket veto."

Naval Policy. The naval policy of the United States was a question of party division from the origin of parties in the early years of the Government. The Federal party favored a strong and splendid navy; the Republican party wanted a moderate establishment, adapted to the purposes of defense more than of offense. Under the Whigs the policy for a great navy developed itself. Though no emergency required an increase in that branch of the public service, yet the Secretary of the Navy recommended a large increase of ships, seamen, and officers, involving a heavy expense, though the Government was not in a condition to warrant any such expenditure. Congress voted favorably upon the increase, and the President recommended it.

Congressional Proceedings (1843–'4). The first session of the XXVIIIth Congress exhibited in its political complexion serious losses in the Whig party. The majority in the Senate was Whig, and the House Democratic. The consequent disagreement prevented united action, and encouraged the President in his reliance upon the Democrats. The President's Message referred to the treaty which had lately been concluded with Great Britain relative to the Northwestern Territory extending to the Columbia river, including Oregon, and settling the boundary lines; also to a pending treaty with Texas for her annexation to the United States; and concluded with a recommendation for the establishment of a paper currency to be issued and controlled by the Federal Government.

The Texan Question. The **annexation of Texas** was now becoming a party question. The fate of Texas formed the most exciting question of Tyler's Administration. Until 1836 that great country was part of the Republic of Mexico, though the most powerful party among its citizens, both for number and

energy, had of late been emigrants from the United States. Under their leadership Texas declared her independence in 1835, and secured it the next year by the decisive battle of San Jacinto. She then asked admission to the United States, but was refused. The application was renewed in 1844, the Democrats strongly favoring annexation and the Whigs opposing it.

Before the National Conventions met, the views of the leading candidates upon the question of annexation had been asked and given. Mr. Van Buren was known to be against it and Mr. Calhoun for it. Mr. Calhoun frankly declared that the purpose in annexing Texas was "to extend the influence of slavery and secure its perpetual duration." This was not desired by the Northern people, who also objected to the burden of the Texan debt, which the United States were to assume, and to the war with Mexico, which must grow out of the unsettled dispute as to boundaries.

Polk Nominated by the Democrats.

The Convention met, and consisted of 266 delegates, a decided majority of whom were for Mr. Van Buren, and cast their votes accordingly on the first ballot. But a chairman had been selected who was adverse to his nomination; and aided by a rule adopted by the Convention, which required a concurrence of two-thirds to effect a nomination, the opponents of Van Buren were able to accomplish his defeat. Mr. Calhoun had, before the meeting of the Convention, declined to have his name go before that assemblage. After the first ballot Van Buren's vote decreased, until finally, **Mr. James K. Polk**, who was a candidate for the Vice Presidency, was brought forward and nominated unanimously for the chief office, with **George M. Dallas** for the Vice Presidency. The nomination of these gentlemen, neither of whom had been mentioned until late in the proceedings, was a genuine surprise to the country. "No voice in favor of it had been heard, and no visible sign in the political horizon had been announced of it."

First Telegraphic Dispatch.

It may be pertinent here to state that the first **Telegraphic Dispatch** sent over the wires, May 29th, 1844, conveyed the intelligence of Polk's nomination.*

The National Convention of the **Abolition, or Liberty Party** met at Buffalo, August, 1843. It adopted a long series of resolutions, denouncing slavery, and calling upon the Free States for penal laws to stop the return of fugitive slaves. It nominated James G. Birney, of Michigan, and Thomas Morris, of Ohio.

Whig Nominations (1844).

The Whig National Convention met at Baltimore in May (1844), and nominated Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York. This Convention adopted a loose constructionist platform, advocating a National Currency, a Protective Tariff, and a distribution of the surplus revenue among the States.

The main issues in the election were chiefly the party ones of Whig and Democrat, modified by the Tariff and Texas questions. Whig success seemed probable until the appearance of an unfortunate letter of Clay's, in which he tried to conciliate Southern Democrats by saying that he would be "glad to see" the annexation take place at some future time. By this piece of diplomacy he gained no Democratic votes—for Polk was a warm advocate of annexation—and lost those of the extreme Anti-Slavery Whigs and Abolitionists, who purposely threw away on Birney and Morris a number of votes which would have carried New York and thus elected Clay.

James K. Polk Elected President.

The Presidential election in November (1844) resulted in the choice of the Democratic candidates, who received 170 electoral votes, as against 105 for their opponents. Mr. Clay received a larger popular vote than

*The **Magnetic Telegraph** was invented by Prof. SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, of Massachusetts. He received a patent for his invention in 1837, and after long delay and many disappointments—many influential persons ridiculing the idea—he obtained (1843) an appropriation from Congress of $30,000 for the purpose of testing its utility. In 1844 the first telegraphic wires were erected—from Baltimore to Washington City.

had been given at the previous election for the Whig candidate, showing that he would have been elected had he then been the nominee of his party.

The Texas Scheme.

The scheme for the annexation of Texas was framed with a double aspect—one looking to the then pending Presidential election, the other to the separation of the Southern States; and as soon as the rejection of the treaty was foreseen, and the nominating convention had acted, the disunion aspect manifested itself over many of the Southern States—beginning with South Carolina. Before the end of May, a great meeting took place at Ashley, in that State, to combine the slave States in a convention to unite the Southern States to Texas, if Texas should not be received into the Union; and to invite the President to convene Congress to arrange the terms of the dissolution of the Union if the rejection of the annexation should be persevered in. Responsive resolutions were adopted in several States, and meetings held. The opposition manifested, brought the movement to a stand, and suppressed the disunion scheme for the time being—only to lie in wait for future occasions. But it was not before the people only that this scheme for a Southern convention with a view to the secession of the slave States was a matter of discussion; it was the subject of debate in the Senate; and there it was further disclosed that the design of the secessionists was to extend the new Southern republic to the Californias.

Mutterings of Secession.

The treaty of annexation was supported by all the power of the Administration, but failed, and it was rejected by the Senate by a two-thirds vote against it. Following this, a joint resolution was early brought into the House of Representatives for the admission of Texas as a State of the Union, by Legislative action. It passed the House by a fair majority, but met with opposition in the Senate unless coupled with a proviso for negotiation and treaty, as a condition precedent. A bill authorizing the President and a commissioner to be

appointed to agree upon the terms and conditions of said admission, the question of slavery within its limits, its debts, the fixing of boundaries, and the cession of territory, was coupled or united with the resolution, and in this shape it was finally agreed to and became a law, with the concurrence of the President, March 3, 1845. Texas was then in a state of war with Mexico, though at that precise point of time an armistice had been agreed upon, looking to a treaty of peace. The House resolution was for an unqualified admission of the State; the Senate amendment or bill was for negotiation; and the bill actually passed would not have been concurred in except on the understanding that the incoming President (whose term began March 4, 1845, and who was favorable to negotiation) would act under the bill and appoint commissioners accordingly.

Contrary to all expectation, the outgoing President, on the last day of his term, at the instigation of his Secretary of State, Mr. Calhoun, assumed the execution of the act providing for the admission of Texas—adopted the legislative clause—and sent out a special messenger with instructions. The danger of this had been foreseen and suggested in the Senate, but close friends of Mr. Calhoun, speaking for the Administration and replying to the suggestion, indignantly denied it for them, and declared that they would not have the "audacity" to so violate the spirit and intent of the act, or so encroach upon the rights of the new President. The legislative proposition sent by Mr. Tyler was accepted; Texas became incorporated with the United States, and in consequence a state of war was established between the United States and Mexico; it being only a question of time and chance when the armistice should end and hostilities begin. The admission of Texas under the legislative annexation clause of the statute was really the act of Calhoun, and not that of the President. Calhoun was, in consequence, afterwards openly charged in the Senate with being the real author of the war with Mexico.

SECTION 4.

1844.—WHIG PLATFORM—BALTIMORE, MAY 1.

Resolved, That these principles may be summed as comprising a well-regulated National currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the Presidency; a reform of Executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy.

1844.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—BALTIMORE, MAY 27.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, of the platform of 1840 (*page 397*), were re-affirmed, to which were added the following:

10. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the National objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

11. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits can not secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of of the United States.

12. *Resolved*, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period, are great American measures, which this Convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

XVII.

FIFTEENTH ADMINISTRATION—1845–1849.

JAMES K. POLK, PRESIDENT. GEORGE M. DALLAS, VICE PRESIDENT.

XXIXth and XXXth Congresses.

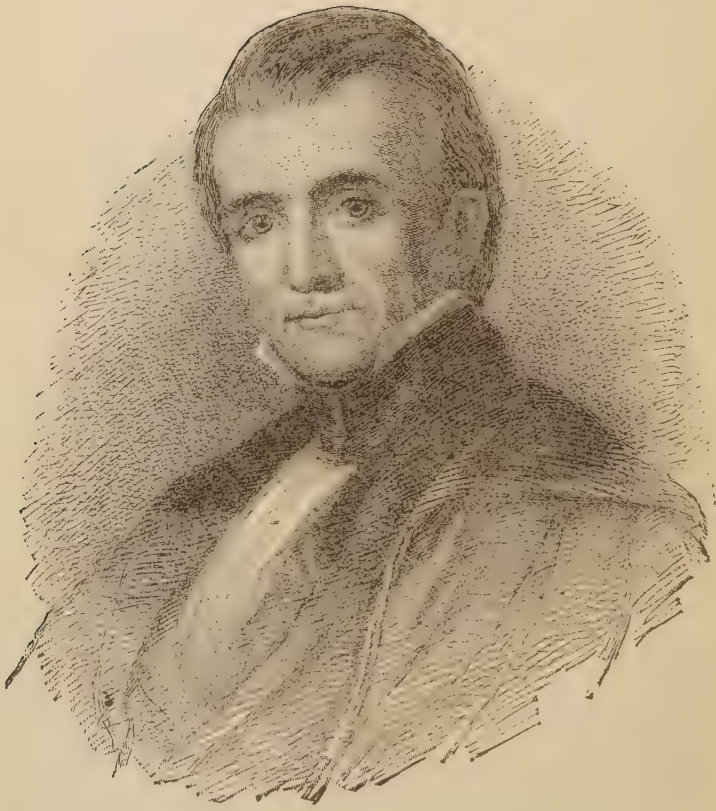
SECTION 1.

James K. Polk took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1845. He was selected, not for his distinction or abilities, but because he was the partisan of Van Buren, and favored the annexation, or "re-annexation," of Texas.

Polk Inaugurated.

JAMES K. POLK.

James Knox Polk, eleventh President of the United States, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and was born November 2d, 1795, in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina. Polk and Jackson are, as yet, the only two Presidents born of similar ancestral blood, and in the same county. His kindred had taken part in the struggle for Independence. His father was a farmer and a staunch Jeffersonian Democrat. In 1806, his family removed to Nashville, Tennessee. James was averse to mercantile pursuits, and after preliminary studies under Mr. Black, he, in 1815, entered the University of North Carolina, where he graduated with highest honors three years later. After graduating he returned to Nashville, where he studied law, and was admitted to the bar. He was elected to the Legislature of Tennessee in 1823, and two years later was elected a Representative in Congress, where he continued for fourteen years, and served during five sessions as Speaker of the House of Representatives, presiding with a dignity and impartiality that gave him great popularity. He was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1839, but was defeated in a struggle for the same honors in 1841, and also in 1843. He was



James K. Polk

brought forward by the Democrats at their Baltimore Convention in May, 1844, as a candidate for the Presidency, in opposition to that well-known statesman, Henry Clay. Mr. Polk favored the annexation of Texas, and was elected by a large majority. His inauguration was followed by trouble with the Government of Mexico, which soon developed into open war. General Taylor, with a small army, was sent to the banks of the Rio Grande to defend the claims of Texas. At a later period General Scott was sent with a large army, which cut its way through the country and captured the City of Mexico and terminated the war.

Mr. Polk retired to private life at the close of his term, and died three months later, at Nashville, June 15th, 1849, at the age of fifty-four.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF POLK'S ADMINISTRATION

TERM, 1845–'49—FOUR YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
JAMES K. POLK (1795–1849), of Tennessee, President	March 4, 1845

Vice President.

GEORGE M. DALLAS (1793–1865), of Pennsylvania	March 4, 1845

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
JAMES BUCHANAN (1791–1868), of Pennsylvania	March 5, 1845

Secretary of the Treasury.

ROBERT J. WALKER (1801–1869), of Mississippi	March 5, 1845

Secretary of War.

WILLIAM L. MARCY (1786–1857), of New York	March 5, 1845

Secretaries of the Navy.

GEORGE BANCROFT (born 1800), of Massachusetts	Mar. 10, 1845
JOHN Y. MASON (Tyler's Administration), of Virginia	Sept. 9, 1846

Postmaster General.

CAVE JOHNSON (1793–1866), of Tennessee	March 5, 1845

Attorneys General.

JOHN Y. MASON (Secretary of Navy), of Virginia.....March 5, 1845
NATHAN CLIFFORD (born 1803), of Maine.....Oct. 17, 1846
ISAAC TOUCEY (1796–1869), of Connecticut.....June 21, 1848

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.

JOHN W. DAVIS (1799–1859), of Indiana.....29th Cong., 1845
ROBERT C. WINTHROP (born 1809), of Massachusetts.....30th Cong., 1847
ARMISTED BURT (*pro tem.*).....30th Cong., 1847

State Admitted.—Wisconsin was admitted as the 30th State, May 29, 1848.

NOTE.—Texas and Iowa were admitted during this Administration, but applied on the last day of Tyler's term. (*See Statistics Tyler's Administration, page* 408.)

SECTION 3.

Mexico was so occupied by intestine dissensions and revolutions that her exhibition of resentment was at first confined to a formal protest. As soon as the resolution to annex Texas was adopted by Congress, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports and left the country. On July 4, 1845, the Texas Legislature ratified the act of annexation, thus completing the union.

Annexation of Texas.

The chief topics of the President's first annual Message were the admission of Texas, then accomplished, and the consequent dissatisfaction of Mexico. It referred also to the preparations on the part of Mexico, with the apparent intention of declaring war, either by an open declaration, or by invading Texas. It stated that the United States would be justified in taking the initiative in declaring war, as Mexico had failed to comply with the terms of the treaty of indemnity of 1839, entered into between that State and this Government, relative to injuries to American citizens during the previous eight years. The message concluded with a reference to the negotiations with Great Brit-

The President's Message.

ain relative to the Oregon boundary; a statement of the finances and the public debt, showing the latter to be slightly in excess of seventeen million dollars. It recommended a revision of the tariff, with a view to revenue as the object, with protection to home industry as the incident.

Northern Boundary Question.

The northern boundary of the United States had been a subject of dispute for many years. The country on the Columbia River had been claimed by both British and American settlers. Under previous treaties the boundary extended "to the latitude of 49° north of the equator, and along that parallel indefinitely to the west." During the first part of Polk's Administration the disputed question almost brought about hostilities with England. It had been assumed that we had a dividing line, made by previous treaty, along the parallel of 54° 40′, from the sea to the Rocky Mountains. In the election of 1844 the Democratic party cry was, "Fifty-four forty, or fight." In June, 1846, a treaty was made with Great Britain, by which the northern boundary was fixed at 49° of latitude, and the middle of the Strait of San Juan de Fuca, instead of 54° 40′, as demanded by the Democratic party. (*For further data concerning the north-western boundary question, see* GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.)

War with Mexico.

The south-western boundary was settled in a different way. The Mexicans claimed that the River Nueces was the western boundary of Texas, while the United States regarded the Rio Grande as its true and proper limit. General Taylor, with an "Army of Occupation," entered the disputed territory, and in April, 1846, built Fort Brown, on the Rio Grande. The Mexicans began hostilities by surprising and killing or capturing, a party of United States dragoons. Soon afterward they attempted to cut off General Taylor himself, who had gone for supplies, at *Pala Alto*, and still more decisively the next day at the ravine of *Resaca de la Palma*. Congress

formally declared war (May 11, 1846,) and called for fifty thousand volunteers. Three hundred thousand responded. An appropriation of $10,000,000 to prosecute the war was at once passed. The Democrats were eager for the war; the Whigs, though asserting that President Polk had provoked hostilities by ordering the army into Mexican territory, yet they generally voted, under protest, for the declaration, on the ground that the army had been forced into a perilous situation and must be rescued. They supported the war, however, until its conclusion. The Abolition, or Liberty party, particularly in New England, opposed the war bitterly. Mr. Calhoun, in the Senate, spoke against the declaration of war, but did not vote upon it. He was opposed to the war, although his conduct had produced it. Many members of Congress, of the same party with the Administration, were extremely averse to the war, and had interviews with the President before it was declared. It was thought that the war could not last above three months.

That the war might be settled by negotiation, Congress considered a bill appropriating money for this purpose. This brought up the slavery question, for it was certain that any newly acquired territory would be occupied by slave-holders, who would demand protection in the possession of their slaves. Congress granted an appropriation of $3,000,000, to be placed at the disposal of the President, for negotiating for a boundary which should give the United States additional territory.

The Wilmot Proviso.

In the House, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, on behalf of many Northern Democrats, offered an addition to the bill, applying to any newly acquired territory the provision of the Ordinance of 1787, that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said Territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted." This was the celebrated *Wilmot Proviso*, which for so long a time convulsed the Union; assisted in forcing the issue between the North and the South on the slavery question,

and almost caused a dissolution of the Union. It was a proposition not necessary for the purpose of excluding slavery, as the only territory to be acquired was that of New Mexico and California, where slavery was already prohibited by the Mexican laws and Constitution. The proviso was, therefore, nugatory, and served only to revive the slavery question. Mr. Calhoun declared it to be an outrage upon and a menace to the slaveholding States. It occupied the attention of Congress for two sessions. The State Legislatures took it up and passed disunion resolutions. It became the synonym of disunion. Neither party really had anything to fear or to hope from the adoption of the proviso. It was a furious contention about nothing. It served as a means of keeping up an agitation for the benefit of the political parties—the Abolitionists on the one side and the disunionists or Nullifiers on the other—to accomplish their own purposes. The proviso was defeated.

Calhoun's Slavery Resolutions.

In February, 1847, Mr. Calhoun introduced his new slavery resolutions into the Senate. These declared the Territories to be the common property of the several States, and denied the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in a Territory, or to pass any law which would have the effect to deprive the citizens of any slave State from emigrating with his slave property into such Territory. In an elaborate speech, Mr. Calhoun demanded an immediate vote upon his resolutions, but they never came to a vote. They were evidently introduced for the purpose of testing the unity of the slave States.

Status of Politics. 1847.

In the first session of the XXXth Congress (December, 1847), the Democrats had a majority in the Senate and the Whigs in the House. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, a Whig, was chosen Speaker of the House. As to **Internal Improvements**, the House resolved that the General Government had the power to improve harbors and rivers for the advan-

tage of commerce and for common defense. The President's Message contained a full report of the progress of the war with Mexico; the success of the American arms in that conflict; the victory of Cerro Gordo, and the capture of the City of Mexico; and that negotiations were then pending for a treaty of peace.

Results of the War with Mexico.

February 2d, 1848, the treaty of peace was concluded, and on July 4th it was proclaimed to the world. In this treaty the Mexicans agreed to consider the Rio Grande as the western boundary of the disputed territory, and to cede to the United States the provinces of New Mexico and California, which embraced also the present State of Nevada and the Territories of Utah and Arizona, for the sum of $15,000,000, in five annual installments. The United States agreed also to assume the claims of American citizens against Mexico, limited to three and a quarter million dollars, out of and on account of which claims the war ostensibly originated. The victories achieved by the American commanders, Generals **Taylor** and **Scott**, won for them national reputation, by means of which they were brought prominently forward for the Presidential succession.

The Slavery Question Again.

As a compromise between the advocates and the opponents of the extension of slavery, a bill was passed by the Senate, establishing Territorial Governments in Oregon, New Mexico, and California, with a provision that all questions concerning slavery in those Territories should be referred to the United States Supreme Court for decision. It was voted for by the members from the slave States, and lost in the House. An amendment was offered to insert a provision for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean. This line was intended to be permanent, and to apply to all future Territories established in the West. It would have divided the United States into two parts—the Northern, free, and the Southern, slave. This

amendment was lost. The bill was finally passed with an amendment incorporating into it the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787. Mr. Calhoun, in the Senate, declared that the exclusion of slavery from any Territory was a subversion of the Union. He openly declared the separation of the States to be accomplished. In his speech he said: "The great strife between the North and the South is ended. The North is determined to exclude the property of the slaveholder, and, of course, the slaveholder himself, from its territory. On this point there seems to be no division in the North. In the South," he regretted to say, "there was some division of sentiment. The effect of this determination of the North was to convert all the Southern population into slaves; and he would never consent to entail that disgrace on his posterity. He denounced any Southern man that would not take the same course. Gentlemen were greatly mistaken if they supposed the Presidential question in the South would override this more important one. The separation of the North and the South is completed. The South has now a most solemn obligation to perform to herself—to the Constitution—to the Union. She is bound to come to a decision not to permit this to go on any further, but to show that, dearly as she prizes the Union, there are questions which she regards as of greater importance than the Union. This is not a question of Territorial Government, but a question involving the continuance of the Union."

"No Union without Slavery."—*Calhoun.*

The President, in a special message, pointed out the danger to the Union from the progress of the slavery agitation, and urged an adherence to the principles of the Ordinance of 1787—the terms of the Missouri Compromise of 1820—as also that involved and declared in the Texas case in 1845, as the means of averting that danger.

President Polk, in his last Message (in December, 1848),

again urged upon Congress the necessity for some measure to quiet the slavery agitation. He recommended the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, passing through the new Territories of California and New Mexico, as a fair adjustment, to meet as far as possible the views of all parties. He referred, also, to the excellent condition of the public finances, and to the prosperous condition of the business interests of the country. "The state of affairs tended to prove that the money of the Constitution—gold and silver—was the only currency to ensure a successful financial working of the Government, and prosperity to the people."

Pacific Measures.

The Democratic Convention met in Baltimore in May, 1848. The delegates were, for the most part, members of Congress and office-holders. The main question which arose upon the formation of the platform for the campaign, was the doctrine advanced by the Southern members, of non-interference with slavery in the States or in the Territories. This was voted down by a heavy majority. The Convention nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice President.

Presidential Nominations (1848).

The Whig National Convention met at Philadelphia in June. Taking advantage of the popularity of General **Zachary Taylor,** for his military achievements in the Mexican war, then just ended, and also his consequent availability as a candidate, it nominated him for the Presidency, over Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, and General Scott, who were his competitors before the Convention. **Millard Fillmore** was selected as the Vice Presidential candidate. No platform was adopted. It was evident that the Whigs were not ready to become an Anti-Slavery party, nor were the Democrats ready to become a Pro-Slavery party.

Disaffected Democrats from New York who had been ex-

cluded from the Baltimore Convention, met at Utica, New York, and nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice President. The platform adopted declared that Congress had no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and that there should be no more slave States, and no more slave Territories. This party became known as **Free Soilers**, from their doctrines, and their party cry was "free soil, free speech, free labor, free men." They were joined by the old Liberty party, and by many Democrats, who were offended at the support given by Southern Democrats to the efforts to establish slavery in the territory lately won from Mexico.

Taylor and Fillmore Elected

The Presidential election in November resulted in the success of the Whig electors in a majority both of the Free and of the Slave States. The Whigs received 163 electoral votes for their candidates, and the Democrats 127. The Free Soilers received no electoral votes.

The Gold of California (1848).

The value of the **Mexican Cessions** was much enhanced by the discovery of gold on the Sacramento river (February, 1848). The startling news spread over the globe. From the Missouri and the Mississippi, from the Mexican gulf and the Atlantic seaboard, from Europe, from Australia, and from China, crowds flocked to the golden shores with an enthusiasm unequalled since the days of the Crusades. In twenty years nearly one thousand million dollars were added to the treasure of the world by the California mines alone. But the golden fruit was an apple of contention.

Polk's Administration was full of memorable transactions, but it quickened all the seeds of dissension.

New Cabinet Department.

During Polk's term an important addition was made to the President's Cabinet by the establishment of **The Department of the Interior.** To the three original departments of the Government, as organized during the Administration of

Washington, had already been added the offices of Postmaster-General and Secretary of the Navy. The Attorney-General had also come to be recognized as a regular member of the Cabinet. With the growth and development of the Nation, it was found that the duties belonging to the Departments of State and the Treasury had become so manifold as to require the establishment of a separate office. Of this "Home Department," the Secretaryship in the next Administration was assigned to Thomas Ewing, of Ohio.

SECTION 4.

POLITICAL PLATFORMS.

1848.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—BALTIMORE, MAY 22.

1. *Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of Government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. *Resolved*, Therefore, that, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative Government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4, of the platform of 1840 (*p. 397*), were reaffirmed.

8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

Resolution 5, of the platform of 1840, was enlarged by the following:

And that the results of Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures, upon which issues have been made between the two

political parties of the country, have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolutions 7, 8 and 9, of the platform of 1840, were here inserted.

13. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the National objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

14. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits can not secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

15. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, invading our sister State of Texas, and upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations, it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

16. *Resolved*, That we would be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt, it is the duty of the country to sustain the Administration and to sustain the country in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

17. *Resolved*, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico, have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes and that more formidable enemy—the diseases of the climate—exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country, and the admiration of the world.

18. *Resolved*, That the Democratic National Convention of thirty States composing the American Republic, tender their fraternal congratulations to the National Convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representative of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of Republicans, to establish Government on those eternal principles of equal rights, for which their Lafayette and our Washington fought side by side

in the struggle for our National independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their councils, on the basis of a democratic Constitution, not derived from the grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend their forms of Government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

19. *Resolved*, That in view of the recent development of this grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people and their capacity and power for self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us Constitutional liberty, equality, and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

20. *Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American minister at Paris, to the National Convention of the Republic of France.

21. *Resolved*, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, President and Vice President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a National Bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the Constitutional Treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty.

22. *Resolved*, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity

of purpose, the energy and ability, which have characterized his Administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him in advance, that at the expiration of his Presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement, the esteem, respect, and admiration of a grateful country.

23. *Resolved*, That this convention hereby present to the people of the United States, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice President of the United States.

1848—BUFFALO PLATFORM—UTICA, JUNE 22.

WHEREAS, We have assembled in convention as a union of freemen for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political difference, in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people; and,

WHEREAS, The political Conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia—the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability—have dissolved the national party organization heretofore existing, by nominating for the Chief Magistracy of the United States, under the slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect; and,

WHEREAS, These nominations so made, furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of free democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control.

1. *Resolved, therefore*, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

2. *Resolved*, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon the State laws alone, which can not be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

3. *Resolved*, That the proviso of Jefferson to prohibit the existence of slavery, after 1800, in all the Territories of the United States, Southern and Northern, the votes of six States and sixteen delegates in Congress of

1784 for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory, by the Ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress, and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

4. *Resolved*, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all Constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

5. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by just implication from them.

6. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the Government possesses Constitutional power to legislate on that subject, and it is thus responsible for its existence.

7. *Resolved*, That the true, and, in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress.

8. *Resolved*, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave States, and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is, no more slave States and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New World.

9. *Resolved*, That the bill lately reported by the committee of eight in the Senate of the United States, was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into the Territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage, in hot haste, by a majority, embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it that their Representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

10. *Resolved*, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril, and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free Government and free Territories; and not only for them, but for our brethren in California and New Mexico.

11. *Resolved*, It is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy; therefore,

12. *Resolved*, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election of the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

13. *Resolved*, That river and harbor improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its Constitutional power, to provide therefor.

14. *Resolved*, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote in various ways the interests of all the States of this Union, and we, therefore, recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

15. *Resolved*, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are, therefore, in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the expenses of the Federal Government, and to pay annual installments of our debt and the interest thereon.

16. *Resolved*, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it we will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

XVIII.

SIXTEENTH ADMINISTRATION—1849–1853.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, PRESIDENT. MILLARD FILLMORE, VICE PRESIDENT.

ALSO,

MILLARD FILLMORE, PRESIDENT. PRES. SENATE, ACTING VICE PRESIDENT.

XXXIst and XXXIId Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Inauguration of Taylor and Fillmore.

Zachary Taylor was inaugurated March 5, 1849, with **Millard Fillmore** as Vice President. The 4th of March is the customary time of inauguration; but when this date falls on Sunday, the President is inaugurated on the 5th. It thus happened with Washington's second term, with Monroe's second term, with Taylor's, and with Hayes's, and the same will again occur in 1905.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

Zachary Taylor was born in Orange county, Virginia, November 24, 1784. His father was a gallant officer of the Continental Army, associated with Washington. His mother was a woman of liberal ideas and of sterling worth. Soon after the birth of Zachary, his parents removed to Kentucky and settled in a wilderness near the present site of Louisville. He therefore had few educational advantages. He toiled on the farm during his minority, and took part in the rude border excitements of the period.

He became a Lieutenant in the United States Army in 1808, and Captain in 1810. In 1812 he was placed in command of Fort Harrison, on the Wabash river, and in September, with fifty men, repulsed an attack by a large force of Indians. For this he received the first brevet (as Major) ever given in the United States service. In 1814, with the rank of Major, he commanded an expedition against the British and Indians on Rock river.

Zachary Taylor

He was employed for several years on the northwest frontier and in the South, where, in 1822, he built Fort Jessup. In 1819 he became Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1832, Colonel, and was engaged in the Black Hawk war. In 1837 he defeated the Seminoles, and was breveted Brigadier General, and in 1838 he was made Commander-in-Chief in Florida. In 1840 he was appointed to the command of the first department of the army in the southwest.

Congress having, in March, 1845, passed the joint resolution annexing Texas, General Taylor was directed to defend it against invasion from Mexico. Early in 1846, with 4,000 troops, he marched to the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, and erected Fort Brown. Arista, the Mexican commander, crossed the Rio Grande with 6,000 men, and on May 8 was defeated by General Taylor at Palo Alto, a few miles from Matomoras. The Mexicans retreated to Resaca de la Palma, and the next day again gave battle to the Americans, who, after a severe contest, drove them across the Rio Grande. Taylor was now made a Major General. On May 18 he entered Matamoras, and in September, with 6,625 men, he marched against Monterey, which was defended by General Ampudia with 10,000 men. After several days' desperate fighting Ampudia capitulated. In February, 1847, General Taylor, with about 5,000 men, was attacked at Buena Vista by Santa Anna with 21,000 men. The Mexicans were defeated.

His soldiers were devoted to him. They called him "Old Rough-and-Ready," and this name became the rallying cry of the party which elected him President. While he declared himself willing to accept the nomination for President, he at the same time expressed his doubts as to his fitness for the position, and insisted upon entire freedom from party pledges. After his inauguration he was in the midst of violent discussions excited by the proposition to admit California into the Union as a free State, and other measures affecting the institution of slavery, upon which his recommendations had deeply

offended the Southern leaders. He was conservative in his views, and although an owner of slaves, was strongly opposed to the Secession party, which began to gain power in the South during his term of office. He died of bilious fever, while President, July 9, 1850.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, MARCH 5, 1849, TO JULY 9, 1850.

	INAUGURATED.
ZACHARY TAYLOR (1784–1850), of Louisiana, President	March 5, 1849

Vice President.

MILLARD FILLMORE (1800–1874), of New York	March 5, 1849

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
JOHN M. CLAYTON (1796–1856), of Delaware	March 7, 1849

Secretary of the Treasury.

WILLIAM M. MEREDITH (1799–1873), of Pennsylvania	March 7, 1849

Secretary of War.

GEORGE W. CRAWFORD (born 1798), of Georgia	March 7, 1849

Secretary of the Navy.

WILLIAM B. PRESTON (1800–1862), of Virginia	March 7, 1849

Secretary of the Home, or Interior Department.

THOMAS EWING (born 1789), of Ohio	March 7, 184

Postmaster-General.

JACOB COLLAMER (1792–1865), of Vermont	March 7, 1849

Attorney-General.

REVERDY JOHNSON (1796–1876), of Maryland	March 7, 1849

Speaker of the House.

	SERVED.
HOWELL COBB (1815–1868), of Georgia	31st Congress, 1849

SECTION 3.

President Taylor's nature was simple, sincere, pure, and affectionate—a good man, clothed by circumstances with the highest powers. But he was unsuited for the Presidency at a time when everything inflamed political strife. The conquests from Mexico revived dissension.

Political Convulsions. California, soon peopled through the attractions of its gold mines, framed a Constitution excluding slavery, and claimed a place among the States. Half of its domain lay south of the line established by the Missouri Compromise. The Northern and Southern States contended for the golden prize. The President was bewildered and powerless. A dissolution of the Union seemed imminent. At this critical period Henry Clay, ever the friend of the Union, reported from a select committee a series of compromises, in a bill termed "the OMNIBUS BILL," from the number and variety of its provisions (May 8, 1850). Clay had submitted his Compromise measures shortly before the application of California for admission. This bill did not pass, but its substance was embodied in separate acts which were adopted during the year (September 9, 1850). It was evident that no compromise of any kind whatever on the subject of slavery, under any one of its aspects separately, much less under all put together, could possibly be made. There was no spirit of concession manifested. The numerous measures put together in Mr. Clay's bill were disconnected. Each measure received a separate and independent consideration, and with a result which showed the injustice of the attempted conjuncture; for no two of them were passed by the same vote, even of the committee which had unanimously reported favorably upon them as a whole.

The provisions of the OMNIBUS BILL, as passed September 9, 1850, were:

The Omnibus Bill.

(1.) California was admitted as a free State.

(2.) The boundary line between Texas and New Mexico was fixed four degrees east of Santa Fe.

(3.) Utah and New Mexico were erected into Territorial Governments, free to introduce slavery or to prohibit it, as the people should decide.

(4.) The barter of slaves was abolished in the District of Columbia.

(5.) The "Fugitive Slave Law" was passed, providing for the capture and delivery to their masters of runaway negroes who had escaped from the South to the North.

The bill was passed, after long debate, in which both Clay and Webster bore a distinguished part. It was gradually divided into a number of separate bills, which were all passed during the months of August and September (1850), by both Houses, and became law. California thus became a State, September 9, 1850. This compromise was opposed by the Whigs and Free Soilers, who considered it a surrender of free soil to the slave power, and by the extreme Southern Democrats, who considered it a surrender of the slaveholder's right to hold his property and slaves wherever he pleased to settle. It was, however, undoubtedly satisfactory to the great majority of the people, as averting civil war and disunion.

The Fugitive Slave Law.

Of the several bills embraced in this Compromise, perhaps the most important in its bearing upon future events was the FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, which was much more stringent in its provisions than the one already in existence. It directed and encouraged the surrender of fugitive slaves by United States Commissioners in the North, without any trial by jury, and commanded all good citizens to aid in making arrests. The arresting of fugitive slaves in the North was carried on dili-

gently. Some Northern Legislatures passed **Personal Liberty Laws**, intended to protect free negroes, falsely alleged to be fugitive slaves.

Death of a Southern Leader.

During the agitation of the slavery question, one of its greatest advocates—John C. Calhoun—died, at Washington. A eulogy upon him was delivered in the Senate by his colleague, Mr. Butler, of South Carolina. Mr. Calhoun was the first great advocate of the doctrine of secession. He was the author of the nullification doctrine, and an advocate of the extreme doctrine of STATES RIGHTS. He was an eloquent speaker—a man of strong intellect. Daniel Webster said of him, that "he had the basis, the indispensable basis of all high characters, and that was unspotted integrity, unimpeached honor and character."

Death of President Taylor.

Like Harrison, Taylor died while Chief Magistrate of the nation. His death occurred July 9, 1850, one year and about four months after his inauguration. He was a victim to changed habits of life and the perplexities which surrounded him. His death at this time was regarded as a national affliction. The whole country mourned his demise. Public business was suspended and eulogies were pronounced by leading statesmen of all parties.

In accordance with the Constitution, the office of President thus devolved upon the Vice President, MR. MILLARD FILLMORE, who was duly inaugurated, July 10, 1850. The new Cabinet, with Daniel Webster as Secretary of State, was duly appointed and confirmed by the Senate. (*See page* 451.)

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore was born in Cayuga county, New York, January 7th, 1800. While a young boy he had the simplest of rudimentary education. He was apprenticed to a trade when fourteen, but being ambitious he studied hard during spare hours, and finally obtaining a release from his master,

Millard Fillmore

he entered a law office as clerk. After two years of drudgery there he went to Buffalo, and although at first almost penniless and an entire stranger, he succeeded in making a living and in winning friends, who secured his admission to the bar. His abilities soon made him known, and his rise was rapid.

His political life commenced in 1828, when he was elected to the State Legislature. In 1832 he was first elected to Congress, and served one term. He was reëlected in 1836, and held his seat until 1842, when he declined a renomination. In doctrine he was a staunch Whig, and took an active part in the debates in Congress. He was appointed chairman of the committee of ways and means, a most important post, and took the leading part in drawing up the Tariff of 1842. After retiring from Congress, Mr. Fillmore was a candidate for Vice President, but failed to secure the nomination. He was also defeated as the Whig nominee for Governor of New York in 1844; but in 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the State, and displayed great ability in that office.

As President, Fillmore won the sincere admiration of his Cabinet. His messages to Congress contained many suggestions of great value to the country, but none of them were carried out owing to purely political reasons. Fillmore signed the various acts comprised in Clay's Compromise measures, being convinced of their Constitutionality; but the Fugitive Slave Law, which was included, was so offensive to the Abolition party that when Mr. Fillmore was again nominated for President, in 1856, by the "American party," he was unable to secure the electoral vote of a single Northern State. He then retired to private life in Buffalo, New York, where he died in 1874, of paralysis.

SECTION 4.

STATISTICS OF FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, JULY 9, 1850, TO MARCH 4, 1853.

	INAUGURATED.
MILLARD FILLMORE, of New York, President.....	July 9, 1850

Acting Vice President and President of the Senate.

WILLIAM R. KING (1786–1853), of Alabama.....July 9, 1850

Secretaries of State.

APPOINTED.

JOHN M. CLAYTON (Taylor's Administration), of Delaware...July 9, 1850
DANIEL WEBSTER (Tyler's Admin.), of Massachusetts.....July 15, 1850
EDWARD EVERETT (1794–1865), of Massachusetts .....Nov. 6, 1852

Secretaries of the Treasury.

WILLIAM M. MEREDITH (Taylor's Admin.), of Pennsylvania..July 9, 1850
THOMAS CORWIN (1794–1865), of Ohio.....July 15, 1850

Secretaries of War.

GEORGE W. CRAWFORD, (Taylor's Admin.), of Georgia.....July 9, 1850
CHARLES M. CONRAD (born 1804), of Louisiana .....July 15, 1850

Secretaries of the Navy.

WILLIAM B. PRESTON (Taylor's Admin.), of Virginia.....July 9, 1850
WILLIAM A. GRAHAM (1800-1870), of North Carolina.....July 15, 1850
JOHN P. KENNEDY (1795–1870), of Maryland.....July 26, 1852

Secretaries of the Interior.

THOMAS EWING (Taylor's Admin.), of Ohio.....July 9, 1850
ALEXANDER H. H. STUART (born 1807), of Virginia.....July 15, 1850

Postmasters General.

JACOB COLLAMER (Taylor's Admin.), of Vermont.....July 9, 1850
NATHAN K. HALL (1810–1861), of New York.....July 15, 1850
SAMUEL D. HUBBARD (1799–1855), of Connecticut.....Nov., 1852

Attorneys General.

REVERDY JOHNSON (Taylor's Admin.), of Maryland.....July 9, 1850
JOHN J. CRITTENDEN (Tyler's Admin.), of Kentucky.....July 15, 1850

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.

HOWELL COBB (1815–1866), of Georgia.....31st Cong., 1849
ROBERT C. WINTHROP (*pro tem.*), of Massachusetts.....31st Cong., 1849
LINN BOYD (1800–1859), of Kentucky.....32d Cong., 1851

State Admitted.—California was admitted as the thirty-first State, September 9, 1850.

SECTION 5.

The Political Situation (1850).

The death of President Taylor and the installation of Fillmore at the head of the Government, had no effect upon party contests, the Administration remaining Whig, as before. Notwithstanding the demise of the Chief Magistrate, the national affairs moved on without disturbance. Mr. Fillmore had risen from obscurity by industry, perseverance, and uprightnesss, and practiced in the Government the virtues by which he had risen.

The passage of the Omnibus Bill allayed for a time political agitation. Public opinion, however, remained as before; in the North was a growing hostility to slavery; in the South, a resolute purpose to defend and extend the institution. The President endeavored to execute the Compromise measures, and to cool the public fever, which was already beyond cure.

The bill for the admission of California being amended, it was called up in the Senate, and made a test question by the Southern friends of the late Mr. Calhoun. The amendment was lost, and the bill for admission passed by a two-thirds vote. Ten Southern Senators offered a written protest against its passage, but on objection being made, followed by debate, the Senate refused to receive the protest, or permit it to be entered on the journal. The bill went to the House, was readily passed, and promptly approved by the President. "Thus was virtually accomplished the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise line; and the extension or non-extension of slavery was then made to form a foundation for future political strife."

The Nashville Convention (1850).

Delegates from seven Southern States met at Nashville (June to November, 1850), to devise remedies for the imminent peril to the institution of slavery, and to the States in which it existed. The remedy contem-

plated by some advocates of this Convention was **secession**, which it was thought might be peaceably effected. This Convention accomplished nothing.

Southern Senators at Washington established a newspaper entitled "*The Southern Press*," devoted to the agitation of the slavery question; to presenting the advantages of disunion, and the organization of a confederacy of Southern States to be called the "UNITED STATES SOUTH." Its aim was to influence concert of action by the States of the South. These occurrences show the sectional spirit that prevailed—that the seeds of discord had taken root, to spring up in the near future.

"United States South."

The island of Cuba was invaded by "Filibusters"—lawless adventurers from the United States—under the leadership of General Lopez (1851). Their object was to aid the Cuban revolutionists to gain their independence of Spain. The Spaniards were apprised of their arrival and proceeded against them with a large force. Lopez and his companions were captured, and he and a number of them were executed at Havana. The prevailing spirit of revolution was signally manifested in later years by the attempt of William Walker to conquer Lower California and Sonora (1853), and to seize Nicaragua (1854). (*See Pierce's Administration.*)

Cuban "Filibusters."

England and France, judging from the attempts of these fillibusters, became anxious lest the United States should desire to annex Cuba to her domain. They therefore proposed a "tripartite treaty," by which each power should disclaim all intention of seizing upon that island, and guarantee its possession to Spain. EDWARD EVERETT, Secretary of State, in a masterly reply, rejected the proposal, and set forth the Monroe doctrine in the strongest terms, declaring that, "while the United States had no intention of violating her good faith toward Spain, she did not recognize in any European power the right of interfering in questions that were purely American.

Austria and Russia having united against Hungary and overthrown her liberties, the Hungarian patriot, LOUIS KOSSUTH, made a tour of the United States, during the summer of 1852, to plead the cause of his native land before the American people, and to obtain private aid for his oppressed countrymen. He was everywhere received with expressions of sympathy and good will, but the long established policy of the United States forbade interference in behalf of the Hungarian patriots.

The Hungarian Patriot.

The PRESIDENTIAL election of 1852 was the last campaign in which the Whig party appeared in National politics. June 1, 1852, the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore. It pledged the Democratic party to a strict observance of the Compromise of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law, and to a steady opposition to any agitation of the slavery question. It nominated **Franklin Pierce**, of New Hampshire, and **William R. King**, of Alabama. The Whig National Convention met at Baltimore, June 16th. It endorsed the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law in terms very similar to those of the Democratic platform. It nominated Winfield Scott, of Virginia, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina. The Free Soil Democratic Convention met at Pittsburgh, August 11th. It adopted a platform declaring slavery to be a sin against God and a crime against man; it also denounced the Compromise of 1850, and the two parties which supported it. It nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana.

Nominating Conventions of 1852.

The election resulted in the choice of **Franklin Pierce** by a popular vote of 1,601,474 and 254 electoral votes, against a popular aggregate vote of 1,542,403 [of which the Free Soilers (Abolitionists) polled 157,926] and 42 electoral votes, for the Whig and Free Soil candidates.

Pierce Elected President.

SECTION 6.

1852—FREE-SOIL PLATFORM—PITTSBURGH, AUGUST 11.

Having assembled in National Convention as the Free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrong and freedom against slavery; confiding in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the American people; putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men the following declaration of principles and measures:

1. That Governments, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

2. That the true mission of American Democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States and the perpetuity of the Union by the impartial application of public affairs, without sectional discriminations of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice, and an economical Administration.

3. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful Constitutional powers.

4. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the General Government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and, therefore, the Government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery wherever it possesses Constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

5. That, to the persevering and importunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—no more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

6. That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

7. That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world; we, therefore, deny its binding force on the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

8. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

9. That the acts of Congress, known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interests of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in the free Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, and the cession of large territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people, through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional fugitive slave law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they claim to be an adjustment.

10. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national; by the total separation of the General Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and Constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

11. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

12. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landed settlers.

13. That due regard for the Federal Constitution, a sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the General Government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the Government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges, and by the election of the people of all civil offices in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

14. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern; and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its Constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

15. That immigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cor-

dial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own Government, and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent Governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or Constitutional Governments.

17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our Government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

18. That as by the Constitution, "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

19. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitrations.

20. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great slave compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

21. That we inscribe on our banner Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

22. That upon this platform the Convention presents to the American people, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commend them to the support of all freemen and all parties.

THOMAS H. BENTON.

This distinguished political standard-bearer and statesman was born near Hillsborough, Orange county, North Carolina, March 14, 1782. His father died when young Benton was eight years old, leaving his mother unprovided with means for giving her son such an education as she desired. Studying a year or two in a grammar school, he took part of the course at Chapel Hill, the State University of North Carolina, but was compelled to leave, as his mother removed to Tennessee to cultivate some land left by her husband. Not liking farm work, he found opportunity to read law, and soon had a lucrative practice. Later he served a single term in the Kentucky Legislature, becoming acquainted with Andrew Jackson, as whose aide-de-camp he afteward served, and for whom he raised a regiment of volunteers during the war with England. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel by President Madison, in 1813, but shortly resigned and opened a law office in St. Louis. Not long after this he established the Missouri *Inquirer*, and killed Mr. Charles Lucas in a duel resulting from strong expressions of opinion in his paper. Benton's paper favored the admission of Missouri, notwithstanding her slavery constitution, and he was elected to the United States Senate, by the Legislature, in September, 1820.

For the next thirty years Mr. Benton was a conspicuous figure in Congress, urging with almost irresistible energy reforms in the land system, the repeal of impost on the necessities of life, the development of the resources of the country, the establishment of a gold and silver basis for the monetary system, the settlement of the slavery question, and many other important measures. In 1849-'50, having gone before the people on the slavery question, he failed of being returned by a Democratic Legislature, but in 1852 he made a direct appeal to the people of the First Congressional District, and was elected. Party divisions defeated him for Congress in 1854, and for the Governorship in 1856. From 1856 to the close of his life, in Washington, April 10, 1858, he devoted himself to literary pursuits, writing a number of works of great political and historical value. The remains of the great Senator are buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis.

XIX.

SEVENTEENTH ADMINISTRATION—1853-1857.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, PRESIDENT. WILLIAM R. KING, VICE PRESIDENT.

XXXIIId and XXXIVth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Inauguration. Franklin Pierce was duly inaugurated as President, March 4, 1853. The oath of office was administered to William R. King, the Vice President elect, by a commission, while he was on a visit to Cuba for the benefit of his health; but he died soon after his return home, and Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, then President of the Senate, acted as Vice President, *ex officio*, during the remainder of the term.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Franklin Pierce, fourteenth President of the United States, was born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804. His father, Benjamin Pierce, was a General in the Revolutionary War. After a thorough preparatory course, he entered Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Maine, where he graduated in 1824. He entered the law office of Levi Woodbury, and was admitted to the bar in 1827. His success in the practice of law was not brilliant at the outset, but by unwearied industry he rose at length to the highest rank as a counsellor and advocate. When a young man he entered the political arena, and supported General Jackson.

In 1829 he became a member of the State Legislature, where he remained four years, during two of which he discharged the duties of Speaker with great ability. In 1833, he was elected to Congress, and remained a member of it until 1837, when he was transferred to the Senate.

In 1834 he was married to the daughter of Dr. Appleton, ex-President of Bowdoin College, and established his resi-

Franklin Pierce

dence at Concord, which he never changed. President Polk tendered him the office of Attorney-General in 1846, which he declined in favor of his own legal practice, which had grown large and lucrative. The war with Mexico, however, drew him from his office. He raised a regiment of New England volunteers, and receiving the commission of Brigadier General, he departed to the Mexican frontier. At the head of a small division he marched to Pueblo and reinforced General Scott, who immediately prepared for his attack on the City of Mexico. Pierce had his leg broken at the battle of Contreras, but refused to leave the field. On the following day he was on duty in the fierce engagement at Churubusco, where, overcome with pain and exhaustion, he fainted on the field. His army life was of the most exciting nature. He died at Concord, New Hampshire, October 8, 1869.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1853-57—FOUR YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
FRANKLIN PIERCE (1804–1869), of N. Hampshire, President	March 4, 1853

Vice Presidents.

WILLIAM R. KING (Fillmore's Admin.), of Alabama	March 4, 1853
JESSE D. BRIGHT (born 1812), of Indiana, (Pres. of Senate)	April 13, 1853
DAVID R. ATCHISON (born 1807), of Kansas	1853–55

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
WILLIAM L. MARCY (1786–1857), of New York	March 7, 1853

Secretary of the Treasury.

JAMES GUTHRIE (1793–1869), of Kentucky	March 7, 1853

Secretary of War.

JEFFERSON DAVIS (born 1808), of Mississippi	March 7, 1853

Secretary of the Navy.

JAMES C. DOBBIN (1814–1857), of North Carolina	March 7, 1853

Secretary of the Interior.

ROBERT MCCLELLAND (born 1807), of Michigan.....March 7, 1853

Postmaster-General.

JAMES CAMPBELL (born 1812), of Pennsylvania.....March 7, 1853

Attorney-General.

CALEB CUSHING (born 1800), of Massachusetts.....March 7, 1853

Speakers of the House.

	SERVED
LINN BOYD (32d Cong.), of Kentucky.....	33d Cong., 1853
NATHANIEL P. BANKS (born 1816), of Massachusetts.....	34th Cong., 1855

SECTION 3.

Pierce's Administration was one of intense political excitement. Party feeling ran high in all parts of the country.

Nature of the Administration.

The President was an advocate of the doctrine of "States Rights," and opposed every anti-slavery movement. His Administration was more remarkable for its futile attempts to reconcile conflicting interests than for the achievement of any particular measure of great public utility.

During the first year trouble arose with Mexico respecting the boundary line between the two countries. This was owing to the inaccuracies of the maps. The difficulty was, however, settled by the United States paying Mexico $10,000,000. This transaction is known as the "GADSDEN PURCHASE," by which the United States acquired 27,000 square miles of territory south of the Gila river, now the Territory of Arizona.

The Gadsden Purchase.

About the same time a diplomatic question arose with Austria, known as the *Martin Koszta Affair*. MARTIN KOSZTA had been a leader in the Hungarian revolt against Austria, and after its suppression he took refuge in the United States, formally declaring his in-

The Martin Koszta Affair.

tention of becoming an American citizen. Having occasion to visit Smyrna, on the Mediterranean coast, he placed himself under the protection of the United States Consul, but was seized by some bandits and carried on board an Austrian ship to answer for his previous conduct. Thereupon Captain Ingraham, commanding the American sloop of war *St. Louis*, loaded his guns, pointed them at the Austrian vessel, and was about to make hot work, when an agreement was made that Koszta should be put in charge of the French Government until his nationality should be decided. A correspondence ensued, which resulted in the release of Koszta and his return to the United States. The correspondence was very able, and extended before its termination to almost every question affecting naturalization and citizenship, and, indeed, to many other important topics of international law. The discussion of the question was carried on between the Austrian Minister at Washington and William L. Marcy, the American Secretary of State.

Three Peaceful Events.

Three peaceful events marked the year 1853. On July 14th, the CRYSTAL PALACE, or WORLD'S FAIR, at New York, was opened by President Pierce for an "Exposition of the arts and industries of all nations." It contained the choicest products of foreign and domestic labor. It was visited by many thousands from all parts of the Union, and had a good effect in stimulating industrial pursuits.

In 1845, Sir JOHN FRANKLIN, a brave English seaman, undertook a voyage of discovery to the extreme north, believing that he could find a passage through an open polar sea into the Pacific; but no tidings ever came from the daring sailor. Several expeditions were sent out in search, but they met with no success. HENRY GRINNELL, a wealthy merchant of New York, at his own expense, dispatched a vessel to find the lost explorers; but the effort was fruitless. Again, in 1853, our Government equipped a new Arctic squadron, in command of Dr. ELISHA KENT KANE; but

the expedition, though rich in scientific results, discovered nothing of the unfortunate Franklin and his crew.

In July, 1853, Commodore PERRY, in command of an American fleet, entered the harbor of Yeddo, and announced the desire of his Government to make a treaty with Japan. That interesting empire had kept itself secluded for centuries from all intercourse with other nations, and the doors were now opened only with caution and reserve. In March, 1854, an important treaty was made, by which that nation agreed to open two of her ports of entry to the United States. A rich commerce soon sprang up, leading to wonderful changes in the policy and relations of Japan.

Filibustering Expeditions.

In 1853, General William Walker, an audacious and unscrupulous adventurer, in violation of the laws of the United States, escaped with a band of filibusters, from the port of San Francisco, and made a descent on Mexican territory in Lower California. He attempted to raise a revolt there, but his company was dispersed and himself made prisoner. He was tried by the authorities of San Francisco and acquitted. He again raised a band of followers, and, in 1855, entered Central America, where, being joined by a regiment of revolutionary natives, he fought and gained several battles. He became so powerful that he was elected President of Nicaragua. He met with varying fortunes; was three times made prisoner, but escaping, found followers in the United States, and continued his scheming. He was finally overpowered and his whole band captured. He was tried by a court martial at Truxillo, Honduras, condemned, and shot. (*See, also, page* 453.)

The Ostend Manifesto.

Cuban difficulties again endangered the peaceable relations of the United States and Spain. The inhabitants of Cuba have long been endeavoring to gain independence. In 1854 another attempt at purchase was made. President Pierce believed that, owing to the financial embarrassment of

the Spanish Government, Cuba might now be purchased at a reasonable price and annexed to the United States. The American Ministers to England, France, and Spain met at Ostend, Belgium, and drew up an instrument known as THE OSTEND MANIFESTO, which set forth the advantages to be derived by both Spain and the United States from the transfer of Cuba, as well as the danger to both nations of allowing it to remain in the possession of Spain. But nothing of practical importance resulted from the embassy or the manifesto.

These grave transactions were of less moment than domestic proceedings. To remove from Federal politics discords on the subject of slavery that might arise in the settlement of the vast region between Missouri and the Rocky Mountains,

Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, Senator from Illinois, introduced the famous "KANSAS-NEBRASKA Bill," to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, leaving slavery to be accepted or rejected by the settlers, and declaring the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. This doctrine was called "**squatter sovereignty.**" It was violently opposed at the South as well as the North, causing violent and intense feeling. It became a law, however, in 1854. It changed the tone and prospects of political parties, occasioned the formation of a new one, which took the name of **Republican**, and hastened the conflict which it sought to avoid. It brought about a "border warfare" between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery men.

Heraldings of the Great Rebellion.

A distinct issue and a battle-ground were presented, and all Federal control of the subject of slavery was renounced. Both sections hastened to appropriate the debatable territory of Kansas. Men advocating admission of the State with slavery, and others equally determined that there should be no slavery, went to Kansas to enforce their respective views. The proximity of Missouri

secured the first advantage for the pro-slavery party; but the action of the Free-Soilers was more systematic and ultimately more effectual. Emigrant aid societies supplied eager columns of squatters from the East with means for the journey, for settlement and for war. "BLUE LODGES" in Missouri and along the border, and other associations, sustained and swelled the opposite party, and armed bodies were brought from the South. Civil war ensued in Kansas. Frauds and outrages of all kinds became habitual; oppressions, cruelties, and murders were frequent. Settlements were broken up, villages besieged, plundered, or destroyed. Skirmishes, forays, and captures were multiplied. "In this horrid strife, JOHN BROWN, of Ossawatomie, a plain, rude enthusiast, stern, fearless, and of indomitable will, became a noted leader of the Free-Soilers. His settlement was twice sacked. One of his sons became insane by harsh treatment and exposure; another, the youngest, was butchered." By these injuries his fanaticism was heightened to frenzy.

Civil War in Kansas.

This Kansas war was stimulated and sustained by political dissensions, and the absence of any civil authority capable of commanding respect. The Territorial Legistature assembled (July, 1855), and enacted stringent laws for the maintenance of slavery. The Free Soilers denied the legality of this Legislature, and in a convention at Topeka, formed a Constitution excluding slavery, under which officers of Government and members of a Legislature were chosen. Governor after Governor was appointed without being able to repress disorder or to appease discontent. Brief tranquillity was obtained toward the close of Pierce's Administration by the activity of Federal dragoons, and by the military dispersion of the Topeka Legislature (January 7, 1857).

"Know-Nothings."

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY appeared in 1852. When the question of slavery in the Territories, and its extension or its abolition in the States, was agitated and was causing sec-

tional differences, many Whigs and Democrats forsook their parties and took sides on the questions of the day. This was aggravated by the large number of alien naturalized citizens constantly added to the ranks of voters who took sides with the Democrats and against the Whigs. *Nativism* then reappeared, but in a new form—that of a secret fraternity. Its real name and objects were not revealed—even to its members, until they reached a high degree in the order; and the answer of members on being questioned on these subjects was, "*I don't know*"—which gave it the popular name, by which it is yet known, of "**Know-Nothing.**" It accepted the name of the **American Party.** Its moving causes were the growing power and designs of the Roman Catholic Church in America; the sudden influx of aliens; and the greed and incapacity of naturalized citizens for office. Its design was to oppose the easy naturalization of foreigners, and to aid the elections of native-born citizens to office. Its cardinal principle was: "Americans must rule America;" and its countersign was the order of General Washington on a critical occasion during the war: "*Put none but Americans on guard to-night.*" Its nominations were made by secret conventions of delegates from the various lodges, and were voted for by all members under penalty of expulsion in case of refusal. At first this American party was really the arbiter of elections. The nominations were confined to selections of the best Whig or best Democrat on the respective tickets. The choice was not made known, but quietly voted for by all the members of the order. The effect was only visible after election, and threw all calculations into chaos. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Know-Nothing organization was adopted by many Southern Whigs, who were unwilling to unite with the Democracy, and became, for a time, a national party. It carried nine of the State elections in 1855, and in 1856 nominated Presidential candidates. After that time its Southern members gradually united with the Democracy, and the Know-Nothing party disappeared from politics.

Rise of the Republican Party.

The "Anti-Nebraska men," in 1856, had adopted the name of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. The Democrats prefixed the contemptuous adjective *Black* (Republican). The new party inherited the desire of the Federalists and Whigs for Protective Tariffs, Internal Improvements, and a system of National Bank Currency, adding the further principle that the Federal Government had power to control slavery in the Territories. From the first its existence was assured. (*See Republican Platform*, 1856, page 473.)

The Sumner-Brooks Difficulty.

During the discussion of the Kansas question in Congress (1856), **Charles Sumner**, Senator from Massachusetts, in a speech had criticised Senator Butler, of South Carolina. After the Senate's adjournment, Representative Brooks, of South Carolina, a relative of Butler, entered the Senate chamber, struck Sumner on the head with a gutta-percha cane till he fell to the floor insensible. The injury thus received was followed by a severe and long disability, from which his recovery was not complete till three or four years later. The House passed a resolution of censure upon Brooks, who immediately resigned, but was unanimously re-elected by his district. "Massachusetts declined to choose another Senator, preferring to leave Sumner's empty chair as her silent protest against unpunished violence."

Presidential Nominations (1856).

The **American** (Know-Nothing) **National Convention** met at Philadelphia, February 22, 1856. Its platform declared that Americans must rule America, and that naturalization should only be granted after twenty-one years' residence, and condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. All the States were represented, except Maine, Vermont, Georgia, and South Carolina. Hon. Millard Fillmore was nominated for President, and Andrew J. Donelson for Vice President.

The **Democratic Convention** met at Cincinnati in May, 1856,

and nominated **James Buchanan**, of Pennsylvania, for President, and JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE, of Kentucky, for Vice President. It adopted the strict constructionist platform of former conventions. It added to it a condemnation of Know Nothingism, an approval of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the substitution of Squatter Sovereignty for the Compromise of 1820.

The first National Convention of the **new Republican** party met at Philadelphia June 18, 1856, and nominated John C. Fremont for President and William L. Dayton, for Vice President. This Convention of delegates assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. (*See Republican Platform*, 1856, page 473.)

The **Whig Convention** met at Baltimore September 17, 1856, and endorsed the nominations made by the American party, but did not accept the platform of that party.

Buchanan Elected President.

At the following November election the Democratic candidates were elected, though by a popular minority vote. In February (1857), the electoral votes were counted. The 5 votes of Wisconsin had not been cast on the 3d of December, as required by law, but on the 4th, and many members were disposed to debate their legality. But the presiding officer declared all debate out of order, and announced the votes—including those of Wisconsin—to be 174 for **Buchanan** and **Breckenridge**, 114 for Fremont and Dayton, and 8 for Fillmore and Donelson.

SECTION 4.

After the election of November, 1856, the Republican Association of Washington issued an address to the people, in which the results of the election were examined, and the future policy of the party stated. We give here this paper in full:

REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON.

ADDRESS TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1856.

The Presidential contest is over, and at last we have some materials to enable us to form a judgment of the results.

Seldom have two parties emerged from a conflict with less of joy in the victors, more of hope in the vanquished. The pro-slavery party has elected its Presidential candidate, only, however, by the votes of a minority, and that of such a character as to stamp the victory as the offspring of sectionalism and temporary causes. The Republicans, wherever able to present clearly to the public the real issue of the canvass—slavery restriction or slavery extension—have carried the people with them by unprecedented majorities; almost breaking up, in some States, the organization of their adversaries. A sudden gathering together of the people, alarmed at the inroads of the slave power, rather than a well organized party, with but a few months to attend to the complicated details of party warfare; obstructed by a secret Order, which had pre-occupied the field, and obtained a strong hold of the national and religious prejudices of the masses; opposed to an old party, commencing the canvass with the united support of a powerful section, hardened by long party drill, accustomed to victory, wielding the whole power of the Federal Administration—a party which only four years ago carried all but four of the States, and a majority of the popular vote—still, under all these adverse circumstances, they have triumphed in eleven, if not twelve, of the free States, pre-eminent for enterprise and general intelligence, and containing one-half of the whole population of the country; given to their Presidential candidate nearly three times as many electoral votes as were cast by the Whig party in 1852; and this day control the Governments of fourteen of the most powerful States of the Union.

Well may our adversaries tremble in the hour of their victory. "The Democratic and *Black* Republican parties," they say, "are nearly balanced in regard to power. The former was victorious in the recent struggle, but success was hardly won, with the aid of important accidental advantages. The latter has abated nothing of its zeal, and has suffered no pause in its preparations for another battle."

With such numerical force, such zeal, intelligence, and harmony in counsel; with so many great States, and more than a million voters rallied to their standard by the efforts of a few months, why may not the Republicans confidently expect a victory in the next contest?

The necessity for their organization still exists in all its force. Mr. Buchanan has always proved true to the demands of his party. He fully accepted the Cincinnati platform, and pledged himself to its policy—a policy of filibustering abroad, propagandism at home. Prominent and

controlling among his supporters are men committed, by word and deed, to that policy; and what is there in his character, his antecedents, the nature of his Northern support, to authorize the expectation that he will disregard their will? Nothing will be so likely to restrain him and counteract their extreme measures, as a vigorous and growing Republican organization, as nothing would be more necessary to save the cause of freedom and the Union, should he, as we have every reason to believe, continue the pro-slavery policy of the present incumbent. Let us beware of folding our arms, and waiting to see what he will do. We know the ambition, the necessities, the schemes of the slave power. Its policy of extension and aggrandizement and universal empire, is the law of its being, not an accident—is settled, not fluctuating. Covert or open, moderate or extreme, according to circumstances, it never changes in spirit or aim. With Mr. Buchanan, the elect of a party controlled by this policy, administering the Government, the safety of the country and of free institutions must rest in the organization of the Republican party.

What, then, is the duty before us? Organization, vigilance, action; action on the rostrum, through the press, at the ballot-box; in State, county, city, and town elections; everywhere, at all times; in every election, making Republicanism, or loyalty to the policy and principles it advocates, the sole political test. No primary or municipal election should be suffered to go by default. The party that would succeed nationally, must triumph in the State elections, must be prepared for municipal success.

Next to the remaining power in the States already under their control, let the Republicans devote themselves to the work of disseminating their principles, and initiating the true course of political action in the States which have decided the election against them. This time we have failed, for reasons nearly all of which may be removed by proper effort. Many thousand honest, but not well-informed voters, who supported Mr. Buchanan under the delusive impression that he would favor the cause of free Kansas will soon learn their mistake, and be anxious to correct it. The timid policy of the Republicans in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, in postponing their independent action, and temporizing with a party got up for purposes not harmonizing with their own, and the conduct of Mr. Fillmore's friends in either voting for Mr. Buchanan, or dividing the opposition by a separate ticket, can hardly be repeated again. The true course of the Republicans is to organize promptly, boldly, and honestly upon their own principles, so clearly set forth in the Philadelphia platform, and, avoiding coalitions with other parties, appeal directly to the masses of all parties to ignore all organizations and issues which would divert the public mind from one danger that now threatens the honor and interests of the country, and the subtlety of the Union—slavery propagandism allied with disunionism.

Let us not forget that it is not the want of generous sentiment, but of sufficient information, that prevents the American people from being united in action against the aggressive policy of the slave power. Were these simple questions submitted to-day to the people of the United States: Are you in favor of the extension of slavery? Are you in favor of such extension by the aid or connivance of the Federal Government? And could they be permitted to record their votes in response, without embarrassment, without constraint of any kind, nineteen-twentieths of the people of the free States, and perhaps more than half of the people of the slave States, would return a decided negative to both.

Let us have faith in the people. Let us believe, that at heart they are hostile to the extension of slavery, desirous that the Territories of the Union be consecrated to free labor and free institutions; and that they require only enlightenment as to the most effectual means of securing this end, to convert their cherished sentiment into a fixed principle of action.

The times are pregnant with warning. That a disunion party exists in the South, no longer admits of a doubt. It accepts the election of Mr. Buchanan as affording time and means to consolidate its strength and mature its plans, which comprehend not only the enslavement of Kansas, and the recognition of slavery in all territory of the United States, but the converson of the lower half of California into a slave State, the organization of a new slavery Territory in the Gadsden Purchase, the future annexation of Nicaragua and subjugation of Central America, and the acquisition of Cuba; and, as the free States are not expected to submit to all this, ultimate dismemberment of the Union, and the formation of a great slaveholding confederacy, with foreign alliances with Brazil and Russia. It may assume at first a moderate tone, to prevent the sudden alienation of its Northern allies; it may delay the development of its plot, as it did under the Pierce Administration; but the repeal of the Missouri Compromise came at last, and so will come upon the country inevitably the final acts of the dark conspiracy. When that hour shall come, then will the honest Democrats of the free States be driven into our ranks, and the men of the slave States who prefer the Republic of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson—a Republic of law, order, and liberty—to an oligarchy of slaveholders and slavery propagandists, governed by Wise, Atchison, Soule, and Walker, founded in fraud and violence and seeking aggrandizement by the spoliation of nations, will bid God speed to the labors of the Republican party to preserve liberty and the Union, one and inseparable, perpetual and all powerful.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 27, 1856.

1856—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17.

This Convention of delegates assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of slavery into free Territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their Territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional

laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their Representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present National Administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her Territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction. (*Page 464.*)

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations of Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all proscriptive legislation affecting their security.

[**Lewis Cass,** an American statesman, was born in New Hampshire in 1782, and died in 1866. He began to practice law at Zanesville, Ohio, in 1802, and was soon after elected to the State Legislature. From 1807 to 1813 he was State Marshal. In the war of 1812 he was Colonel and Brigadier General. From 1813 to 1831 he was Governor of Michigan Territory and *ex officio* Superintendent of Indian affairs. He explored the upper lakes and the head waters of the Mississippi, in 1820, and published the results of this and later expeditions in the "North American Review" for 1828–'9. He was Secretary of War, 1831–'6, and Minister to France, 1836–'42. In 1845 he was elected United States Senator from Michigan, which office he resigned on his nomination as Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1838. He was reëlected to the Senate in 1849 and in 1851. He became Secretary of State in Buchanan's Cabinet in 1857, and resigned in December, 1860, because the President refused to re-enforce Fort Sumter. He published "King, Court, and Government of France," and "Inquiry respecting the History, Tradition, Languages," etc., of the American Indians.]

LEWIS CASS ON THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

From a Speech Made on the 29th of Feb., 1854.

Mr. President:—I have not withheld the expression of my regret elsewhere, nor shall I withhold it here, that this question of repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which opens all the disputed points connected with the subject of Congressional action upon slavery in the Territories of the United States, has been brought before us. I do not think the practical advantages to result from the measure will outweigh the injury which the ill-feeling, fated to accompany the discussion of this subject through the country, is sure to produce. And I was confirmed in this impression from what was said by the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Jones), by the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Dixon), and from North Carolina (Mr. Badger), and also by the remarks which fell from the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Hunter), and in which I fully concur, that the South will never receive any benefit from this measure, so far as respects the extension of slavery; for, legislate as we may, no human power can establish it in the regions defined by these bills. And such were the sentiments of two eminent patriots, to whose exertions we are greatly indebted for the satisfactory termination of the difficulties of 1850, and who since passed from their labors, and, I trust, to their reward. Thus believing, I should have been better content had the whole subject been left as it was by the bill when first introduced by the Senator from Illinois, without any provision regarding the Missouri Compromise. I am aware that it was reported that I intended to propose the repeal of that measure, but it was an error. My intentions were wholly misunderstood. I had no design whatever to take such a step, and thus resuscitate a deed of conciliation which had done its work, and done it well, and which was hallowed by patriotism, by success, and by its association with great names, now transferred to history. It belonged to a past generation; and in the midst of a political tempest

which appalled the wisest and firmest in the land, it had said to the waves of agitation, *Peace, be still*, and they became still. It would have been better, in my opinion, not to disturb its slumber, as all useful and practical objects could have been attained without it. But the question is here without my agency.

CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM ON SLAVERY—OCT. 29, 1855.

[**Clement L. Vallandigham** was a leading Democratic politician of Ohio. He was descended from a Huguenot family, and was born at New Lisbon, Ohio, in 1822. Being favored by circumstances, he was enabled to acquire a good education. For two years after leaving college he was principal of an academy at Snow Hill, Maryland. Returning to Ohio in 1840, he studied law, and in 1842 was admitted to the bar of that State. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1845, also in 1846, and edited the *Dayton Empire* from 1847 to 1849. He afterwards practiced law, and advocated his political views. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1856, which nominated Buchanan; and was successively elected (in 1856, 1858, and 1860) to Congress, serving for a considerable period on the Committee on Territories. In 1863, he was arrested by military authority for alleged sedition speeches and treasonable designs, in direct opposition to a proclamation from General Burnside, the commander of the district. After his trial by court-martial, he was sentenced to be imprisoned until the end of the war, but this sentence was modified to mere banishment within the Confederate lines, unless he should be again found in Northern territory. He went to Bermuda, thence to Canada, where he remained for several months. During his exile his Ohio friends nominated him for Governor, but he was defeated in the election.

While engaged in trying a man-shooting case in court, Mr. Vallandigham endeavored to illustrate, by handling the pistol from which the fatal shot had been fired, how the person was killed, when the weapon was accidentally discharged, the bullet entering his own body and inflicting a wound from the effects of which he died at Lebanon, Ohio, June 17, 1871.]

Slavery, gentlemen, older in other countries also than the records of human society, existed in America at the date of its discovery. The first slaves of the European were natives of the soil, and a Puritan Governor of Massachusetts, founder of the family of Winthrop, bequeathed his soul to God and his Indian slaves to the lawful heirs of his body. Negro slavery was introduced into Hispaniola in 1501; more than a century before the colonization of America by the English. Massachusetts, by express enactment in 1641, punishing "man stealing" with death—and it is so punished to this day under the laws of the United States—legalized, yet the enslaving of captives taken in war, and of such "strangers," *foreigners*, as should be acquired by purchase; while confederate New England, two years later, providing for the equitable division of lands, goods, and "*persons*," as equally a part of the "spoils" of war, enacted also the first fugitive slave law in America. White slaves—convicts and paupers, some of them; others, at a later day, prisoners taken at the battles of Dunbar and Worces-

ter, and of Sedgemoor—were, at the first, employed in Virginia and the British West Indies. Bought in England by English dealers, among whom was the queen of James II., with many of his nobles and courtiers, some of them, perhaps, of the house of Sutherland; they were imported and sold at auction to the highest bidder. In 1620 a Dutch man-of-war first landed a cargo of slaves upon the bank of James river. But the earliest slave ship belonging to English colonists was fitted out in 1645 by a member of the Puritan Church, of Boston. Fostered still by English princes and nobles; confirmed and cherished by British legislation and judicial decisions, even against the wishes and in spite of the remonstrances of the Colonies, the traffic increased; slaves multiplied, and on the 4th of July, 1776, every colony was now become a slave State, and the sun went down that day upon four hundred and fifty thousand of those who, in the cant of eighty years later, are styled "human chattels," but who were not by the act of that day emancipated.

Eleven years afterwards delegates assembled at Philadelphia from every State, except Rhode Island, ignoring the question of the sinfulness and immorality of slavery, as a subject with which they, as the representatives of separate and independent States had no concern, founded a union and framed a Constitution, which, leaving with each State the exclusive control and regulation of its own domestic institutions, and providing for the taxation and representation of slaves, gave no right to Congress to debate or to legislate concerning slavery in the States or Territories, except for the interdiction of the slave trade and the extradition of fugitive slaves. The plan of Union proposed by Franklin in 1754 had contained no allusion even to slavery; and the Articles of Confederation of 1778, but a simple recognition of its existence—so wholly was it regarded then a domestic and local concern. In 1787 every State, except, perhaps, Massachusetts, tolerated slavery either absolutely or conditionally. But the number of slaves north of Maryland, never great, was even yet comparatively small; not exceeding forty thousand in a total slave population of six hundred thousand. In the North, chief carrier of slaves to others even as late as 1807, slavery never took firm root. Nature warred against it in that latitude, otherwise every State in the Union would have been a slave-holding State to this day. It was not profitable there, and it died out, lingering, indeed, in New York till July, 1827. It died out, but not so much by the manumission of slaves as by their transportation and sale in the South; and thus New England, sir, turned an honest penny with her left hand, and with her right modestly wrote herself down in history as both generous and just!

In the South, gentlemen, all this was precisely reversed. The earliest and most resolute enemies to slavery were Southern men. But climate had fastened the institution upon them and they found no way to strike it down. From the beginning, indeed, the Southern Colonies especially had resisted the introduction of African slaves, and at the very outset of the

Revolution, Virginia and North Carolina interdicted the slave trade. The Continental Congress soon after, on the 6th of April, 1776, three months earlier than the Declaration of Independence, resolved that no more slaves ought to be imported into the thirteen Colonies. Jefferson, in his draught of the Declaration, had denounced the King of England alike for encouraging the slave trade and for fomenting servile insurrection in the provinces. Ten years later he boldly attacked slavery in his "Notes on Virginia," and in the Congress of the Confederation, *prior to the adoption of the Constitution, with its solemn compacts and compromises upon the subject of slavery*, proposed to exclude it from the territory northwest of the river Ohio. Colonel Mason, of Virginia, vehemently condemned it in the Convention of 1787. Nevertheless, it had already become manifest that slavery must soon die away in the North, but in the South continue and harden into, perhaps, a permanent, uneradicable system. Hostile interests and jealousies sprang up, therefore, in bitterness even in the Convention. But the blood of the patriot brothers of Carolina and Massachusetts smoked yet upon the battle fields of the Revolution. The recollection of their kindred language and common dangers and sufferings burned still fresh in their hearts. Patriotism proved more powerful than jealousy and good sense stronger than fanaticism. There were no Sewards, no Hales, no Sumners, no Greeleys, no Parkers, no Chase in that Convention. There was a *Wilson*, but he rejoiced not in the name of *Henry*, and he was a Scotchman. There was a clergyman—no, not in the Convention of '87, but in the Congress of '76, but it was the devout, the learned, the pious, the patriotic Witherspoon, of foreign birth also, a native of Scotland, too. The men of that day and generation, sir, were content to leave the question of slavery just where it belonged. It did not occur to them that each one among them was accountable for "the sin of slave-holding" in his fellow, and that to ease his tender conscience of the burden, all the fruits of Revolutionary privation and blood and treasure, all the recollections of the past, all the hopes of the future, nay, the Union, and with it domestic tranquillity and national independence ought to be offered up as a sacrifice. They were content to deal with political questions, and to leave cases of conscience to the church and the schools, or to the individual man. And, accordingly, to this Union and Constitution, based upon these compromises—execrated now as "covenants with death and leagues with hell"—every State acceded; and upon these foundations, thus broad and deep, and stable, a political superstructure has, as if by magic, arisen, which in symmetry and proportion—and, if we would but be true to our trust, in strength and durability—find no parallel in the world's history.

Patriotic sentiments, sir, such as marked the era of '89, continued to guide the statesmen and people of the country for more than thirty years, full of prosperity; till in a dead political calm, consequent upon temporary extinguishment of the ancient party lines and issues, the Missouri Question resounded through the land with the hollow moan of the earth-

quake, shook the pillars of the republic even to their deepest foundations. Within these thirty years, gentlemen, slavery as a system, had been abolished by law or disuse, quietly and without agitation, in every State north of Mason and Dixon's Line—in many of them, lingering, indeed, in individual cases, so late as the census of 1840. But except in half a score of instances, the question had not been obtruded upon Congress. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 had been passed without opposition and without a division, in the Senate; and by a vote of forty-eight to seven, in the House. The slave trade had been declared piracy, punishable with death. Respectful petitions from the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and others, upon the slavery question, were referred to a committee, and a report made thereon, which laid the matter at rest. Other petitions afterwards were quietly rejected, and, in one instance, returned to the petitioner. Louisiana and Florida, both slaveholding countries, had without agitation been added to our territory. Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, slave States each one of them, had been admitted into the Union without a murmur. No Missouri Restriction, no Wilmot Proviso had as yet reared its discordant front to terrify and confound. Non-intervention was then both the practice and the doctrine of the statesmen and people of that period; though, as yet, no hollow platform enunciated it as an article of faith, from which, nevertheless, obedience might be withheld, and the platform "spit upon," provided the tender conscience of the recusant did not forbid him to support the candidate and help to secure the "spoils."

I know, sir, that it is easy, very easy, to denounce all this as a defense of slavery itself. Be it so; be it so. But I have not discussed the institution in any respect; moral, religious, or political. Hear me. I express no opinion in regard to it; and as a citizen of the North, I have ever refused, and will steadily refuse, to discuss the system in any of these particulars. It is precisely this continued and persistent discussion and denunciation in the North which has brought upon us this present most perilous crisis; since to teach men to hate, is to prepare them to destroy, at every hazard, the object of their hatred. Sir, I am resolved only to look upon slavery outside of Ohio, just as the founders of the Constitution and the Union regarded it. It is no concern of mine; none, none; nor of yours, Abolitionists. Neither of us will attain heaven by denunciations of slavery; nor shall we, I trow, be cast into hell for the sin of others who may hold slaves. I have not so learned the moral government of the universe; nor do I presumptuously and impiously aspire to attributes of Godhead, and seek to bear upon my poor body the iniquities of the world.

I know well indeed, Mr. President, that in the evil day which has befallen us, all this and he who utters it, shall be denounced as "pro-slavery;" and already from ribald throats there come up from slavering, drivelling idiots the epithet of "dough-face." Again, be it so. These, Abolitionist, are your only weapons of warfare, and I hurl them back de-

fiantly into your teeth. I speak thus boldly, because I speak in and to and for the North. It is time that the truth should be known and heard, in this, the age of trimming and subterfuge. I speak this day not as a Northern man, nor as a Southern man; but, God be thanked, still as a United States man, with United States principles; and though the worst happen that can happen—though all be lost, if that shall be our fate, and I walk through the valley of the shadow of political death, I will live by them and die by them. If to love my country; to cherish the Union; to revere the Constitution; if to abhor the madness and hate the treason which would lift up a sacrilegious hand against either; if to read that in the past, to behold it in the present, to foresee it in the future of this land, which is of more value to us and the world for ages to come, than all the multiplied millions who have inhabited Africa from the creation to this day; if this it is to be *pro-slavery*, then, in every nerve, fibre, vein, bone, tendon, joint, and ligament, from the topmost hair of the head to the last extremity of the foot, I am all over and altogether a PRO-SLAVERY MAN.

HENRY A. WISE AGAINST KNOW-NOTHINGISM—SEPT. 18, 1852.

[**Henry A. Wise,** a politician, was born in Virginia in 1806, and died in 1876. He was a lawyer, a member of Congress (1833-'43), becoming a Whig, and minister to Brazil (1844-'47). He was elected Governor of Virginia as a Democrat in 1855. Toward the close of his term occurred the seizure of Harper's Ferry by John Brown, whose execution (December 2, 1859), was one of the last acts of his Administration. After the secession of Virginia he was appointed a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army.]

The laws of the United States—Federal and State laws—declare and defend the liberties of our people. They are free in every sense—free in the sense of Magna Charta and beyond Magna Charta; free by the surpassing franchise of *American* charters, which make them sovereign and their wills the sources of Constitutions and laws.

* * * * * * * * * *

A Prussian-born subject came to this country. He complied with our naturalization laws in all respects—of notice of intention, residence, oath of allegiance, and proof of good moral character. He remained continuously in the United States the full period of five years. When he had fully filled the measure of his probation and was consummately a naturalized citizen of the United States, he then, and not until then, returned to Prussia to visit an aged father. He was immediately, on his return, seized and forced into the Landwehr, or militia system of Prussia, under the maxim: "Once a citizen, always a citizen!" There he is forced to do service to the King of Prussia at this very hour. He applies for protection to the United States. Would the Know-Nothings interpose in his behalf or not? Look at the principles involved. We, by our laws, en-

couraged him to come to our country, and here he was allowed to become naturalized, and to that end required to renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to the King of Prussia, and to swear allegiance and fidelity to the United States. The King of Prussia now claims no legal forfeiture from him—he punishes him for no crime—he claims of him no legal debt—he claims alone that very allegiance and fidelity which we required the man to abjure and renounce. Not only so, but he hinders the man from returning to the United States, and from discharging the allegiance and fidelity we required him to swear to the United States. The King of Prussia says he should do him service for seven years, for this was what he was born to perform; his obligations were due to him first, and his laws were first binding upon him. The United States say: True, he was born under your laws, but he had a right to expatriate himself; he owed allegiance first to you, but he had a right to forswear it and to swear allegiance to us; your laws first applied, but this is a case of political obligation, not of legal obligation; it is not for any crime or debt you claim to bind him, but it is for allegiance; and the claim you set up to his services on the ground of his political obligation, his allegiance to you, which we allow him to abjure and renounce, is inconsistent with his political obligation, his allegiance, which we required him to swear to the United States; he has sworn fidelity to us, and we have, by our laws pledged protection to him.

Such is the issue. Now, with which will the Know-Nothings take sides? With the King of Prussia against our naturalized citizen and against America, or with America and our naturalized citizen? Mark, now, Know-Nothingism is opposed to all foreign influence—against American institutions. The King of Prussia is a pretty potent foreign influence—he was one of the Holy Alliance of crowned heads. Will they take part with him, and not protect the citizen? Then they will aid a foreign influence against our laws? Will they take sides with our naturalized citizen? If so, then upon what grounds? Now, they must have a good cause of interposition to justify us against all the received dogmas of European despotism. * * * * * * * *

In the affair of Koszta, how did our blood rush to his rescue? Did the Know-Nothings side with him and Mr. Marcy, or with Hulseman and Austria? If with Koszta, why? Let them ask themselves for the *rationale*, and see if it can in reason abide with their orders. There is no middle ground in respect to naturalization. We must either have naturalization laws and let foreigners become citizens, on equal terms of capacities and privileges, or we must exclude them altogether. If we abolish naturalization laws, we return to the European dogma: "Once a citizen, always a citizen." If we let foreigners be naturalized and don't extend to them equality of privileges, we set up classes and distinctions of persons

wholly opposed to republicanism. We will, as Rome did, have citizens who may be scourged. The three alternatives are presented—our present policy, liberal, and just, and tolerant, and equal; or the European policy of holding the noses of native-born slaves to the grindstone of tyranny all their lives; or, odious distinctions of citizenship tending to social and political aristocracy. I am for the present laws of naturalization.

As to religion, the Constitution of the United States, Art. 6, Sec. 3, especially provides that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. The State of Virginia has, from her earliest history, passed the most liberal laws, not only towards naturalization, but towards foreigners. But I have said enough to show the spirit of American laws and the true sense of American maxims.

3. Know-Nothingism is against the spirit of Reformation and of Protestantism.

What was there to reform?

Let the most bigoted Protestant enumerate what he defines to have been the abominations of the church of Rome. What would he say were the worst? The secrets of Jesuitism, of the Auto da fe, of the Monasteries and of the Nunneries. The private penalties of the Inquisition's Scavenger's Daughter. Proscription, persecution, bigotry, intolerance, shutting up of the book of the word. And do Protestants now mean to out-Jesuit the Jesuits? Do they mean to strike and not be seen? To be felt and not to be heard? To put a shudder upon humanity by the masks of mutes? Will they wear the monkish cowls? Will they inflict penalties at the polls without reasoning together with their fellows at the hustings? Will they proscribe? Persecute? Will they bloat up themselves into that bigotry which would burn non-conformists? Will they not tolerate freedom of conscience, but doom dissenters, in secret conclave, to a forfeiture of civil privileges for a religious difference? Will they not translate the scripture of their faith? Will they visit us with dark lanterns and execute us by signs, and test oaths, and in secrecy? Protestantism! forbid it!

If anything was ever open, fair, and free—if anything was ever blatant even—it was the Reformation. To quote from a mighty British pen: "It gave a mighty impulse and increased activity to thought and inquiry, agitated the inert mass of accumulated prejudices throughout Europe. The effect of the concussion was general, but the shock was greatest in this country (England). It toppled down the full grown intolerable abuses of centuries at a blow; heaved the ground from under the feet of bigoted faith and slavish obedience; and the roar and dashing of opinions, loosened from their accustomed hold, might be heard like the noise of an angry sea, and has never yet subsided. Germany first broke the spell of misbegotten fear, and gave the watchword; but England joined the shout, and echoed it back, with her island voice, from her thousand cliffs and craggy shores, in a longer and louder strain. With that cry the genius of Great

Britain rose, and threw down the gauntlet to the nations. There was a mighty fermentation; the waters were out; public opinion was in a state of projection; liberty was held out to all to think and speak the truth; men's brains were busy; their spirits stirring; their hearts full; and their hands not idle. Their eyes were open to expect the greatest things, and their ears burned with curiosity and zeal to know the truth, that the truth might make them free. The death blow which had been struck at scarlet vice and bloated hypocrisy, loosened tongues, and made the talismans and love tokens of popish superstitions with which she had beguiled her followers and committed abominations with the people, fall harmless from their necks."

* * * * * * * * *

ROBERT TOOMBS ON SLAVERY,

At Tremont Temple, Boston, January 24, 1856.

[**Robert Toombs,** a politician, was born in Georgia, in 1810. He studied law, served under General Scott as Captain of volunteers in the Creek War in 1836, and was a member of Congress (1845–'53), and afterward a United States Senator. He was a leader of the extreme Southern party, was expelled from the Senate, March 14, 1861, after having withdrawn and entered the Confederate Congress. He was for a short time Secretary of State of the Confederate States, and served as a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army.]

In 1790 there were less than seven hundred thousand slaves in the United States; in 1850 the number exceeded three and one-quarter millions. The same authority shows their increase, for the ten years preceding the last census, to have been above 28 per cent., or nearly 3 per cent. per annum, an increase equal, allowing for the element of foreign immigration, to the white race, and nearly three times that of the free blacks of the North. But these legal rights of the slave embrace but a small portion of the privileges actually enjoyed by him. He has, by universal custom, the control of much of his own time, which is applied, at his own choice and convenience, to the mechanic arts, to agriculture, or to some other profitable pursuit, which not only gives him the power of purchase over many additional necessaries of life, but over many of its luxuries, and in numerous cases enables him to purchase his freedom when he desires it. Besides, the nature of the relation of master and slave begets kindness, imposes duties (and secures their performance), which exist in no other relation of capital and labor. Interest and humanity co-operate in harmony for the well-being of slave labor. Thus the monster objection to our institution of slavery, that it deprives labor of its wages, can not stand the test of a truthful investigation. A slight examination of the true theory of wages will further expose its fallacy. Under a system of free labor wages are usually paid in money, the representative of products—under ours, in

products themselves. One of your most distinguished statesmen and patriots, President John Adams, said that the difference to the State was "imaginary." "What matters it (said he) whether a landlord, employing ten laborers on his farm, gives them annually as much money as will buy them the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand?" All experience has shown that if that be the measure of the wages of labor, it is safer for the laborer to take his wages in products than in their fluctuating pecuniary value. Therefore, if we pay in the necessaries and comforts of life more than any given amount of pecuniary wages will buy, then our laborer is paid higher than the laborer who receives that amount of wages. The most authentic agricultural statistics of England show that the wages of agricultural and unskilled labor in that kingdom not only fail to furnish the laborer with the comforts of our slave, but even with the necessaries of life; and no slaveholder could escape a conviction for cruelty to his slaves who gave his slave no more of the necessaries of life for his labor than the wages paid to their agricultural laborers by the noblemen and gentlemen of England would buy. Under their system man has become less valuable and less cared for than domestic animals; and noble dukes will depopulate whole districts of men to supply their places with sheep, and then with intrepid audacity lecture and denounce American slaveholders.

* * * * * * * * * *

But it is objected that religious instruction is denied the slave—while it is true that religious instruction and privileges are not enjoined by law in all of the States, the number of slaves who are in connection with the different churches abundantly proves the universality of their enjoyment of those privileges. And a much larger number of the race in slavery enjoy the consolations of religion than the efforts of the combined Christian world have been able to convert to Christianity out of all the millions of their countrymen who remained in their native land.

The immoralities of the slaves, and of those connected with slavery, are constant themes of Abolition denunciation. They are lamentably great; but it remains to be shown that they are greater than with the laboring poor of England, or any other country. And it is shown that our slaves are without the additional stimulant of want to drive them to crime—we have at least removed from them the temptation and excuse of hunger. Poor human nature is here at least spared the wretched fate of the utter prostration of its moral nature at the feet of its physical wants. Lord Ashley's report to the British Parliament shows that in the capital of that empire, perhaps within the hearing of Stafford House and Exeter Hall, hunger alone daily drives its thousands of men and women into the abyss of crime.

It is also objected that our slaves are debarred the benefits of education. This objection is also well taken, and is not without force. And for this evil the slaves are greatly indebted to the Abolitionists. Formerly in

none of the slaveholding States was it forbidden to teach slaves to read and write; but the character of the literature sought to be furnished them by the Abolitionists caused these States to take counsel rather of their passions than their reason, and to lay the axe at the root of the evil; better counsels will in time prevail, and this will be remedied. It is true that the slave, from his protected position, has less need of education than the free laborer, who has to struggle for himself in the warfare of society; yet it is both useful to him, his master, and society.

The want of legal protection to the marriage relation is also a fruitful source of agitation among the opponents of slavery. The complaint is not without foundation. This is an evil not yet removed by law; but marriage is not inconsistent with the institution of slavery as it exists among us, and the objection, therefore, lies rather to an incident than to the essence of the system. But in the truth and fact marriage does exist to a very great extent among slaves, and is encouraged and protected by their owners; and it will be found, upon careful investigation, that fewer children are born out of wedlock among slaves than in the capitals of two of the most civilized countries of Europe—Austria and France; in the former, one-half of the children are thus born; in the latter, more than one-fourth. But even in this we have deprived the slave of no pre-existing right. We found the race without any knowledge of or regard for the institution of marriage, and we are reproached with not having as yet secured to it that, with all other blessings of civilization. To protect that and other domestic ties by laws forbidding, under proper regulations, the separation of families, would be wise, proper, and humane; and some of the slaveholding States have already adopted partial legislation for the removal of these evils. But the objection is far more formidable in theory than in practice. The accidents and necessities of life, the desire to better one's condition, produce infinitely a greater amount of separation in families of the white than ever happens to the the colored race. This is true even in the United States, where the general condition of the people is prosperous. But it is still more marked in Europe. The injustice and despotism of England toward Ireland has produced more separation of Irish families, and sundered more domestic ties within the last ten years than African slavery has effected since its introduction into the United States. The twenty millions of freemen in the United States are witnesses of the dispersive injustice of the Old World. The general happiness, cheerfulness, and contentment of slaves attest both the mildness and humanity of the system and their natural adaptation to their condition. They require no standing armies to enforce their obedience; while the evidence of discontent, and the appliances of force to repress it, are everywhere visible among the toiling millions of the earth; even in the Northern States of this Union, strikes and mobs, unions and combinations against employers, attest at once the misery and discontent of labor among them. England keeps one hundred thousand soldiers in time of peace, a large navy, and an innumer-

able police, to secure obedience to her social institutions; and physical force is the sole guarantee of her social order, the only element of her gigantic empire.

I have briefly traced the condition of the African race through all ages and all countries, and described it fairly and truly under American slavery, and I submit that the proposition is fully proven, that his position in slavery among us is superior to any which he has ever attained in any age or country. The picture is not without shade as well as light; evils and imperfections cling to man and all of his works, and this is not exempt from them.

XX

EIGHTEENTH ADMINISTRATION—1857–1861.

JAMES BUCHANAN, PRESIDENT. JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE, VICE PRESIDENT.

XXXVth and XXXVIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Buchanan and **Breckenridge** were duly inaugurated on March 4, 1857. President Buchanan announced that "the object of his Administration would be to destroy any sectional party and to restore, if possible, that national, fraternal feeling between the different States that had existed during the days of the fathers of the Republic." It was too late—interests were too widely divided, sentiments were too discordant, passions were too highly inflamed.

Buchanan's Message.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

James Buchanan was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, April 22, 1791. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1809, was admitted to the bar at Lancaster in 1812, and soon obtained a large practice. He was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1814, and in 1821 to Congress, where he remained ten years.

In the Presidential election of 1828 he took an active part in favor of General Jackson, and in the next Congress was chair-

James Buchanan.

man of the Judiciary Committee. In 1829 he was one of the managers chosen by the House for the impeachment of Judge Peck. He was appointed Minister to Russia in 1831, and concluded the first commercial treaty between that country and the United States.

In 1833 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he became chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and remained till 1845, when he entered the Cabinet of President Polk as Secretary of State. In the Senate he held that Congress had no power to legislate on the subject of slavery, and he was one of the earliest advocates of the annexation of Texas, and the only member of the Committee on Foreign Relations who reported in favor of it.

At the close of Polk's Administration (1849), Mr. Buchanan retired to private life. From 1853 to 1856 he was Minister to England, and with the Ministers to Spain and France, Soule and Mason, drew up the celebrated "OSTEND MANIFESTO" (*page* 464), in favor of the purchase of Cuba by the United States. In 1856 Mr. Buchanan was elected President by the Democratic party, receiving 174 electoral votes from nineteen States, against 114 for Fremont and 8 for Fillmore. The unsettled condition of Kansas, troubles with the Mormons, and the John Brown affair distracted his Administration, and the Secession movement broke out at its close.

In his message of December, 1860, he expressed a hope that the issue of disunion would be averted, attributed the impending troubles to the Northern agitation of the slavery question, and argued that Congress had no power to coerce into submission a seceding or seceded State. He held that it was the duty of the Executive to see that the laws be faithfully executed, but that circumstances had put it out of his power to do this in South Carolina. He afterward refused to treat with the South Carolina commissioners for the delivery to that State of Federal property, to order the with-

drawal of United States troops from Charleston harbor, or to reënforce.

In 1866 he published a book entitled "Mr. Buchanan's Administration." He died June 1, 1868.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1857–'61—FOUR YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
JAMES BUCHANAN (1791–1868), of Pennsylvania, President	March 4, 1857

Vice President.

JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE (born 1821), of Kentucky	March 4, 1857

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
LEWIS CASS (1783–1866), of Michigan	March 5, 1857
JEREMIAH S. BLACK (born 1810), of Pennsylvania	Dec. 17, 1860

Secretaries of the Treasury.

HOWELL COBB (1815–1868), of Georgia	March 5, 1857
PHILIP F. THOMAS (born 1810), of Maryland	Dec. 12, 1860
JOHN A. DIX (born 1798), of New York	Jan. 11, 1861

Secretaries of War.

JAMES B. FLOYD (1805–1863), of Virginia	March 5, 1859
JOSEPH HOLT (born 1807), of Kentucky	Dec. 31, 1860

Secretary of the Navy.

ISAAC TOUCEY (1796–1869), of Connecticut	March 5, 1857

Secretary of the Interior.

JACOB THOMPSON (born 1810), of Mississippi	March 5, 1857

Postmasters General.

HORATIO KING (born 1811), of Maine (declined)	March 4, 1857
AARON V. BROWN (1795–1859), of Tennessee	March 5, 1857
JOSEPH HOLT (born 1807), of Kentucky	March, 1859
HORATIO KING, of Maine	Feb. 12, 1861

Attorneys General.

JEREMIAH S. BLACK (born 1810), of Pennsylvania.....March 5, 1857
EDWIN M. STANTON (1814–1869), of Pennsylvania.....Dec. 20, 1860

Speakers of the House.

	SERVED.
JAMES L. ORR (1822–1873), of South Carolina	35th Cong., 1857
WILLIAM PENNINGTON (1797–1862), of New Jersey	36th Cong., 1859

Three Free States Admitted.—During Buchanan's Administration—

Minnesota was admitted as the thirty-second State, May 11, 1858.

Oregon was admitted as the thirty-third State, February 14, 1859.

Kansas was admitted as the thirty-fourth State, January 29, 1861.

SECTION 3.

Two days after Mr. Buchanan's inauguration, additional provocation was given to the political opponents of slavery by a judgment of the Supreme Court, through Chief Justice TANEY, which declared that slave owners might take their slaves into any State in the Union without forfeiting authority over them. In the "Dred Scott case," it was decided that a negro was not a citizen, and it was held by two-thirds of the judges that the Missouri Compromise was contrary to the Constitution. The DRED SCOTT case, though one of the most important ever decided in the United States, was originally a case of simple assault and battery. Scott and his wife were slaves, belonging to a surgeon in the United States army. They were taken into and resided in Illinois, and at Fort Snelling, in territory where, by the ordinance of 1787, slavery was forever prohibited. Afterward they were carried into Missouri, where they and their children were held as slaves. There he was whipped for some offense and brought suit for damages, claiming freedom on the ground that by the act of his master he and wife had been

The "Dred Scott" Decision.

taken into free territory. The owner's demurrer denied that the plaintiff was a citizen, or could sue, since he was descended from slave ancestors and never had been set free. This was decided against him by the State Circuit Court of Missouri, and judgment given in favor of Dred Scott.

By successive appeals the case finally reached the United States Supreme Court. The decision of this Court was, in substance, that the ancestors of negro slaves were not regarded as *persons* by the founders of the Government, but as *chattels;* that the plaintiff, Dred Scott, was no citizen of Missouri, but a chattel, without standing in Court, and his case must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction. The Court further took occasion to observe that Congress had no more right to prohibit the carrying of slaves into any State or Territory than it had to prohibit the carrying thither of horses or any other property, for slaves were property, whose secure possession was guaranteed by the Constitution. The decision of the Supreme Court against Scott created intense excitement through the North. The results of this decision tended to show the failure of the Supreme Court as an arbiter, and to call the attention of the North to the impracticable demands of the slave-owners.

Incipiency of Secession.

The Southern slave-owners had grown into a SLAVE POWER. In 1857 they controlled the South, the South controlled the Democratic party, and the Democratic party controlled the Union. In the Kansas struggle they were overmatched by the superior power, resources, and enthusiasm of the free States, and were therefore becoming extremely doubtful of success in the contest. The territory acquired from Mexico had not yielded the expected increase of slave States and United States Senators. The failure to make Kansas a slave State left but three available courses to pursue—to add Cuba to the Union as material for new slave States, to acquire new and more populous territory south of Texas for the same purpose, or to re-open the African slave trade. "Failing in all

these, they desired a **Secession**, or separation, from the free States, and the formation of an INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT, in which slavery would be secured from all attacks or restrictions."

Many slave-owners demanded a re-opening of the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. They believed that the South had been overpowered in the Kansas struggle because of her inability to pour slaves into the new Territory at once. There was a strong probability that the next Democratic Convention would declare in favor of renewing the slave trade with Africa.

The Lecompton Convention.

In Congress the debates were mainly upon the Kansas struggle. A Pro-Slavery Convention, at Lecompton, formed a State Constitution (1857). This was to be submitted to the people, but only votes "For the Constitution *with* Slavery," or "For the Constitution *without* Slavery" were to be received. Not being allowed in either event to vote against the Constitution, the Free State settlers refused to vote at all, and the LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION *with* slavery received a majority.

The refusal of the free State men to vote on the Lecompton Constitution gave their opponents an advantage in position at variance with the wishes of the majority of the people. The President of that Convention forwarded the document to President Buchanan with an official request that it be submitted to Congress. This the President did in his message of February 2, 1858, recommending the admission of Kansas under it. The message created a violent debate, which continued for three months. Sectional abuse and bitterness characterized the debates in both Houses of Congress. The House passed the bill, with the proviso that the Constitution should again be submitted to a popular vote. The Senate rejected the proviso. A conference committee recommended that the bill of the House should be adopted, with

Bitter Debates in Congress.

an additional proviso making large grants of public lands to the new State, if the people of Kansas should vote to adopt the Lecompton Constitution. In this form the bill was passed by both Houses, and became law. The proffered inducement of public lands was a failure, and in August (1858) the Lecompton Constitution was rejected by a large vote. Kansas, therefore, still remained a Territory. In 1859, at an election called by the Territorial Legislature, the people decided in favor of another Convention to form a State Constitution. This body met at Wyandot in July, 1859, and adopted a State Constitution prohibiting slavery. The **Wyandot Constitution** was submitted to the people. It was adopted by a majority exceeding 4,000, and under it Kansas was admitted to the Union on the 29th of January, 1861.

Kansas Admitted.

The Mormons. (*See also Arthur's Administration.*)

The authority of the General Government had been openly resisted in Utah, and in 1857 a military force was sent across the plains to reduce the MORMONS to submission. For years they had defied the authority of the Government, acknowledging no Governor but BRIGHAM YOUNG. This sect had sprung up in the State of New York (1827), and had emigrated to Missouri (1838), from Missouri to Illinois (1839), and from Illinois to Utah, which was named by them DESERET. Their faith was founded on certain "golden plates," engraved with supplementary Scriptures, and designated "the Book of Mormon." The plates were represented to have been buried by a remnant of the Lost Tribes of Israel, and were discovered and interpreted by JOSEPH SMITH, who thus became the founder, the leader, and the prophet of "The Latter Day Saints." These Mormons had been expelled from Missouri, and had been assailed at their settlement in Illinois, at Nauvoo, on the Mississippi, by Governor Ford and the militia. Joseph Smith and his brother Hiram were confined in the jail at Carthage, and were murdered there by a mob (June, 1844).

Their followers crossed the desert, and, under BRIGHAM YOUNG, the successor of the prophet, formed an independent community in the wilderness of the Rocky Mountains (1845-6). Here the Great Basin seemed to be closed in from the access of the profane world, and the new Canaan recalled the old by its salt inland sea and its river without further outlet. When the President extended the jurisdiction of the United States over this remote Territory, the officers were resisted and defied. To secure obedience, General Albert Sidney Johnston was sent across the plains with a force of twenty-five hundred men (1857). After much delay and embarrassment, the difficulties of the way and of subsistence were surmounted. On the arrival of the army before Salt Lake City, terms of submission were proposed and accepted (1858).

The John Brown Raid.

The acrimony of feeling between the Northern and Southern States was aggravated by a bold and startling event at Harper's Ferry, on the edge of Virginia. October 16, 1859, JOHN BROWN, with a company of twenty-one men, believing that he would be justified in taking the law into his own hands, seized upon the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and proclaimed freedom to all the slaves in that vicinity. This was the same Brown who had signalized his desperate courage in the Kansas records (*page* 466). United States troops arrested him and his band, after some resistance, and he and six of his associates were tried, convicted of treason, and hanged (December 2, 1859). This act of Brown was regarded by the South as indicative of Northern sentiment, and the most intense animosity was aroused. This was a **forerunner** of the **Great Civil War.** The right and wrong of slavery was thereafter more generally discussed than ever. The talent of the South favored it; while, with at least a large measure of truth, it can be said that the talent of the North opposed it. So bitter grew the feeling that soon the churches of the sections began to divide, no other

political question having ever before disturbed the church union.

The Homestead Bill.

In December, 1858, the HOMESTEAD BILL was debated. It gave heads of families the right to purchase one hundred and sixty acres of public lands at $1.25 per acre. It was passed by the House, but postponed by the Senate. At the next session of Congress, in December, 1859, the bill was again passed by the House. The Senate passed a substitute, to which the House agreed, giving public lands to actual settlers at twenty-five cents per acre. It was vetoed by the President, on the ground that it was unjust to the older States in really giving away lands to the newer States. The Southern opposition to a Homestead Bill seems to have come from the apprehension that it would increase immigration in the North-West, and thus increase the Free State representation in the Senate.

The Charleston-Baltimore Convention.

The DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION met at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 2d of April, 1860. It was composed of delegates from all the thirty-three States of the Union. It adopted the two-third rule. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, presided. A radical difference of opinion was exhibited among the members on the question of slavery in the Territories. The entire South and a minority of the North held that slave property was as valid under the Constitution as any other class of property. The proceedings were stormy, and resulted in the splitting of the Convention and the party into two distinct fragments, through the refusal of the Douglas Democrats to agree to the demands of the Southern wing. The strict constructionist platforms of past Conventions were reaffirmed by both factions; they also declared for a Pacific Railway and for the acquisition of Cuba. The Southern delegates offered additional resolutions, affirming the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision, that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislatures had a right to pro-

hibit slavery in the Territories. The Douglas delegates (Northern Democrats) stood firmly by the theory of Popular Sovereignty, and offered a resolution that the party would abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Convention adopted the Douglas platform, whereupon the delegations from many Southern States successively protested and withdrew. The Convention then proceeded to ballot fifty-seven times for candidates without a choice, and adjourned to meet again at Baltimore, June 18th. When it reassembled several new Douglas delegations were admitted, whereupon the few remaining Southern delegates also withdrew. The Convention then nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia.

The Breckenridge Convention.

Another Convention assembled at Baltimore on June 23, 1860, styling itself the "National Democratic Convention." It was composed chiefly of the seceding delegates from the Douglas Convention, and the original delegates from Alabama and Louisiana. John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, was nominated for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice President. Thus terminated the Breckenridge Convention.

The Constitutional Union Party.

The American (or Know Nothing) party, now calling itself the CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY, held a Convention at Baltimore, May 19th, and adopted an evasive platform, declaring as its political principles "The Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." It nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

The Chicago Republican Convention.

The **Republicans** had named May 16, 1860, as the date, and Chicago as the place for holding their second National Convention. They declared the freedom and equality of all men; denounced the threats of disunion

and Democratic administration in Kansas and at Washington; declared that freedom was the normal condition of the Territories, which Congress was bound to preserve and defend; and pronounced in favor of Protection, Internal Improvements, the Homestead Bill, and a Pacific Railway. It nominated **Abraham Lincoln**, of Illinois, and **Hannibal Hamlin**, of Maine.

Thus, four Presidential candidates were in the field. Old political parties were broken up by the long sectional agitation. The whole country was convulsed by the canvass, for vital issues were involved. The divided Democratic party lost the power which it had held for twelve out of fifteen Presidential terms since the accession of Jefferson. The discordant efforts of the three parties opposed to the Republicans only made **Lincoln's** election more certain, and in November Republican electors were chosen by every Free State but one (New Jersey), giving them a majority of all the electoral votes.

Lincoln Elected.

When the election of Mr. Lincoln was assured, apprehension filled the minds of reflecting men. Propositions of resistance and preparations to render resistance effectual, had been made in several Southern States during the year. To these it appeared that the time of action would no longer be postponed; but a strong Union sentiment still lingered at the South. An attempt at conciliation was made by Senator **Crittenden**, of Kentucky (December), but "the Crittenden Compromise" was rejected by Congress. The Cabinet was already crumbling away. Mr. Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury, resigned; and General Cass soon followed him, because the President refused to reinforce Fort Moultrie. President Buchanan's message had alleged that neither the Executive nor Congress had the power to coerce a State.

The Calm Before the Storm.

In this conjunction of affairs the Convention of South Carolina passed the first Ordinance of Secession, and "solemnly declared that the union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved." Commissioners were appointed to negotiate for the surrender of the forts and other Federal property within the State. They were denied official recognition. By the 1st of February (1861), six other States—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—passed ordinances of secession. Their Representatives and Senators withdrew from Congress; and the forts, arsenals, and other Federal property within their limits were seized. The night after Christmas, Major **Anderson** abandoned Fort Moultrie, and occupied Fort Sumter, which was more capable of defense. The President declined to order the garrison back to Fort Moultrie, and General Floyd, the new Secretary of War, resigned (December 30). The Cabinet was thus rapidly broken up; and other men, with other counsels, were introduced.

Secession.

The supplies of the Government troops at Fort Sumter, in command of Major Anderson, were low, and his men were few. Batteries had been erected and other preparations made for the reduction of Fort Sumter. Not a gun was fired while patiently awaiting a reply to the demand for its surrender. The garrison was weak, and its supplies were insufficient. Early in January (1861), President Buchanan determined to send reinforcements and provisions secretly to the beleaguered national fort. To this end, he ordered the steamer "Star of the West" to Charleston Harbor with men and supplies. On attempting to approach Fort Sumter, the steamer was fired upon by the Carolina batteries. She was obliged to return to New York without accomplishing her mission. Anderson could get neither men nor provisions, and there he lay, nearly surrounded by batteries growing stronger and stronger every day.

Threatening Clouds.

An effort to avert the fratricidal war was made by the State of Virginia, which urged a meeting of delegates from all the States to devise measures of pacification.

Peace Conference. Twenty-one States were represented in the Peace Conference, which assembled at Washington (February 4, 1861) Its recommendations were submitted to Congress, and were rejected in the Senate by a vote of thirty-four to three (March 3). On the same night the Crittenden Compromise was thrown out.

On the same day which commenced the session of the Peace Congress witnessed the assemblage at Montgomery, Alabama, of the Congress of the CONFEDERATE STATES, the name adopted by the union of the seceded States. The Constitution of the United States was adopted with a few significant alterations (February 8). Colonel JEFFERSON DAVIS, late Senator from Mississippi, was elected provisional President; and MR. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, an earnest advocate for the old Union till the last moment, was chosen Vice President. A Cabinet was formed, and GUSTAVE T. BEAUREGARD, an able tactician, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces. The organization of the Confederate Government was soon complete. In the Constitution of the Confederate States the sovereign rights of each State were recognized; the favor of foreign nations was sought by pledges of free trade; and slavery was guaranteed protection not only in existing States but in Territories yet to be acquired.

The Southern Confederacy.

The REMOTE CAUSES of the great civil contest now about to begin may be briefly summarized. The question of slavery—as the intelligent reader has observed—was agitated from the time the Federal Constitution was adopted till the war freed the slaves. It was the **prime cause** of the great conflict.

Civil War—Summary of Causes.

The sectional difference between the North and the South

had its source in the different constructions put upon the Constitution by the people of the two sections, and the difference of climate, which greatly modified the character and habits of the people; also, while the agricultural pursuits and staple products of the South made slave labor profitable, the mechanical pursuits and the more varied products of the North made it unprofitable. There were also other causes of alienation. A feeling of jealousy and suspicion existed, arising from the little intercourse between the two extremes. The publication of sectional books—generally filled with falsehood and ridicule—whose popularity depended on the animosity between the two sections, did much to embitter the sectional hatred.

These antagonisms, settled first by the Missouri Compromise of 1820; reopened by the Tariff of 1828; calmed by Clay's Compromise tariff (1833); intensified by the annexation of Texas (1845), and the consequent war with Mexico (1846–48); irritated by the Wilmot Proviso (1846); lulled for a time by the Omnibus Compromise (1850); awakened anew by the "squatter sovereignty" policy of 1853; made furious by the agitation in Kansas; run riot by the Dred Scott decision; the attempted execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the John Brown raid,—had now reached a climax where the only remedy was WAR.

Mistaken Sectional Views.

Both the North and the South misunderstood each other. The South believed that the Northern people were so engaged in pecuniary greed, and so weakened by habits of luxury, that they could send to the field only mercenary soldiers, whom the patriotic Southerners could easily beat. Cotton being the great staple of the South, they thought that England and France were so dependent upon them for that article, that their Government would be recognized and defended by those trans-Atlantic powers. On the other hand, the people of the North did not believe that the South would dare to fight to uphold slavery, since it had

4,000,000 slaves exposed to the chances of war. They thought the action of the Southerners was all bluster, and hence paid little heed to the threat of dissolving the Union. The North, believing that there would not be any war of much consequence, and fearing to precipitate matters, remained inactive; while, on the contrary, the South made vigorous preparations to carry out her expressed determination.

The Situation.

The **decided action** of the Southerners in the attack on the "Star of the West" alarmed the North and aroused it from the lethargy into which it had fallen. President Buchanan did nothing to avert the impending conflict. His Cabinet largely sympathized with the Secessionists. The regular army was small and widely scattered. The navy had been sent to distant ports. Meanwhile, all was energy and activity in the seceded States. Officers in the United States army and navy were daily resigning and joining the Confederacy.

SECTION 4.

1860.—CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM.

BALTIMORE, MAY 9.

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to *recognize* no political principles other than THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS; and that as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in National Convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety against all enemies at home and abroad, believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country, the rights of the people and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect Union,

establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

1860.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—CHICAGO, MAY 17.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the Nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and Constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a

sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of Administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the Union, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent—is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Gov-

ernment by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classses of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligations of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and that as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

1860.—DEMOCRATIC (DOUGLAS) PLATFORM.

CHARLESTON, APRIL 23, AND BALTIMORE, JUNE 18.

1. *Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a Platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters; and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories:

2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of Constitutional law.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such Constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. *Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial Governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, shall be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

1860.—DEMOCRATIC (BRECKENRIDGE) PLATFORM.

Charleston and Baltimore.

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the Government of a Territory, organized by an act of Congress, is provisional and temporary; and, during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle, with their property, in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its Constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory having an adequate population form a State Constitution in pursuance of law, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States, and the State

thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

5. That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

6. That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

WHEREAS, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the Constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

SPEECH OF JUDAH P. BENJAMIN, OF LOUISIANA,

ON SLAVE PROPERTY, IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, MARCH 11, 1858.

[**Judah P. Benjamin**, born in Santo Domingo, of Jewish parents, was a lawyer of considerable ability. He settled in New Orleans, and was U S. Senator from 1852 to February 4, 1861, when he withdrew, and became Attorney-General and acting Secretary of War, and subsequently Secretary of State in the Southern Confederacy. After its downfall he went to London, where he soon became a leader of the bar.]

Examine your Constitution; are slaves the only species of property there recognized as requiring peculiar protection? Sir, the inventive genius of our brethren of the North is a source of vast wealth to them and vast benefit to the Nation. I saw, a short time ago, in one of the New York journals, that the estimated value of a few of the patents now before us in this Capitol for renewal was $40,000,000. I can not believe that the entire capital invested in inventions of this character in the United States can fall short of one hundred and fifty or two hundred million dollars. On what protection does this vast property rest? Just upon that same Constitutional protection which gives a remedy to the slave owner when his property is also found outside of the limits of the State in which he lives.

Without this protection what would be the condition of the Northern inventor? Why, sir, the Vermont inventor, protected by his own law,

would come to Massachusetts, and there say to the pirate who had stolen his property, "render me up my property or pay me value for its use." The Senator from Vermont would receive for answer, if he were the counsel for this Vermont inventor, "Sir, if you want protection for your property, go to your own State; property is governed by the laws of the State within whose jurisdiction it is found; you have no property in your invention outside of the limits of your State; you can not go an inch beyond it." Would not this be so? Does not every man see at once that the right of the inventor to his discovery, that the right of the poet to his inspiration, depends upon those principles of eternal justice which God has implanted in the heart of man, and that wherever he can not exercise them it is because man, faithless to the trust that he has received from God, denies them the protection to which they are entitled?

Sir, follow out the illustration which the Senator from Vermont himself has given; take his very case of the Delaware owner of a horse riding him across the line into Pennsylvania. The Senator says: "Now, you see that slaves are not property like other property; if slaves were property like other property, why have you this special clause in your Constitution to protect a slave? You have no clause to protect the horse, because horses are recognized as property everywhere." Mr. President, the same fallacy lurks at the bottom of this argument as of all the rest. Let Pennsylvania exercise her undoubted jurisdiction over persons and things within her own boundary; let her do, as she has a perfect right to do, declare that hereafter, within the State of Pennsylvania, there shall be no property in horses, and that no man shall maintain a suit in her courts for the recovery of property in a horse; and where will your horse owner be then? Just where the English poet is now; just where the slaveholder and the inventor would be if the Constitution, foreseeing a difference of opinion in relation to rights in these subject-matters, had not provided the remedy in relation to such property as might easily be plundered. Slaves, if you please, are not property like other property in this, that you can easily rob us of them; but as to the *right* in them, that man has to overthrow the whole history of the world, he has to overthrow every treatise on jurisprudence, he has to ignore the common sentiment of mankind, he has to repudiate the authority of all that is considered sacred with man, ere he can reach the conclusion that the person who owns a slave, in a country where slavery has been established for ages, has no other property in that slave than the mere title which is given by the statute law of the land where it is found.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON UPON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

[**William Lloyd Garrison,** born in 1804, died in 1879, was an Abolitionist of much prominence and influence. As journalist he avowed the doctrine of immediate emancipation as the right of the slave and the duty of the master. By his writings and lectures he awakened much interest in the cause of anti-slavery. On account of his bold utterances he was often threatened with assassination. He was, on several occasions, mobbed for his anti-slavery doctrines. He was President of the American Anti-Slavery Society from 1843 to 1865, when slavery having been abolished, he resigned.]

Tyrants! confident of its overthrow, proclaim not to your vassals that the American Union is an experiment of freedom, which, if it fails, will forever demonstrate the necessity of whips for the backs and chains for limbs of people. Know that its subversion is essential to the triumph of justice, the deliverance of the oppressed, the vindication of the brotherhood of the race. It was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, and its career has been marked by unparalleled hypocrisy, by high-handed tyranny, by a bold defiance of the omniscience and omnipotence of God. Freedom indignantly disowns it and calls for its extinction, for within its borders are three millions of slaves, whose blood constitutes its cement, whose flesh forms a large and flourishing branch of its commerce, and who are ranked with four-footed beasts and creeping things. To secure the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, first, that the African slave trade—till that time a feeble, isolated, colonial traffic—should, for at least twenty years, be prosecuted as a national interest under the American flag, and protected by the national arm; secondly, that slavery holding oligarchy, created by allowing three-fifths of the slave-holding population to be represented by their taskmasters, should be allowed a permanent seat in Congress; thirdly, that the slave system should be secured against internal revolt and external invasion by the united physical force of the country; fourthly, that not a foot of national territory should be granted on which the panting fugitive from slavery might stand and be safe from his pursuers, thus making every citizen a slave hunter and slave catcher. To say that this "covenant with death" shall not be annulled—that this "agreement with hell" shall continue to stand; that this refuge of lies shall not be swept away—is to hurl defiance at the eternal throne and to give the lie to Him that sits thereon. It is an attempt, alike monstrous and impracticable, to blend the light of heaven with the darkness of the bottomless pit, to unite the living with the dead, to associate the Son of God with the Prince of Evil. Accursed be the American Union as a stupendous republican imposture!

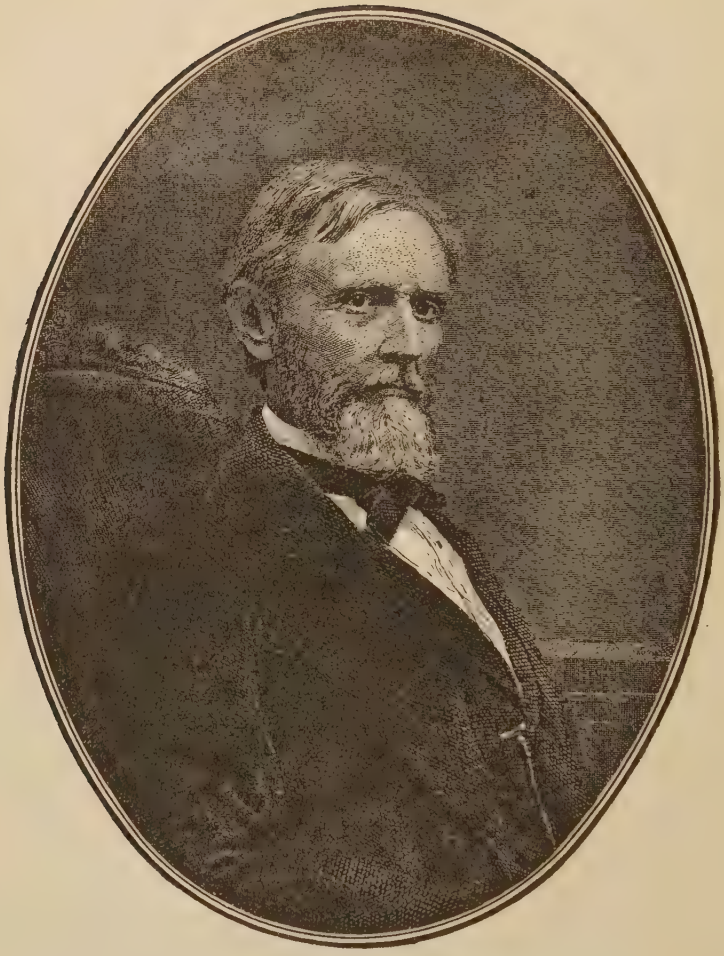
* * * * * * * * * * *

I am accused of using hard language. I admit the charge. I have been unable to find a soft word to describe villainy, or to identify the perpetrator of it. The man who makes a chattel of his brother—what is he?

The man who keeps back the hire of his laborers by fraud—what is he? They who prohibit the circulation of the Bible—what are they? They who compel three millions of men and women to herd together like brute beasts—what are they? They who sell mothers by the pound, and children in lots to suit purchasers—what are they? I care not what terms are applied to them, provided they do apply. If they are not thieves, if they are not tyrants, if they are not men stealers, I should like to know what is their true character, and by what names they may be called. It is as mild an epithet to say that a thief is a thief, as to say that a spade is a spade. Words are but the signs of ideas. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." Language may be misapplied, and so be absurd or unjust; as for example, to say that an Abolitionist is a fanatic, or that a slave-holder is an honest man. But to call things by their right names is to use neither hard nor improper language. Epithets may be rightly applied, it is true, and yet be uttered in a hard spirit, or with a malicious design. What then? Shall we discard all terms which are descriptive of crime, because they are not always used with fairness and propriety? He who, when he sees oppression, cries out against it—who, when he beholds his equal brother trodden under foot by the iron hoof of despotism, rushes to his rescue—who, when he sees the weak overborne by the strong, takes his side with the former, at the imminent peril of his own safety—such a man needs no certificate to the excellence of his temper, or the sincerity of his heart, or the disinterestedness of his conduct. Or is the apologist of slavery he who can see the victim of thieves lying bleeding and helpless on the cold earth, and yet turn aside, like the callous-hearted priest or Levite, who needs absolution? Let us call tyrants, *tyrants;* not to do so is to misuse language, to deal treacherously with freedom, to consent to the enslavement of mankind. It is neither amiable nor virtuous, but a foolish and pernicious thing, not to call things by their right names. "Woe unto them," says one of the world's great prophets, "that call evil good, and good evil;" that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, was born in Kentucky, June 3, 1808. He went to Mississippi when a child, and graduated at West Point in 1828. He served as an infantry and staff officer in the Black Hawk War of 1831-'2; in 1833 was made first lieutenant of dragoons, and in 1834 was employed against the Comanches, Pawnees, and other Indians. He resigned his commission in 1835, married the daughter of Zachary Taylor, and became a cotton planter in Mississippi. In 1844 he was one of the Presidential electors of Mississippi to vote for Polk and Dallas, and in 1845 was elected to Congress, where he



Jefferson Davis

was conspicuous in debate. In 1846 he was chosen colonel of the first regiment of Mississippi volunteers, was actively engaged in the storming of Monterey, and distinguished himself in the battle of Buena Vista, where he was severely wounded.

In 1847 he was appointed by the Governor of Mississippi to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate, and in 1848 he was elected for the residue of the term. In 1850 he was reëlected for the ensuing full term. He was made chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and took a prominent part in the debate on the slavery question, in defense of the institutions and policy of the slave States, and was a zealous advocate of the doctrine of States Rights. In 1851 he resigned his seat to become the Democratic candidate for Governor of Mississippi, but was defeated. He was Secretary of War from 1853 to 1857, when he reëntered the Senate for the term ending March 4, 1863. He was conspicuous in the discussions on the French spoliation bill, which he opposed, and on the Pacific Railroad, for the southern route, of which he was a zealous advocate. He was also prominent in the contest growing out of the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas, in which he opposed Mr. Douglas.

On January 21, 1861, he withdrew from the Senate, and returned to Mississippi to take part in the secession movement, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the State militia. On February 9, he was unanimously elected by the Confederate Congress President of the Confederate States, and was inaugurated at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 18th. In his first Message to the Confederate Congress, April 29, he concluded an argument in defense of the right of secession with the remark, "All we ask is, to be let alone." In November, at a general election, he was chosen President for six years, and was inaugurated in Richmond, February 22, 1862.

Just before the final downfall of the Confederacy in April, 1865, Mr. Davis left Richmond with a small escort, and on his way South was captured near Irwinsville, Georgia, May 10th, by a body of Union cavalry. On May 2d a proclamation had been issued by President Johnson in which Mr. Davis was charged with complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln, and $100,000 was offered for his arrest. For two years Mr. Davis was confined in Fortress Monroe. In May, 1867, he was arraigned before the United States Circuit Court in Richmond on a charge of treason, and was admitted to bail, the charge of complicity in the assassination of Mr. Lincoln having been abandoned. In December, 1868, he was discharged under a *nolle prosequi*. He subsequently became president of a life insurance company in Memphis, Tennessee. He has since written a history of the Civil War, from a Southern standpoint.

SPEECH OF HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS, SENATOR FROM MISSISSIPPI.

On Retiring from the United States Senate. Delivered in the Senate Chamber January 21, 1861.

I rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very litle more. The occasion does not invite me to go into argument; and my physical condition would not permit me to do so if it were otherwise, and yet it seems to become me to say something on the part of the State I here represent, on an occasion so solemn as this. It is known to Senators who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated as an essential attribute to State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had not believed there was justifiable cause; if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action. I, however, may be permitted to say that I do think she has justifiable cause and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counseled them then that if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when the convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted.

I hope none who hear me will confound this expression of mine with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union and to disregard its Constitutional obligations by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Nullification and Secession, so often confounded, are indeed antagonistic principles. Nullification is a remedy which it is sought to apply within the Union against the agents of the States. It is only to be justified when the agent has violated his Constitutional obligation, and a State, assuming to judge for itself denies the right of the agent thus to act and appeals to the other States of the Union for a decision; but when the States themselves and when the people of the States have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our Constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the doctrine of secession in its practical application.

* * * * * * * * * *

Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis that the States are sovereign. There was a time when none denied it. I hope the time may come again when a better comprehension

of the theory of our Government and the inalienable rights of the people of the States will prevent any one from denying that each State is a sovereign, and thus may reclaim the grants which it has made to any agent whomsoever.

I therefore say I concur in the action of the people of Mississippi, believing it to be necessary and proper, and should have been bound by their action if my belief had been otherwise; and this brings me at the important point which I wish, on this last occasion, to present to the Senate. It is by this confounding of Nullification and Secession that the name of a great man whose ashes now mingle with his mother earth, has been invoked to justify coercion against a seceding State. The phrase "to execute the laws" was an expression which General Jackson applied to the case of a State refusing to obey the laws while yet a member of the Union. That is not the case which is now presented. The laws are to be executed over the United States and upon the people of the United States. They have no relation with any foreign country. It is a perversion of terms, at least it is a great misapprehension of the case, which cites that expression for application to a State which has withdrawn from the Union. You may make war on a foreign State. If it be the purpose of gentlemen they may make war against a State which has withdrawn from the Union; but there are no laws of the United States to be executed within the limits of a seceded State. A State finding herself in the condition in which Mississippi has judged she is, in which her safety requires that she should provide for the maintenance of her rights out of the Union, surrenders all the benefits (and they are known to be many), deprives herself of the advantages (they are known to be great) severs all the ties of affection (and they are close and enduring) which have bound her to the Union, and thus divesting herself of every benefit, taking upon herself every burden, she claims to be exempt from any power to execute the laws of the United States within her limits.

* * * * * * * * * *

She has heard proclaimed the theory that all men are created free and equal, and this made the basis of an attack on her social institutions, and the sacred Declaration of Independence has been invoked to maintain the position of the equality of races. That Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made. The communities were declaring their independence; the people of those communities were asserting that no man was born—to use the language of Mr. Jefferson—booted and spurred to ride over the rest of mankind; that men were created equal—meaning the men of the political community; that there was no divine right to rule; that no man inherited the right to govern; that there were no classes by which power and place descended to families, but that all stations were equally within the grasp of each member of the body politic. These were the great principles they announced;

these were the purposes for which they made their declaration; these were the ends to which their enunciation was directed. They have no reference to the slave; else, how happened it that among the items of arraignment made against George III. was that he endeavored to do just what the North has been endeavoring of late to do—to stir up insurrection among our slaves? Had the Declaration announced that the negroes were free and equal how was it the Prince was to be arraigned for stirring up insurrection among them? And how was this to be enumerated among the high crimes which caused the Colonies to sever their connection with the mother country? When our Constitution was formed, the same idea was rendered more palpable, for there we find provision made for that very class of persons as property; they were not put upon the footing of equality with white men—not even upon that of paupers and convicts, but so far as representation was concerned, were discriminated against as a lower caste only to be represented in a numerical proportion of three-fifths.

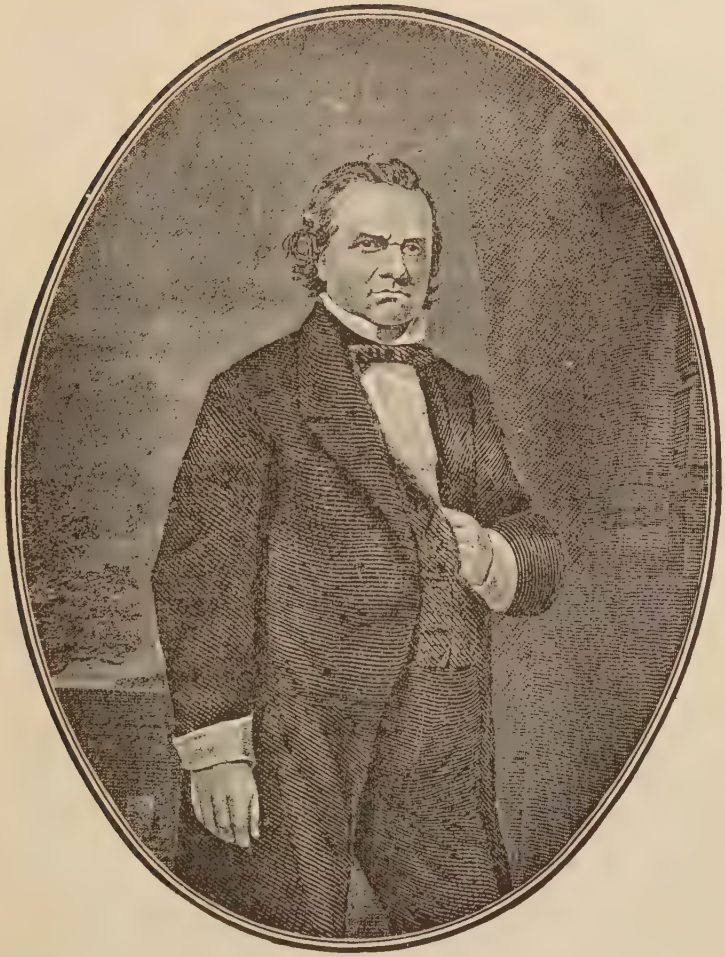
* * * * * * * * * *

I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, Senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I can not now say, in the presence of my God, "I wish you well," and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear, and thus, putting our trust in God, and to our firm hearts and strong arms we will vindicate the right as best we may.

* * * * * * * * * *

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Stephen Arnold Douglas was born at Brandon, Vermont, April 23, 1813. After receiving an academical education, he went to Winchester, Illinois, taught school, and in 1834 began to practice law. In 1835 he was elected by the Legislature Attorney-General of the State, but resigned the office the same year to enter the Legislature. From 1837 to 1839 he was Register of the Land Office at Springfield. He was appointed Secretary of State of Illinois in 1840, was a Judge of the Supreme Court, 1841–'3, was a member of Congress,



S. A. Douglas

1843–'7, and afterward till his death was United States Senator.

He was among the earliest advocates of the annexation of Texas, and vigorously sustained the Administration of President Polk in the prosecution of the war with Mexico. As chairman of the Committee on Territories, he early took the position that Congress should not interfere with slavery in the Territories. At the session of 1853–'4 he reported the bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which effectually revolutionized political parties in the United States. The whole controversy turned on the provision repealing the Missouri Compromise, which he maintained was inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in States and Territories. In 1857–'8 he opposed the Lecompton Constitution, on the ground that it was not the act of the people of Kansas. In 1858 he returned to Illinois and defended his course in a famous debate with Abraham Lincoln, who was a candidate for Douglas's seat in the Senate.

Mr. Douglas was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidential nomination in the Democratic Conventions of 1852 and 1856. In 1860 he was the candidate of the Northern section of the Democratic party, and received a popular vote of more than 1,300,000, but only twelve electoral votes. When the Civil War broke out he denounced secession, and was prominent in support of the Government and the Union. Mr. Douglas died at Chicago in 1861.

SPEECH OF HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

DELIVERED AT CHICAGO, MAY 1, 1861.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I thank you for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to welcome me. I thank the committee and citizens of Chicago for this grand and imposing reception. I beg you to believe that I will not do you nor myself the injustice to believe this magnificent ovation is personal homage to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag of our country.

I will not conceal gratification at the uncontrovertible test this vast

audience presents—that what political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I can say before God my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

The return we receive is war, armies marched upon our capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is, Are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy?

What cause, what excuse do disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied with the result of a Presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot-box? I understand it that the voice of the people, expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution, must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume, on the election of a particular candidate, that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this? I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands that so far as the Constitutional rights of the Southern States, I will say the Constitutional rights of slaveholders, are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing omitted, of which they can complain.

There has never been a time from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good a cause for disunion as they have to-day. What good cause have they now that has not existed under every Administration?

If they say the Territorial question—now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints that I have heard have been of the too vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they?

The slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since—formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago.

They use the slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends. They desired the election of a Northern candidate, by a sectional vote, in order to show that the two sections can not live together.

When the history of the two years from the Lecompton charter down to the Presidential election shall be written, it will be shown that the scheme was deliberately made to break up this Union.

They desired a Northern Republican to be elected by a purely Northern vote, and then assign this fact as a reason why the sections may not longer live together. If the disunion candidate in the late Presidential contest had carried the united South, their scheme was, the Northern candidate successful, to seize the Capital last spring, and by a united South and divided North hold it. That scheme was defeated in the defeat of the disunion candidate in several of the Southern States.

But this is no time for a detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; *only patriots—or traitors.*

Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question. I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States, party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans, when the South would step in with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make an easy prey of the victors. Their scheme was carnage and civil war in the North.

There is but one way to defeat this. In Illinois it is being so defeated by closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope of peace, I was ready for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the question comes of war in the cotton-fields of the South, or the corn-fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the better.

We can not close our eyes to the sad and solemn fact that war does exist. The Government must be maintained, its enemies overthrown, and the more stupendous our preparations the less the bloodshed and the shorter the struggle. But we must remember certain restraints on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people, and the war must be prosecuted in a manner recognized by Christian nations.

We must not invade Constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will implore my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized.

The Constitution and its guarantees are our birthright, and I am ready to enforce that inalienable right to the last extent. We can not recognize Secession. Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved Government, but you have destroyed social order—upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French revolution.

Then we have a solemn duty—to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity, the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to over-

come from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all criminations and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. When we shall have again a country with the United States flag floating over it, and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us.

I have said more than I intended to say. It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war; but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country.

I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position—united, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed.

JUDGE TANEY.

Roger Brooke Taney, an American jurist, was born in Maryland in 1777, and died in 1864. In 1816 he was elected to the Maryland State Senate. He became Attorney-General of the State in 1827, and of the United States in 1831. He supported President Jackson in his controversy with the United States Bank, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury on the dismissal of Mr. Duane in September, 1833, and immediately issued orders for the removal of the Government deposits from the United States Bank to the local banks selected by him. When his nomination was communicated to the Senate, that body rejected it.

In 1835 he was nominated to fill a vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court, but was not confirmed. He was subsequently appointed to succeed Chief Justice Marshall, took his seat in January, 1837, and held it till his death. The most noted of his decisions was that in Dred Scott *vs.* Sandford, pronounced in 1857 (*page* 490). In this he denied that Scott, a negro claimed as a slave and suing for his freedom, was entitled to bring suit in the Federal Court, because he was not a citizen; negroes, whether slave or free, having been regarded before and at the time of the Declaration of Independence "as beings of an inferior order, * * * and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE.

John Cabell Breckenridge was born in Kentucky in 1821 and died in 1875. He settled as a lawyer at Lexington, Kentucky; was a Major in the Mexican war, a member of the Legislature, member of Congress in 1851-'5, and Vice President of the United States in 1857-'61. In 1860 he was defeated as the Democratic candidate for President, but was elected to the United States Senate, from which he was expelled as an avowed Secessionist on December 4, 1861. He was then commissioned Major-General in the Confederate army; was defeated at Baton Rouge in August, 1862; commanded in December a corps at Murfreesboro; defeated Sigel at Newmarket, Virginia, in May, 1864; and became Confederate Secretary of War in January, 1865. After the surrender he was in Europe till 1868.

EDWARD EVERETT.

Edward Everett, an American orator, was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1794, and died January 15, 1865. He graduated at Harvard College in 1811, was afterward a tutor there, and in 1813 became pastor of the Brattle street church (Unitarian), in Boston. He was chosen Professor of Greek in Harvard College in 1814. After an extended course of European travel and study he entered upon the duties of his professorship in 1819, and delivered to the students a course of lectures on Greek literature and ancient art, which was repeated before large audiences in Boston. He also became editor of the *North American Review*, which he conducted till 1824, and to which he was a frequent contributor during his life. He prepared a translation of Buttmann's Greek grammar and a Greek reader based upon that of Jacobs. In 1824 he delivered a discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on the "Circumstances favorable to the Progress of Literature in America." This was the first of a series of discourses pronounced by him on public occasions, embracing every va-

riety of topic connected with our national history, character, and prospects, combining the peculiar charm of popular oratory with the substantial merits of thought and style.

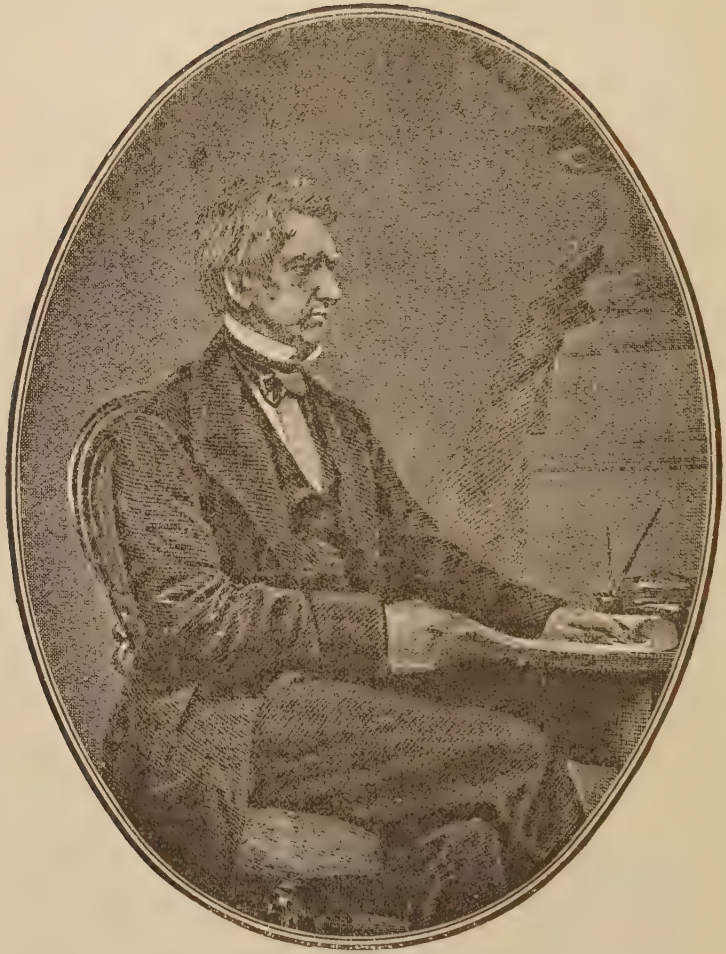
In politics he was a Whig, and he was a member of Congress, 1825–35. He was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1835, and was three times reëlected, but was defeated in 1839 by a majority of one vote. He was Minister to England from 1841 to 1845, and President of Harvard College from 1845 to 1848.

On the death of Webster, in 1852, Mr. Everett was appointed U. S. Secretary of State, and he held the office during the last four months of President Fillmore's Administration. He entered the Senate in 1853, but resigned his seat in 1854. In 1856 he delivered, for the first time, his oration on Washington, which was repeated nearly one hundred and fifty times in various parts of the United States.

In 1860 he was nominated for Vice President, with John Bell as President, on a "Union" ticket, which received 590,631 votes in a popular vote of 4,662,170. On the outbreak of the Civil War he made several patriotic speeches in the principal cities of the North. At the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1863, he delivered an address.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

William Henry Seward, an American statesman, was born in New York in 1801, and died October 10, 1872. He settled as a lawyer at Auburn in 1824, and in 1830 he was elected to the State Senate as an Anti-Mason. In 1834 he was the Whig candidate for Governor, and was defeated; but he was elected in 1838, and reëlected in 1840. In 1849 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he continued till 1861. He was the leading supporter of the Administration of President Taylor. In his speeches he avowed a determination to make no further concessions to the slave power,



William H. Seward

and was denounced as a seditious and dangerous agitator. In a speech on the admission of California, March 11, 1850, he said, in reference to the national domain and the effort to legalize slavery in it: "There is a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain." The phrase, "higher law," thus applied to the law of God, was the subject of much excited comment, and was afterward urged as a ground of reproach by the political enemies of Mr. Seward. His speeches on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the admission of Kansas in 1854-'5, like those on the compromises of 1850, were widely circulated. In 1858, in a speech at Rochester, he characterized the antagonism between free and slave labor as "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces."

In 1860, as in 1856, a large portion of the Republican party favored his nomination for the Presidency. In the convention, on the first ballot, he received 173½ votes. Mr. Lincoln, the next highest, 102,—233 being necessary for a choice. Lincoln having been nominated, Seward actively canvassed the Western States in his behalf, and on March 4, 1861, became Secretary of State in his Cabinet. Mr. Seward apparently failed at first to apprehend the magnitude of the Secession movement. He believed that the difficulties of the two sections could be settled without recourse to arms; and he favored as a peace measure the evacuation of Forts Pickens and Sumter. During the war his management of foreign affairs was eminently politic and effective. On Lincoln's election to a second term Mr. Seward continued as Secretary of State.

Early in the spring of 1865 he was thrown from his carriage, and his jaw and one arm were broken. While he was confined to his bed by these injuries, on the night of the assassination of Lincoln, April 14, one of the conspirators penetrated to Seward's room and struck him several blows with a knife, from which his recovery was slow and painful.

In March, 1869, Mr. Seward retired from public life, and in 1870–'71 made a tour around the world, which is described in "William H. Seward's Travels Around the World," edited by his adopted daughter, Olive Risley Seward (1873). In 1849 Mr. Seward prepared a life of John Quincy Adams in a popular form, which had an immense sale. He also wrote a biography of De Witt Clinton. The first volume of "The Autobiography of William H. Seward," with a memoir and selections from his letters, by his son, F. W. Seward, appeared in 1877.

XXI.

NINETEENTH ADMINISTRATION—1861-1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT. HANNIBAL HAMLIN, VICE PRESIDENT.

XXXVIIth and XXXVIIIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

In February, 1861, the electoral votes were counted, and were found to be, for Lincoln and Hamlin, 180; for Breckenridge and Lane, 72; for Bell and Everett, 39; and for Douglas and Johnson, 12. **Lincoln** and **Hamlin** were therefore declared elected, and on March 4, they were duly inaugurated.

Lincoln Inaugurated.

Lincoln being advised that an attempt would be made to assassinate him, traveled to Washington secretly and in disguise. He was inaugurated, guarded by loyal troops. No other President had taken upon him so heavy a burden with the oath to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." It was yet to be seen whether or not that Constitution would bear the strain of civil war—such a war as the world had not known in nineteen hundred years.

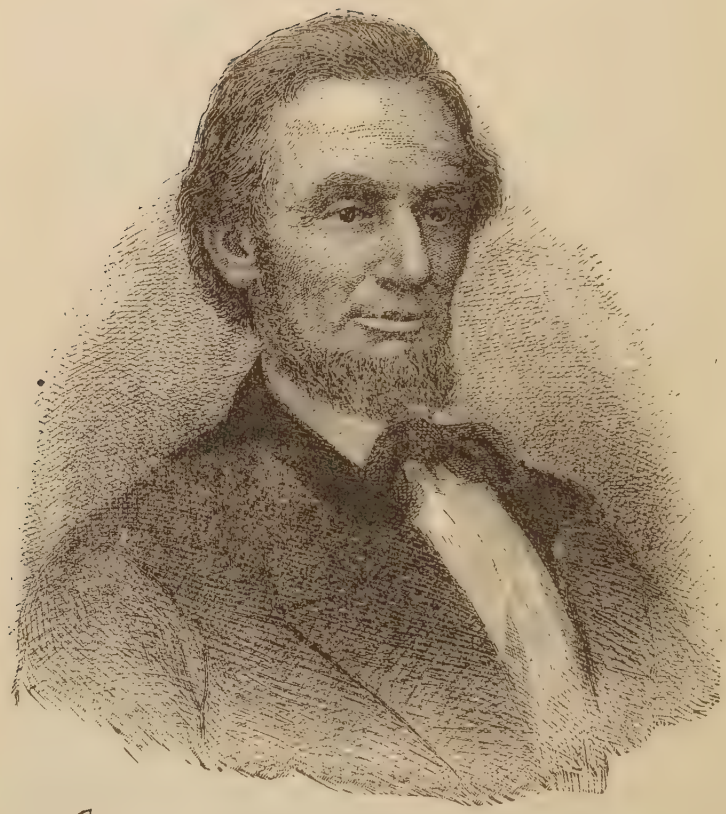
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States, was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809. His early home was one of extreme poverty, but of strict virtue. His mother, an intelligent Christian lady, taught him to read and write. In 1816 his parents removed to what is now Spencer county, Indiana. Here he received a few months of schooling, the only advantages of that kind he ever enjoyed. His youth was characterized by stalwart physical growth, by great industry, honesty, and a thirst for learning.

In 1830 his father removed to Decatur county, Illinois, and established himself on an uncultivated farm. Here Abraham split rails for fencing, which, in later years, gave him the title of "rail-splitter." During these years he mastered all the books within his reach, and hungered for more.

In 1832 he served as captain of volunteers in the war against Black Hawk, and two years later he was elected to the Legislature of Illinois, where he continued four years. In 1836 he was admitted to the bar, and the following year opened an office at Springfield, and gradually rose to the first rank as an attorney. In politics he was a Whig in his early years, and in 1844 canvassed the State for Henry Clay. In 1846 he was elected to Congress. In 1848 he canvassed the State for General Taylor, and in 1858 he canvassed it again in opposition to Judge Douglas for the United States Senatorship.

His election was made the occasion for the secession of States and the attempt to destroy the Union, which President Buchanan did not prevent. Finding that nothing but armed force could hold the States together, he reluctantly accepted the issue, mustering hundreds of thousands of troops, and waging through his first term a war of astounding magnitude, resulting in the complete triumph of the Federal authority. His Emancipation Proclamation, a war measure, taking effect



Your friend as ever
A. Lincoln

January, 1863, obliterated chattel slavery forever in the United States. (*See page* 544.)

He was reëlected by an immense popular majority in 1864, but was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, April 14, 1865. (*See events of April, 1865.*) He gathered around him in office the greatest minds. He was honest, fearless, pure—a statesman and a patriot.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, MARCH 4, 1861, TO APRIL 15, 1865.

	INAUGURATED.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1809–1865), of Illinois, President	March 4, 1861

Vice Presidents.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN (1809), of Maine	March 4, 1861
ANDREW JOHNSON (1808–1875), of Tennessee	March 4, 1865

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD (1801–1872), of New York	March 4, 1861

Secretaries of the Treasury.

SALMON P. CHASE (1801–1873), of Ohio	March 4, 1861
WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN (1806–1869), of Maine	July 5, 1864
HUGH MCCULLOCH, of Indiana	March 4, 1865

Secretaries of War.

SIMON CAMERON (1799), of Pennsylvania	March 4, 1861
EDWIN M. STANTON (1814–1869), of Ohio	Jan. 11, 1862

Secretary of the Navy.

GIDEON WELLES (1802), of Connecticut	March 4, 1861

Secretaries of the Interior.

CALEB B. SMITH (1808–1864), of Indiana	March 4, 1861
JOHN P. USHER, of Indiana	Jan. 8, 1863

Postmasters General.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR (1812), of Maryland	March 4, 1861
WILLIAM DENNISON (ex-Governor of Ohio)	Oct. 1, 1864

Attorneys General.

EDWARD BATES (1793–1869), of Missouri.....March 4, 1861
TITIAN J. COFFEE (*ad interim*).....June 22, 1863
JAMES SPEED (1812), of Kentucky).....Dec. 14, 1864

Speakers of the House.

SERVED.
GALUSHA A. GROW (1823), of Pennsylvania.....37th Cong., 1861
SCHUYLER COLFAX (1823), of Indiana.....38th Cong., 1863

States Admitted.—West Virginia was admitted as the thirty-fifth State, June 30, 1863.

Nevada was admitted as the thirty-sixth State, October 31, 1864.

SECTION 3.

Lincoln's Inaugural Address.

In his inaugural address, in view of the threatening attitude assumed by some of the Southern States, in consequence of the accession of a Republican Administration, after declaring that there never had been any just cause for apprehension that such an Administration would encroach upon the Constitutional rights of any State, Mr. Lincoln said that he had "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed; that he, as well as every member of Congress, was sworn to support the whole Constitution, one of the provisions of which is that 'no person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due;' that he took his oath to support the Constitution, without any mental reservation; that while he did not then choose to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, he did suggest that it would be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them, trusting

to find immunity in having them held to be unconstitutional; that he held that, in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of the States is perpetual; that no State could, upon its own mere motion, get out of the Union; that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, and that he should, as the Constitution expressly enjoined upon him, take care that the laws of the Union should be executed in all the States; that while he should perform this duty perfectly, so far as practicable, unless restrained by rightful masters, the **American people**, he trusted the declaration so to do would not be regarded as a menace, but only as the express purpose of the Union to maintain itself."

Confederate Commissioners.

The inaugural address, while considered as clear and explicit by many, was regarded as very obscure and unsatisfactory by the people of the South. The day after its delivery commissioners arrived from the Confederate Congress, and were formally received by the President. They presented resolutions requesting that, inasmuch as "great uncertainty prevailed in the public mind as to the policy" to be pursued by the Federal Executive, he should communicate to the Convention which they represented the course he intended to take in regard to the "Confederate States." The President replied that, while he was sorry that dangerous uncertainty should exist respecting his mode of procedure with the seceded States, he could give no clearer exposition of his policy than was given in his inaugural address, a careful consideration of which he recommended to the Virginia Convention.

The Crisis—The First Shot.

On the 21st of March the Cabinet, at Washington, determined to provision Fort Sumter at all hazards. But some delay occurred in getting the fleet ready for this purpose. The Confederates, hearing of these preparations, sent

orders from Montgomery to demand the surrender of the fort, and, in case of refusal, to reduce it by bombardment. The demand was accordingly made by General Beauregard, and refused. On the morning of April 12th fire was opened on the fort from fourteen batteries, with forty-seven guns and mortars. After a defense of thirty-four hours, the inside of the fort being on fire in several places, and his little band utterly worn out, Major Anderson surrendered, and, on April 14, marched out with the honors of war. No one on either side was killed *

The attack on Fort Sumter was the signal of war. The whole North clamored for arms, for leaders, for legal authorization to bring the South back to law, order, and obedience, at the point of the bayonet. The South was wild with joy. The blow had at last been struck. In the whirl of excitement, Virginia joined the Confederacy, April 17. Arkansas and North Carolina followed in May, Tennessee in June—making eleven States, a number which was never increased. Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, as yet doubtful, were, in the end, saved to the Union.

The Government Aroused.

Such demonstrations of a revolutionary character having been made, the President issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers, for three months, to suppress the rebellion, and summoned Congress to assemble in extraordinary session. The call was heartily responded to, and, in a few days a vastly greater number than had been requested offered themselves to their country. In the meantime Washington was placed in a state of defense. Shortly after the commencement of hostilities, a blockade of all the Southern ports was declared. This was directly followed by a blockade of Virginia and North Carolina. On the 3d of May the President issued a call for additional volunteers for the term

*The first blood of the Civil War was spilled in the streets of Baltimore, April 19th, when a regiment of Massachusetts militia, on its way to the defense of the threatened Capital, was fired upon and several men were killed.

of three years. Congress having assembled, he addressed a message to that body, asking that at least 400,000 men and $400,000,000 be placed at his control, that the work of crushing the rebellion might be expedited. Congress readily complied, granting more men and money than had been asked.

Lincoln's proclamation was followed two days after by one from Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, offering "letters of marque" and reprisal to all persons who, in private armed vessels, would prey upon the commerce of the North.

The military events of the Civil War are not within the scope of this work; hence, we trace only the causes and results.

The North and the South were both aroused, and multitudes enrolled themselves under the opposing banners. Virginia refused her quota of troops, passed an Ordinance of Secession (April 17), and promptly took measures to seize the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the navy yard at Norfolk. Both places were evacuated, and partially destroyed, before the arrival of the Virginia troops. Richmond, Virginia, became the Capital of the new republic. Neither the North nor the South thought the war would last more than ninety days; but how much were they deceived!

Kentucky Neutrality.

In the opening of the war no distinct plan of operations was apparent. Each side sought increase of strength through the acquisition of doubtful States. The neutrality of Kentucky was respected by neither of the contending parties—both invaded the State. In Middle Kentucky, near Cumberland Gap, and on the Sandy River on the east, hostile bodies were arrayed against each other.

Contrabands.

The question of **Fugitive Slaves** embarrassed the Federal Government from the beginning. General John C. Fremont declared the slaves of Missouri Confederates free men, but his action was overruled and annulled by the President. In Virginia General B. F. Butler had announced that slaves were "con-

traband of war," and consequently liable to confiscation by military law. Elsewhere in the Federal lines slave-owners, on proving property, were generally given possession of their fugitive slaves. The disposition of the North was to put down the rebellion, without any interference with the Southern "institution" of slavery. But in the progress of the war hostility to slavery itself was provoked.

The XXXVIIth Congress.

Slavery and the prosecution of the war occupied the attention of the XXXVIIth Congress. Bills were passed by both Houses to punish treason and to free slaves employed against the Government. The army was forbidden to surrender fugitive slaves. The HOMESTEAD BILL was brought up again and passed. Provision was made for the United States representation by consuls in the negro States of Hayti and Liberia. A stringent form of oath—"Iron-clad Oath"—was prescribed, to be taken by United States officials and beneficiaries. A legal-tender **National Paper Currency**—"Greenbacks"—was provided for (Feb., 1862). Most of these measures were passed by party votes.

During the first session of this Congress many Southern Senators and Representatives withdrew after angry statements of their reasons. Others remained until the close of the first session, and then more quietly entered the rebellion. Of this class was John C. Breckenridge, who thought he could do more good for the Southern cause in the Federal Congress than elsewhere. Shrewd and able politician as he was, Breckenridge saw that it was to the interest of the Confederates to keep Southern Representatives in Congress, at least as long as Northern sentiment would abide it, and in this way win victories at the very fountain-head of power. This view, however, soon became unpopular and was abandoned. Those who vacated their seats to enter the Confederacy were afterward expelled.

The Republicans of the North were the distinctive "**war party.**" Most of the Democrats, acting as citizens, gave

support to the demands of Lincoln's Administration, but many of those in official position took the liberty in Congress and State Legislatures to criticise the more important war measures. The extremists went so far, in many instances, as to organize opposition, and to encourage it among their constituents. "Knights of the Golden Circle," and the "Sons of Liberty," secret societies composed of Northern sympathizers with the South, formed many troublesome conspiracies. The "Knights of the Golden Circle" conspired to release Confederate prisoners of war, and invited Morgan to invade their States.

Border State Conspiracies.

The seceding States had confidently expected that the demand for their cotton would induce England and France to recognize their independence, but those powers never saw fit to do so, though they recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent, and their sympathies were with the Southern cause. Confederate commissioners were charged to negotiate with foreign powers, but were not officially received. J. M. Mason and J. Slidell were sent to England and France to solicit recognition and aid. On their passage thither in November, they were intercepted by Captain Charles Wilkes, United States Navy, who took them from the British steamer *Trent*. The British authorities resented the action and threatened to declare war against the Federals. The Federal Government disavowed the course of Wilkes, and the Commissioners were permitted to proceed to their destination. The Confederates were greatly disappointed at this; they hoped that war would at once be declared by England against the United States, and that with this help their own struggle with the North would soon be brought to a successful close. France, England, and Spain had proclaimed neutrality toward both "belligerent powers," thus recognizing the Confederacy as on nearly the same footing as the United States. The neutrality was infringed upon in England by the fitting out of vessels in

The Trent Affair.

the Confederate interests, but the damage thence resulting was made good by the payment of $15,500,000 after the war. (*See also Grant's Administration.*)

The Situation at the Close of 1861.

The first year of the war closed without decisive advantage to either of the combatants. Hostilities had assumed proportions unimagined, in the spring. The Confederates could boast of a great victory at Manassas, but it was a barren triumph. Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri had been won for the Union; and though Kentucky was still in dispute, it was held by the Federals with a strong military grasp. The Southern sea-line was guarded by the Federal fleets, and important points along its coast were retained or gained.

In the North business had revived, and systematic preparations for the contest were made. The Federal army had been increased to 660,000 men, trained for effective service. Ample provision for carrying on the war had been voted by Congress, and affairs were managed with forethought and tact. The Confederates, though hampered by the blockade, endured many privations for their cause, and cherished a resolute determination to accomplish their separation.

It was now quite plain that the war would be a long one, requiring many men and much money. The South was making great exertions. The North was straining every nerve to create a vast navy, to drill and equip immense armies. Foundries, ship-yards, and manufactories were kept busy night and day. The banks had suspended specie payments, and the Government national bank-notes—"Greenbacks"—were the only currency. Gold and silver disappeared from circulation.

Slavery Enactments.

The President's Message to Congress on the 6th of March, 1862, recommended that the Government coöperate with any State desiring a gradual emancipation of the slaves, by affording it such pecuniary aid as would enable it to "com-

pensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system." This message was hailed by the radical Anti-Slavery party of the country as the initiatory step toward a final and total abolition of slavery; by Conservative Union men with indifference; and by the Secessionists as a hostile encroachment upon State rights.

April 16, 1862, Lincoln approved and signed an act of Congress abolishing the institution of slavery in the District of Columbia, which act "recognized and practically applied" the principles of compensation and colonization. In May he issued a proclamation repudiating an order issued by General Hunter, emancipating all the slaves in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. This emancipation produced dissatisfaction in the North.

Until July, 1862, the President had acted in all sincerity upon his avowed intention to leave slavery unmolested in the States where it existed, though his party was pledged to prevent its extension into new States and Territories. General Butler had, indeed, confiscated the negroes whom he found employed upon the Confederate earthworks near Fortress Monroe, considering them as "contraband of war," and they had been fed and protected as Union refugees. But when Fremont, in Missouri, and other Generals, had undertaken to liberate the slaves of those who were fighting against the Government, the President had disapproved and reversed their action.

Emancipation Proclamation.

The Confederacy had declared one chief object of secession to be the founding of a republic, of which African slavery should be the corner-stone. If the war was ever to end, the North saw that this corner-stone must be removed. The President now determined to use slavery itself as a means either of coercion or of punishment. By proclamation, therefore, September 22, 1862, he declared that after one hundred days "all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion

against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." (*See page* 544.)

On New Year's day (January 1, 1863), the **Emancipation Act** became effective. It produced little effect in the South beyond the lines of the Federal armies. The two years of civil war had so developed anti-slavery feeling in the North that the Emancipation Proclamation excited no such opposition as would have met it if proposed in 1861. It caused, however, a temporary falling off in the Republican vote.

The Colored Troops.

Freedmen were invited to enter the service of the United States, and regiments of colored troops were organized in South Carolina and Kansas. Free negroes had already been armed and drilled for Confederate service. General Banks's army at Port Hudson consisted in part of colored soldiers, and General Butler, commanding at New Orleans, had received several such regiments into the armies of the United States. More than 50,000 negroes enlisted in the Federal service during 1863, and twice that number the next year. They were partly from the Northern States and partly freedmen, emancipated under Lincoln's Proclamation. They contributed much to the final victories of the Union on the Mississippi. The enlistment of colored soldiers was distasteful to many in the Union army. Numerous officers resigned and thousands of privates deserted, claiming that they did not fight the South to free the negro. The Southern soldiers entertained the most intense hatred toward these colored troops, and proclaimed death to white officers who would command them.

Conscription Act—Riots.

In consequence of the passage of a conscription act by Congress in March, 1863, by which the President was authorized to recruit the army, if necessary, by a draft, serious riots occurred in New York city, in July. Excited mobs burned two blocks of houses containing the offices of provost marshals, who were proceeding with the draft; also the Colored Half-

Orphan Asylum and other buildings. For three days a reign of terror prevailed. Thieves and malefactors of every grade joined the rioters, and the most fiendish outrages were perpetrated. More than two hundred persons—mostly rioters—were killed, and over $2,000,000 worth of property destroyed. The peace party had gained strength by the long continuance of the war, with its ruinous cost in blood and treasure; and the force of the Government was correspondingly diminished. Within three days, however, the disturbance was quelled.

The Situation at Close of 1863.

Both the North and the South suffered from the prolongation of the war and the continued strain upon their resources. Subsistence and men were failing at the South. The Confederate currency was declining so rapidly as to have fallen to about one-fifth of its nominal value. The Federal finances were strengthened by the acceptance of Secretary Chase's plan for National Banks and a National Currency, and by the negotiations of loans among the people and in Europe.

Commercial interests were greatly damaged by the Confederate cruisers, chiefly by the *Alabama*, Captain Semmes, and the *Florida*, Captain Maffit. The injury done by these vessels created those demands against the British Government known as the "Alabama Claims." (*See Grant's Administration.*)

The most famous of these cruisers was the *Alabama*—originally called "2–90," because two hundred and ninety British merchants furnished the money to build it. "In her whole career, involving the destruction of sixty-six vessels and a loss of ten million dollars to the merchant service of the United States, she never entered a Confederate port, but continued abroad, capturing and burning." She was finally sunk in an encounter with a Union war steamer near the coast of France.

At the beginning of 1864 the expenses of the war were so

vast that a large party in the North clamored for peace on any terms. Voluntary enlistments nearly ceased. Desertions from both armies were of continual occurrence. The bounty paid to soldiers induced many to desert and enlist again. At one time more than two hundred a day deserted the Army of the Potomac. It was even worse than this in the Confederate army.

Weary of the War.

In November, 1864, Congress passed an act establishing the *Postal Money Order System* in the United States. The design of the measure was to secure a safe and convenient method of transferring small sums of money through the mails. "The money order is divided into two parts—the *order proper* and the *advice*. From the order, which is received and transmitted by the purchaser, the name of the payee is omitted. In the advice, which is sent by the post-master of the issuing office to the post-master of the paying office, the name of the payee is inserted. The advice and the order receive the same stamp and number, and being transmitted separately, constitute an almost perfect check against loss, robbery, and fraud." The largest sum that may be transmitted in one order is fifty dollars, though larger amounts may be sent in separate orders.

Postal Money Order System.

A Convention of **Radicals**, who considered President Lincoln timid and irresolute, and who wished to deal with rebellion more harshly, met at Cleveland, Ohio, May 31, 1864, and nominated John C. Fremont and John C. Cochrane. (They afterwards withdrew in favor of the Republican candidates.) The **Republican National Convention** met at Baltimore, June 7th, and adopted a platform declaring war upon slavery, and demanding that no terms but unconditional surrender should be given to the rebellious States. It nominated **Abraham Lincoln** and **Andrew Johnson**.

Presidential Nominations (1864).

The **National Democratic Convention** met at Chicago, August 29th. It came under the control of the Peace Democracy ("Copperheads"), and declared in its platform that it was the sense of the American People that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by war, during which the Constitution had been violated in all its parts under the plea of military necessity, a cessation of hostilities ought to be obtained. It nominated George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton.

The Democratic party was thus committed to the declaration that the war was a failure. This gave the doubtful votes to the Republican candidates, and assured their success. In the Presidential election, in November, Republican electors were chosen by all the States not in rebellion, except New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky.

The XXXVIIIth Congress, in its Second Session, met December 6, 1864. In February, 1865, the House finally passed the XIIIth Amendment, which had failed at the last Session to receive a two-thirds majority. This was ratified by three-fourths of the States, and was proclaimed to be a part of the Constitution, December 18, 1865.

Thirteenth Amendment.

The electoral votes were counted, and were found to be, for Lincoln and Johnson 212, and for McClellan and Pendleton 21. **Lincoln** and **Johnson** were therefore declared elected.

Lincoln Re-elected.

The **Federal Currency** had declined to nearly one-third of its nominal value. Industry, however, flourished; the country along the Rocky Mountains was rapidly filling up; new enterprises were commenced and old ones enormously extended; so that the Northern States grew in population and in wealth more vigorously than they had done in peace. The South was declining in all respects. Its resources were exhausted, its industry paralyzed, its finances beyond hope, and its territory was virtually reduced to South and North Carolina and part of Virginia.

SECTION 4.

1864.—UNION PLATFORM—BALTIMORE, JUNE 8.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all its enemies, the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that, laying all political opinions aside, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling, by force of arms, the rebellion now raging against its authority, and bringing to the punishment due to their crimes, the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, etc., and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrifices, the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of the rebellion, and that as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican Governments, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of their country, and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the political wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of

the Nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the Nation against its open and secret foes; especially the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment, as Union soldiers, of men heretofore held in slavery, and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures, essential to the salvation of the country, into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare, that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principle proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

Resolved, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and any violation of these laws and of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

Resolved, That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific.

Resolved, That the national faith is pledged for the redemption of the public debt and must be kept inviolate; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibilities in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the Government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any Republican Government on the Western Continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical Governments sustained by a foreign military force in near proximity to the United States.

1864—FREMONT PLATFORM—CLEVELAND, MAY 31.

1. That the Federal Union must be preserved.

2. That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.

3. That the rebellion must be suppressed by the force of arms and without compromise.

4. That the rights of Free Speech, Free Press, and the Habeas Corpus must be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.

5. That the rebellion has destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit its re-establishment.

6. That the right for asylum, except for crime, and subject to law, is a recognized principle—a principle of American liberty; that any violation of it must not be overlooked and must not go unrebuked.

7. That the National policy known as the Monroe Doctrine has become a recognized principle, and that the establishment of an anti-republican Government on this continent by a foreign power can not be tolerated.

8. That the gratitude and support of the nation is due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union army and navy for their heroic achievements and valor in defense of our imperiled country and of civil liberty.

9. That the one term policy for the Presidency, adopted by the people, is strengthened by the existing crisis, and shall be maintained by Constitutional amendments.

10. That the Constitution shall be so amended that the President and Vice President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.

11. That the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people through their Representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.

12. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers is a measure of justice; that integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the measures of the Government, and that now the want of this is criminal.

1864.—NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end

that at the earliest practical moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where the civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of State rights, the employment of unusual test oaths, and the interference with, and denial of, the right of the people to bear arms in their defense, is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of the Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the Administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who now are, and long have been, prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and sailors of our navy who are and have been in the field and on the sea, under the flag of their country, and in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned.

HOMESTEAD LAW.

By act of Congress of May 20, 1862, any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, or has performed service in the army or navy, and is a citizen of the United States, or shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, and has never borne arms against the Government of the United States, or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the 1st of January, 1863, be entitled to enter a quarter section (160 acres) of unappropriated public land, upon which he or she may have already filed a pre-emption claim, or which is subject to pre-emption, at $1.25 per acre; or 80 acres of unappropriated lands at $2.50 per acre. In order to make his or her title good to such lands, however, such person must make affidavit that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is

made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not, either directly or indirectly, for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the affidavit, and paying the sum of ten dollars to the register or receiver, such person shall be allowed to enter the land specified; but no certificate or patent is issued for the land until five years from the date of such entry, and the land must, during that time, be improved and not alienated (it can not be taken for debt). At any time within two years after the expiration of said five years the person making the entry, or, in case of his or her death, his widow or heirs, may, on proof by two witnesses, that he or she has cultivated or improved said land, has not alienated any part of it, and has borne true allegiance to the United States, be entitled to a patent, if at that time a citizen of the United States. In case of the abandonment of the lands by the person making the entry, for a period of more than six months at one time, they revert to the United States.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEREAS, On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth and FOREVER FREE, and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against

the authority and Government of the United States, as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above mentioned order, and designate, as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this Proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

[L. S.] ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

XXII.

TWENTIETH ADMINISTRATION—1865-1869.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT. ANDREW JOHNSON, VICE PRESIDENT

ALSO,

ANDREW JOHNSON, PRESIDENT. PRES. SENATE, ACTING VICE PRESIDENT.

XXXIXth and XLth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term on March 4, 1865. His inaugural address closed with this now famous passage: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Civil War Ends.

On April 3, 1865, Petersburg was entered by the Union troops, and Richmond shortly afterwards. Lee, with the remnant of his brave but defeated army, attempted to escape, but, hemmed about on all sides by the overwhelming Union army, he accepted the generous terms of surrender proposed by Grant, and on April 9, 1865, the Army of Virginia laid down their arms. THE GREAT CIVIL WAR WAS ENDED. The other Confederate armies, at other points, surrendered soon after.

Assassination of Lincoln.

Five days after the news of Lee's surrender (April 14th) had been telegraphed over the North, a terrible event occurred at Washington. While President Lincoln was sitting in a theater with his wife and friends, a desperate, and probably insane, actor, named John Wilkes Booth, came, unnoticed, into his box, leveled a pistol and shot the President in the head. The assassin leaped upon the stage, escaped through the dark-

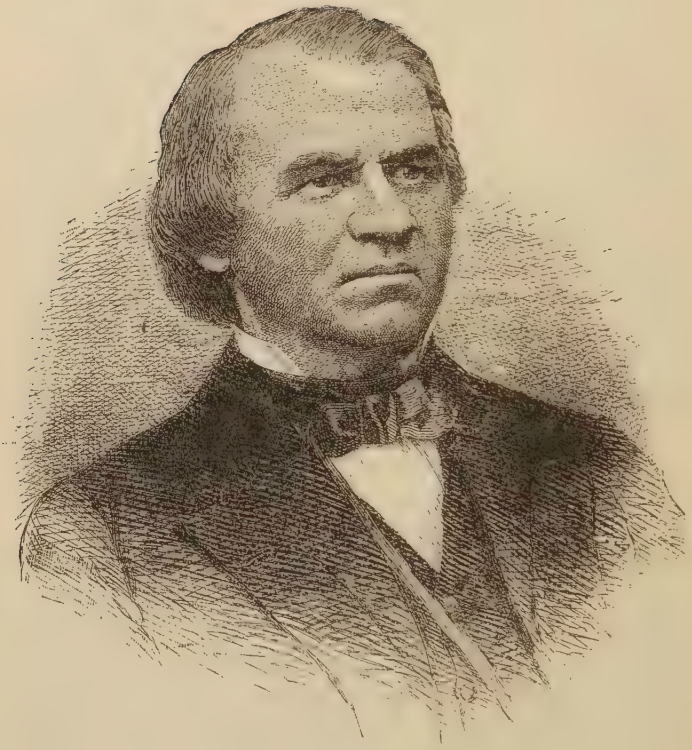
ness and fled. He was pursued, found concealed in a barn, and shot. Almost at the same time another murderer visited the house of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, who was ill in bed, and stabbed him several times, but not mortally. The would-be-murderer was afterward caught, convicted, and hanged. Mr. Lincoln lingered until the next morning in unconsciousness, and then died. The horror and indignation excited by the wicked plot was not confined to the North. It was found, however, that only a few persons, of no great reputation, were concerned in it. Four of Booth's accomplices were hanged and three were imprisoned for life, but afterwards liberated. The tragic death of Lincoln caused the profoundest grief all over the North, and was deeply regretted in the South. Many cities, towns, and hamlets were draped in black and many citizens wore the badge of mourning.

Andrew Johnson President.

The death of President Lincoln did not in the least disorganize the Government: within three hours thereafter (April 15th) Andrew Johnson, the Vice President, quietly assumed the duties of the Presidency.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Andrew Johnson was born at Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808. He lost his father when only four years old. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to a tailor in Raleigh, and served with him an apprenticeship of seven years. His mother was poor, and had been unable to give him any educational advantages; but young Andy, whose unconquerable spirit was not to be restrained by any disadvantages, became stimulated with a desire for knowledge. He acquired the alphabet with no other instructions than those obtained from the journeymen with whom he worked. He learned to read from an old volume of speeches, loaned him by a friend, and thenceforward, after ten hours' work with his goose, needle, and scissors, applied himself with vigor to study for three or four hours each evening. In 1824, having completed his



Andrew Johnson

apprenticeship, he went to Laurens Court House, South Carolina, where he worked as journeyman for two years. In 1826 he set out for the West, taking his mother, whom already, at his early age, and with his scanty wages, he was supporting. He made his home at Greenville, Tennessee, where he remained, and commenced business, and where he became a thriving and popular man. With the indefatigable thirst for knowledge which had characterized his early career, he still pursued his studies, and, in the evenings which followed a day of labor, with his wife as instructress, he pushed on in the road to knowledge.

He entered early into political life, being elected to the first office he ever held—that of Alderman of the village of Greenville—in 1828. He was reëlected to the same office in 1829. In 1830 he was elected Mayor, and retained that position for three years. In 1835 he was sent to the Legislature, where he distinguished himself chiefly by taking strong grounds against a scheme of internal improvements, which, he argued, was extravagant and useless. The measure was popular, however, and he was defeated in 1837. In 1838 he was a candidate again, and was this time successful. In 1840 he served as Presidential elector for the State at large on the Democratic ticket, and during the campaign rendered efficient service to the party as a stump speaker. In 1841 he was elected to the State Senate, and, in 1843, at the age of thirty-five, he was elected to Congress, where he held his seat, being four times reëlected, until 1853. During this time he was thoroughly identified with the old Democratic party, and supported all the party measures. In 1853 he was elected Governor, after a very exciting contest, over Gustavus A. Henry. He was reëlected in 1855, over Meredith P. Gentry, the Whig candidate. At the expiration of his Gubernatorial term, in 1857, he was chosen United States Senator by a Democratic majority in the Legislature of Tennessee. In that body he commanded the respect of all his compeers, as an able, eloquent, and patriotic statesman. At the breaking

out of the rebellion, Senator Andrew Johnson still proclaimed his allegiance to the United States, and continued to hold his seat in the Senate, though his course subjected him to much unpopularity, and even danger.

When, in the spring of 1862, our army had penetrated Tennessee to Nashville, and the northern and central portions of the States were wrested from rebel control, the President desired the services of a wise and sagacious man, of unquestionable loyalty, to act as Military Governor of that State; and he did not have long to look—Andrew Johnson was at once recognized as the man for the place, and, being commissioned a Brigadier General, he repaired to Nashville, where he for two years discharged the delicate and responsible duty of his charge with a degree of wisdom and efficiency which challenged general admiration. Under his Administration, the rebellion had steadily been losing its hold in Tennessee, and loyalty was as constantly cultivated and developed.

He was nominated for the Vice Presidency by the Union Convention at Baltimore, June 8, 1864, was elected November 8, 1864, and was sworn into office March 4, 1865.

Soon after entering upon his duties as President, he vetoed the Civil Rights Bill, the Constitutional Amendment, the Military Bill, and all the important bills passed by Congress; also suspended Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, from office, during the recess of Congress; on the assembling of which, he sent them his reasons for so doing; upon considering which, they reinstated Secretary Stanton. Whereupon the President issued an order removing him, and ordering Major-General Thomas, Adjutant-General of the Army, to act as Secretary *ad interim*—the same being done without the consent or advice of the Senate—for which and many other acts committed by him, and by Congress deemed unconstitutional, the House, on the 25th of February, 1868, impeached the President of high crimes and misdemeanors. He was, however, acquitted. The painful disagreement con-

tinued throughout his Administration. He was succeeded in the Presidential office by General Grant.

In 1870 he was a candidate before the Legislature of Tennessee for a seat in the United States Senate, but was defeated by two votes. In 1872 he was an independent candidate for Congressman at large, but was unsuccessful. In January, 1875, he was elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat in March. He died July 30, 1875.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, APRIL 15, 1865 TO MARCH 4, 1869.

	INAUGURATED.
ANDREW JOHNSON, of Tennessee, President	April 15, 1865

Acting Vice Presidents.

LAFAYETTE S. FOSTER (President of Senate), of Connecticut	April 15, 1865
BENJAMIN F. WADE (President of Senate), of Ohio	Dec. 15, 1868

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD (Lincoln's Admin.), of New York	April 15, 1865

Secretary of the Treasury.

HUGH MCCULLOCH (Lincoln's Admin.), of Indiana	April 15, 1865

Secretaries of War.

EDWIN M. STANTON (Lincoln's Admin.), of Pennsylvania	April 15, 1865
GEN. U. S. GRANT (Secretary *ad interim*), of Illinois	Aug. 12, 1867
ADJUTANT GEN. L. THOMAS (Secretary *ad interim*),	Feb. 21, 1868
GEN. JOHN M. SCHOFIELD, of New York	April 23, 1868

Secretary of the Navy.

GIDEON WELLES (Lincoln's Admin.), of Connecticut	April 15, 1865

Secretaries of the Interior.

JOHN P. USHER (Lincoln's Admin.), of Indiana	April 15, 1865
JAMES HARLAN, of Iowa	May 15, 1865
ORVILLE H. BROWNING, of Illinois	Sept. 1, 1866

Postmasters-General

WILLIAM DENNISON (Lincoln's Admin.), of Ohio.....April 15, 1865
ALEXANDER W. RANDALL, of Wisconsin.....July 11, 1866

Attorneys-General.

JAMES SPEED (Lincoln's Admin.), of Kentucky.....April 15, 1865
HENRY STANBERY, of Ohio.....July 11, 1866
ORVILLE H. BROWNING (*ad interim*), of Illinois.....—— — 1868
WILLIAM M. EVARTS, of New York.....July 1, 1868

Speakers of the House.

	SERVED.
SCHUYLER COLFAX (38th Cong.), of Indiana	39th Cong., 1865
SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana	40th Cong., 1867
THEODORE F. POMEROY (*pro tem.*), of New York	40th Cong., 1869

States Admitted.—Nebraska was admitted as the thirty-seventh State, March 1, 1867.

The **Seceded States** re-admitted, 1868.

SECTION 3.

Soldiers turn Citizens.

After the armies were disbanded the soldiers of both sections, having bravely done their terrible work, returned to the people, from whom they came, and gladly resumed the vocations of peace. The statesmen of Europe had predicted that riots and other evils would arise "when so many soldiers, familiar with scenes of violence and blood, were freed from military restraint." But this did not prove so. Within eighteen months all the vast armies of both sections were disbanded and transported to their homes. The quiet return of this vast multitude to their old homes and vocations was regarded as a great triumph of law and order, and as another proof of the stability of our institutions.

Political Results of the War.

Final victory for the Union for a long time seemed doubtful. Had foreign nations interfered, the Federal arms would probably never have prevailed. The most important result was the abolition of slavery, thus removing for-

ever a source of bitter sectional antagonism. The principle was also established that the United States is to be regarded as a NATION, one and indivisible, and not as a mere alliance of sovereign States.

Cost of the Civil War.

The cost of the Civil War may be briefly summed up as follows: The North had about 1,500,000 soldiers to take part in effective service; the South, about 600,000. Each side lost about 300,000 men, who fell in battle and perished from disease or from their wounds. Adding to this number 400,000 crippled and disabled for life by sickness, gives a grand total of 1,000,000 men destroyed on both sides during the four years of civil strife.

The National Debt at the close of the war was $2,790,000,000. The sum of $200,000,000 was paid in bounties and $100,000,000 was given to soldiers' widows or other heirs. If to this be added the sums paid by States, counties, cities, and towns, for raising local levies, we make the whole amount of money paid out for the war more than $4,000,000,000. This vast debt has been gradually diminishing, and the enormous resources of the country will eventually pay it off. The Confederate war debt was never paid, as that Government was overthrown. Near the close of the contest the Southern currency became worthless, a soldier not being able to buy a dinner with a hundred dollar bill.

To meet these tremendous demands, several financial measures had been adopted by Congress. A tax was levied on manufactures, imports, incomes, and salaries, and a stamp duty on legal documents. These taxes, far heavier than those imposed by England before the Revolution, were patiently submitted to by the people, and thus an annual income of three hundred million dollars was secured. This was sufficient to pay one hundred and thirty-three millions of annual interest, defray the current expenses of the Government, and leave a surplus to reduce the National Debt. United States bonds were issued on the credit of the Government, redeema-

ble at any time after five and under twenty years, and bearing interest in gold, payable semi-annually. National banks were also legalized, by which private persons might issue paper money, using national bonds instead of specie as the basis of their circulation. The Treasury of the United States furnished the currency for this purpose, and guaranteed its redemption.

The most important duty of Congress and the President was the adaptation of affairs to a state of peace. This was called **Reconstruction.** The question was, on what terms the seceded States should be restored to their former position in the Government. The President issued a

Reconstruction and Amnesty.

PROCLAMATION OF AMNESTY (May 29, 1865), granting pardon to all persons (except certain specified classes), who had engaged in the organization and defense of the Confederacy, on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to the United States; and on application, it was afterward extended to many individuals belonging to the classes excepted. On the 4th of July, 1868, full pardon and amnesty were granted by the President, unconditionally, to all who were not at that time under indictment for treason; and on the 25th of December, 1868, they were extended to all without exception.

Provisional Governors were appointed for the Southern States, who were instructed to call conventions of the people. The States were required to repeal their Ordinances of Secession, declare the Confederate debt void, and vote for a Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. All this was done, and the **Thirteenth Amendment,** abolishing slavery, having been ratified by the Legislatures of twenty-seven States, became a part of the Constitution, December 18, 1865.

In February, 1866, the FIRST FREEDMEN'S BUREAU BILL was passed by both Houses. It aimed at the protection and assistance of the freedmen of the South. The license of camp life had left many of the Southern whites with but slight dis-

The Freedmen's Bureau Bill.

position to live on terms of political equality with the former slaves. Cases of outrage became common. The new Congress, therefore, which was overwhelmingly Republican, came together with a fixed determination to protect the negroes at any cost. This first bill was vetoed by the President on the grounds that it provided for unlimited distribution of lands to the freedmen, that it tended to keep the minds of the negroes restless and uneasy, and that it had been passed by a Congress which was without Representatives from the Southern States. An effort to pass the bill over the veto failed. In July the second Freedmen's Bureau Bill was passed by both Houses. It continued the Bureau for two years, provided for selling lands to the freedmen at a low rate, reserved the property of the late Confederate Government for their education, and ordered the President to give military protection to the negroes whenever they were molested. It was vetoed by the President. The reasons for the veto were that it gave the President too much power; that the civil courts were perfectly able to do all that the Bureau aimed at in the way of protection; and that the Bureau had become a political machine, by which the negroes were used for the personal advantage of its officers. The bill was passed over the veto and became a law.

The Civil Rights Bill.

The CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, adopted for the protection of the freedmen, was passed by Congress, April 9, 1866, over the President's veto. It was designed to make freedmen citizens of the United States (with the right to sue and be sued, to make contracts, etc.), and to punish by fine and imprisonment any person interfering with those rights. It gave Federal courts exclusive cognizance of offenses against the act, and Federal officers the power of arresting and holding offenders to bail. The President's reasons for his veto were, that it gave Federal citizenship to four million human beings just released from bondage; that it attempted to give the law where the States had their own rights; that it over-

rode the State courts, and created a swarm of Federal officials charged with the power of arrest for the discriminating protection of the black race. President Johnson characterized the position assumed by Congress as a new rebellion. In his messages and speeches he maintained an open hostility to that body.

Congress and the President.

The majority in Congress were embittered by the frequent vetoes by which the President endeavored to arrest or defeat enactments considered by him in violation of the Constitution. They restricted his power by passing the TENURE OF OFFICE BILL (March 2, 1867,) over his veto. By this bill the tenure of certain civil offices was regulated. It declared that persons holding, or appointed to any civil office, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be entitled to hold such until a successor shall have been, in like manner, appointed and duly qualified.

Tenure of Office Bill.

On March 2, 1867, Congress passed, over the President's veto, an act dividing ten of the seceding States into FIVE MILITARY DISTRICTS, and making the civil governments therein subject to the authority of the United States, exercised through the military commanders. After appointing the commanders, President Johnson requested the opinion of Mr. Stanbery, the Attorney General, as to the legal questions arising from the reconstruction acts; and this opinion, after being considered in the Cabinet, where Mr. Stanton alone objected to those portions calculated to nullify the law, was issued to the district commanders as an order. In July, Congress passed an act declaring the meaning of the previous act, and making the conduct of the military commanders subject only to the approval of the General of the Army. This was vetoed, but passed over the veto. The President then changed the military commanders (*page* 550).

The President and Secretary Stanton.

On August 12, 1867, he notified Mr. Stanton of his sus-

pension from office as Secretary of War, and the appointment of General Grant as Secretary *ad interim*. Mr. Stanton submitted under protest, denying the President's right to remove him under the Tenure-of-office act, then in force.

Congress, having assembled in December, refused to sanction the removal of Secretary Stanton, and General Grant immediately resigned the office into Mr. Stanton's hands. On February 21, 1868, Mr. Stanton was again informed of his removal, and of the appointment of General Lorenzo Thomas as Secretary of War *ad interim*. The Senate passed a resolution declaring that "the President has no power to remove the Secretary of War and designate any other person to perform the duties of that office." Mr. Stanton, therefore, refused to vacate his office.

Impeachment Charges and Trial.

The House of Representatives passed a resolution that the President be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors (yeas, 126; nays, 47; not voting, 17). The articles of impeachment were presented to the Senate on March 5th. The specifications were based on the President's removal of Mr. Stanton, his expressions in public speeches of contempt for Congress, declaring the XXXIXth Congress not a Constitutional Congress, and his hindrance of the execution of some of its acts. The trial began on March 23d, the Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court acting as President. After a tedious trial he was acquitted, May 23, 1868, 35 voting guilty, and 19 not guilty. A two-thirds vote was required to convict.

During the early part of the trial the President made a tour of the North and West, and in many passionate speeches to the crowds which met him denounced the XLth Congress as "no Congress," referring to its refusal to admit the delegations from Southern States.

Amnesty.

On August 20, 1867, the President issued a proclamation declaring that peace, order, and civil authority existed once more throughout the United States;

and on September 7th, he proclaimed an AMNESTY, which relieved nearly all the white inhabitants of the Southern States from any liability to confiscation of property, and restored to them the right of suffrage.

The Fenians.

In June, 1866, the FENIANS, a secret society of Irishmen, who were banded together for the purpose of wresting Ireland from British rule and establishing its independence, invaded Canada, crossing the frontier from Buffalo and Vermont. After some skirmishing they were driven back. President Johnson issued a proclamation warning all against the enterprise as a violation of neutrality; and the vigorous measures of General Meade, who was sent to the frontier with a force, put a stop to the movement.

Nebraska was admitted into the Union, notwithstanding the President's veto (March 1, 1867). It was the seventh State formed in the Mississippi basin from the purchased territory of Louisiana, and the thirty-seventh of the entire number of States.

Purchase of Alaska.

In 1867, by the **purchase of Alaska** from the Russian Government, the United States acquired, for the first time in its history, territory not lying on its border. This extensive region forms the northwestern part of North America, formerly called Russian America. It is a large peninsula, embracing nearly 500,000 square miles, and is chiefly valuable for its harbors on the Pacific, its furs, and its fisheries. The sum of $7,200,000 was paid for it. With this Territory the whole area of the United States at present (1884) is 3,604,000 square miles. The country had been explored by a party of scientific men, with a view of establishing a communication by telegraph with Asia by way of Behring Strait. Their report showed that its coast fisheries were of great value, and that its forests of white pine and yellow cedar were among the finest in the world. The proposal to purchase met with

much opposition from the press. The Territory was larger than the Original Thirteen States, and contained a population of 29,000. The precious metals have been found there, and may prevail to the same extent as in other parts of the Pacific region.

The Territories.

During this Administration the TERRITORIES were reduced in size, increased in number, and made to assume a form in preparation for their early admission as States. Dakota was cut off from Nebraska, and Arizona from New Mexico. The others were organized under the names Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, and Washington. The Indian Territory and Alaska have not yet been organized into Territorial Governments. [*See Arthur's Administration* (1884).]

In 1868 Congress ratified a **Treaty with the North German Confederation,** by which the right of German immigrants to sever their allegiance to their native country and to become citizens of the United States, was allowed.

Mexico and France.

During the Civil War NAPOLEON III., Emperor of France, desiring to obtain a foothold in America, took advantage of the opportunity and sent an army to aid the Imperialists of Mexico in subduing the Liberals, who were struggling for liberty. The Liberals were defeated, and **Maximilian,** Archduke of Austria, was chosen Emperor. This course on the part of France being an infringement of the "Monroe Doctrine," the United States Government protested against the measure, but while absorbed in the civil contest, was unable to enforce the principle. When our Government was relieved from the pressure of internal war, it turned its attention to the Mexicans hopelessly striving for freedom. The United States demanded of Napoleon the recall of the French troops from Mexican territory. Deprived of foreign aid, Maximilian was defeated; and, falling into the hands of the Liberals, he was shot, June 19, 1867. This ended the dream of French dominion on this continent.

On June 24, 1868, after a long and bitter struggle between Congress and the President, regarding the **Reconstruction** Policy, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Arkansas were re-admitted, their Senators and Representatives having been absent from their seats in Congress over seven years. Tennessee was re-admitted a short time before. Before the close of 1869 the rest of the seceded States came back; and, as before the war, the motto, E PLURIBUS UNUM, appropriately inscribed the American banner and shield.

Seceded States Re-admitted.

The FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution was adopted July 28, 1868. By its provisions equal civil rights to all, regardless of race or color, are guaranteed, and representation in each State is based on the number of legal voters.

Fourteenth Amendment.

In 1868 an important treaty with the "Celestial Empire" was ratified by the United States, by which liberty of conscience is guaranteed to citizens of the United States in China, and permission to attend all public educational institutions, without being subjected to any religious or political test, is extended to Chinese residents in the United States. The embassy from China was headed by **Anson Burlingame**, formerly American Minister to that country. He had so commanded the confidence of the Chinese Government that the Emperor had induced him to undertake this important mission, not only to the United States but also to several European courts. The Chinese had begun to cross the Pacific in great numbers, to find employment in California and the inland mining States. But the Pacific States have had "enough" of Chinese immigration. (*See Arthur's Administration.*)

Treaty with China.

When the **Presidential nominations** came again, the contest was still found to be between the Republican and Demo-

cratic parties. The campaign was attended with much excitement; but there was no prominent issue before the people. Both parties accepted the results of the war, and affirmed the validity of the late Amendments. The questions most discussed were those arising out of the war. Thus politics looked back to the past instead of forward to the future.

Presidential Nominations (1868).

The **Republican National Convention** met at Chicago, May 20, 1868, and adopted a platform maintaining that the Southern States had abandoned and lost their positions in the Union by seceding, and could only be re-admitted on terms satisfactory to Congress. It approved the terms offered, and declared that it was the business of Congress to protect equal suffrage in the South. With unanimity the Convention nominated **Ulysses S. Grant**, of Illinois, for President, and **Schuyler Colfax**, of Indiana, for Vice President. The **Democratic National Convention** met in New York City, July 4, and adopted a platform demanding that the Southern States should immediately and unconditionally be given the representation in Congress, and the power of self-government guaranteed by the Constitution; and that the regulation of suffrage should be left to the States. It nominated **Horatio Seymour**, of New York, and **Francis P. Blair**, of Misssouri.

An active canvass followed, in which the brief expression, "Let us have peace," in Grant's letter of acceptance, was liberally employed by Republican journals and orators to tone down what were regarded as rapidly growing race and sectional differences, and with such effect that Grant carried all of the States save eight, receiving an electoral vote of 214 against 80.

SECTION 4.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S AMNESTY PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, on the 8th day of December, 1863, did, with the object of suppressing the existing rebellion, to induce all persons to lay down their arms, to return to their loyalty, and to restore the authority of the United States, issue proclamations offering amnesty and pardon to certain persons who had directly, or by implication, engaged in said rebellion; and,

WHEREAS, Many persons who had so engaged in the late rebellion have, since the issuance of said proclamation, failed or neglected to take the benefits offered thereby; and,

WHEREAS, Many persons who have been justly deprived of all claim to amnesty and pardon thereunder, by reason of their participation, directly or by implication, in said rebellion, and continued in hostility to the Government of the United States since the date of said proclamation, now desire to apply for and obtain amnesty and pardon:

To the end, therefore, that the authority of the Government of the United States may be restored, and that peace, and order, and freedom may be established, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do proclaim and declare, that I hereby grant to all persons who have directly or indirectly participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereafter excepted, amnesty and pardon, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, except in cases where legal proceedings under the laws of the United States, providing for the confiscation of property of persons engaged in rebellion, have been instituted, but on the condition, nevertheless, that every such person shall take and subscribe to the following oath, which shall be registered, for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

"I do solemnly swear or affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth support, protect, and faithfully defend the Constitution of the United States, and will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God."

The following classes of persons are excepted from the benefits of this proclamation:

1. All who are or have been pretended diplomatic officers, or otherwise domestic or foreign agents of the pretended Confederate States.

2. All who left judicial stations under the United States to aid in the rebellion.

3. All who have been military or naval officers of the pretended Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in the army, or lieutenant in the navy.

4. All who left their seats in the Congress of the United States to aid in the rebellion.

5. All who resigned or tendered the resignation of their commissions in the army and navy of the United States to evade their duty in resisting the rebellion.

6. All who have engaged in any way in treating otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, persons found in the United States service as officers, soldiers, seamen, or in other capacities.

7. All persons who have been or are absentees from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion.

8. All military or naval officers in the rebel service who were educated by the Government in the Military Academy at West Point, or at the United States Naval Academy.

9. All persons who held the pretended offices of Governors of the States in insurrection against the United States.

10. All persons who left their homes within the jurisdiction and protection of the United States, and passed beyond the Federal military lines into the so-called Confederate States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion.

11. All persons who have engaged in the destruction of the commerce of the United States upon the high seas, and all persons who have made raids into the United States from Canada, or been engaged in destroying the commerce of the United States on the lakes and rivers that separate the British provinces from the United States.

12. All persons who, at a time when they seek to obtain the benefits hereof by taking the oath herein prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement, or custody, or under bond of the military or naval authorities or agents of the United States as prisoners of any kind, either before or after their conviction.

13. All persons who have voluntarily participated in said rebellion, the estimated value of whose taxable property is over twenty thousand dollars.

14. All persons who have taken the oath of amnesty, as prescribed in the President's proclamation of December 8, 1863, or the oath of allegiance to the United States since the date of said proclamation, and who have not thenceforward kept the same inviolate; provided, that special application may be made to the President for pardon by any person belonging to the excepted classes, and such clemency will be extended as may be consistent with the facts of the case and the peace and dignity of the United States. The Secretary of State will establish rules and regulations for administering and recording the said amnesty oath, so as to insure its benefits to the people, and guard the Government against fraud.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this the 29th day of May, 1865, and of the Independence of America the eighty-ninth.

By the President, ANDREW JOHNSON.

WM. H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

A PEACE PROCLAMATION.

On the 20th of August, 1866, the President issued a proclamation announcing the return of peace and restoring the writ of *habeas corpus* in all the Southern States. Among the points made in this proclamation are the following:

"There now exists no organized armed resistance of the misguided citizens or others to the authority of the United States in the States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida, and the laws can be sustained and enforced therein by the proper civil authority, State or Federal, and the people of the said States are well and loyally disposed, and have conformed, or will conform, in their legislation to the condition of affairs growing out of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States.

"* * * The people of the several before mentioned States have, in the manner aforesaid, given satisfactory evidence that they acquiesce in this sovereign and important revolution of the national unity.

"It is believed to be a fundamental principle of Government that people who have revolted, and who have been overcome and subdued, must either be dealt with so as to induce them voluntarily to become friends, or else they must be held by absolute military power, or devastated so as to prevent them from ever again doing harm as enemies, which last named policy is abhorrent to humanity and freedom.

"The Constitution of the United States provides for Constitutional communities only as States, and not as Territories, dependencies, provinces, or protectorates.

"* * * Therefore, I, ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that the insurrection which heretofore existed in the States of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida is at an end, and henceforth to be so regarded."

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

AN ACT TO PROTECT ALL PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS AND FURNISH THE MEANS OF THEIR VINDICATION.

Be it enacted, etc., That all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians, not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right in every State and Territory in the United States to make and enforce contracts; to sue, be parties, and

give evidence; to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property; and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEC. 2. That any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, shall subject, or cause to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to different punishment, pains, or penalties on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. That the district courts of the United States, within their respective districts, shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses committed against the provisions of this act, and also, concurrently with the Circuit Courts of the United States, of all causes, civil and criminal, affecting persons who are denied or can not enforce in the courts or judicial tribunals of the State or locality where they may be any of the rights secured to them by the first section of this act; and if any suit or prosecution, civil or criminal, has been or shall be commenced in any State court against any such person, for any cause whatsoever, or against any officer, civil or military, or other person, for any arrest or imprisonment, trespasses, or wrongs done or committed by virtue or under color of authority derived from this act or the act establishing a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees, and all acts amendatory thereof, or for refusing to do any act upon the ground that it would be inconsistent with this act, such defendant shall have the right to remove such cause for trial to the proper District or Circuit Court in the manner prescribed by the "Act relating to *habeas corpus* and regulating judicial proceedings in certain cases," approved March 3, 1863, and all acts amendatory thereof. The jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters hereby conferred on the District and Circuit Courts of the United States shall be exercised and enforced in conformity with the laws of the United States, so far as such laws are suitable to carry the same into effect; but in all cases where such laws are not adapted to the object, or are deficient in the provisions necessary to furnish suitable remedies and punish offenses against law, the common law, as modified and changed by the Constitution and statutes of the State wherein the court having jurisdiction of the cause, civil or criminal, is held, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States, shall be extended to and gov-

ern said courts in the trial and disposition of such cause, and, if of a criminal nature, in the infliction of punishment on the party found guilty.

SEC. 4. That the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, the commissioners appointed by the Circuit Court and Territorial Courts of the United States, with power of arresting, imprisoning, or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, the officers and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and every other officer who may be specially empowered by the President of the United States, shall be, and they are hereby, specially authorized and required, at the expense of the United States, to institute proceedings against all and every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him or them to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States or Territorial Court as by this act has cognizance of the offense. And with a view to affording reasonable protection to all persons in their Constitutional rights and equality before the law, without distinction of race or color, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and to the prompt discharge of the duties of this act, it shall be the duty of the Circuit Courts of the United States and the Superior Courts of the Territories of the United States, from time to time, to increase the number of commissioners, so as to afford a speedy and convenient means for the arrest and examination of persons charged with a violation of this act. And such commissioners are hereby authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred on them by this act, and the same duties with regard to offenses created by this act, as they are authorized by law to exercise with regard to other offenses against the laws of the United States.

SEC. 5. That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant or other process when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of the person upon whom the accused is alleged to have committed the offense. And the better to enable the said commissioners to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the requirements of this act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing, under their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process that may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; and the persons so appointed to execute any warrant or process as aforesaid shall have authority to summon and call to their aid the bystanders or the *posse comitatus* of the proper county, or such portion of the land and naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to the perform-

ance of the duty with which they are charged, and to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution which prohibits slavery, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and said warrants shall run and be executed by said officers anywhere in the State or Territory within which they are issued.

SEC. 6. That any person who shall knowingly and wilfully obstruct, hinder or prevent any officer, or other person charged with the execution of any warrant or process issued under the provisions of this act, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him or them, from arresting any person for whose apprehension such warrant or process may have been issued, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such person from the custody of the officer, other person or persons, or those lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given and declared, or shall aid, abet, or assist any person so arrested as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from the custody of the officer or other person legally authorized as aforesaid, or shall harbor or conceal any person for whose arrest a warrant or process shall have been issued as aforesaid, so as to prevent his discovery and arrest after notice or knowledge of the fact that a warrant has been issued for the apprehension of such person, shall, for either of said offenses, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States for the district in which said offense may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized Territories of the United States.

SEC. 7. That the district attorneys, the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the said District and Territorial Courts shall be paid for their services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services in other cases; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a commissioner, he shall be entitled to a fee of ten dollars in full for his services in each case, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such commissioners for the arrest of offenders against the provisions of this act shall be entitled to a fee of five dollars for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such commissioner as aforesaid, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such commissioner for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them, such as attending at the examination, keeping the prisoner in custody, and providing him with food and lodging during his detention, and until the final determination of such commissioner, and in general for performing such other duties as may be required in the premises; such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the courts of justice within the proper district or county, as near as may be practicable, and paid out of the treasury of the United States on the certificate of the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and to

be recoverable from the defendant as part of the judgment in case of conviction.

SEC. 8. That whenever the President of the United States shall have reason to believe that offenses have been, or are likely to be committed against the provisions of this act within any judicial district, it shall be lawful for him, in his discretion, to direct the judge, marshal, and district attorney of such district to attend at such place within the district, and for such time as he may designate, for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this act; and it shall be the duty of every judge or other officer, when any such requisition shall be received by him, to attend at the place and for the time therein designated.

SEC. 9. That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such person as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this act.

SEC. 10. That upon all questions of law arising in any cause under the provisions of this act, a final appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

THE TENURE-OF-OFFICE BILL.

(PASSED MARCH 2, 1867.)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That every person holding any civil office to which he has been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and every person who shall hereafter be appointed to any such office, and shall become duly qualified to act therein, is, and shall be entitled to hold such office until a successor shall, in like manner, have been appointed and duly qualified, except as herein otherwise provided: *Provided*, That the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, and of the Interior, the Postmaster-General, and the Attorney-General shall hold their offices respectively for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

SEC. 2. That when any officer, appointed as aforesaid, excepting Judges of the United States Courts, shall, during a recess of the Senate, be shown, by evidence satisfactory to the President, to be guilty of misconduct in office, or crime, or for any reason shall become incapable or legally disqualified to perform its duties, in such case, and in no other, the President may suspend such officer and designate some suitable person to perform temporarily the duties of such office until the next meeting of the Senate, and until the case shall be acted upon by the Senate, and such person, so

designated, shall take the oaths and give the bonds required by law to be taken and given by the person duly appointed to fill such office, and in such case it shall be the duty of the President, within twenty days after the first day of such next meeting of the Senate, to report to the Senate such suspension, with the evidence and reasons for his actions in the case, and the name of the person so designated to perform the duties of such office. And if the Senate shall concur in such suspension, and advise and consent to the removal of such officer, they shall so certify to the President, who may thereupon remove such officer, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint another person to such office. But if the Senate shall refuse to concur in such suspension, such officer so suspended shall forthwith resume the functions of his office, and the powers of the person so performing its duties in his stead shall cease, and the official salary and emoluments of such officer shall, during such suspension, belong to the person so performing the duties thereof, and not to the officer so suspended: *Provided, however*, That the President, in case he shall become satisfied that such suspension was made on insufficient grounds, shall be authorized at any time before reporting such suspension to the Senate, as above provided, to revoke such suspension and reinstate such officer in the performance of the duties of his office.

SEC. 3. That the President shall have power to fill all vacancies which may happen during the recess of the Senate by reason of death or resignation, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session thereafter. And if no appointment by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall be made to such office so vacant or temporarily filled as aforesaid, during such next session of the Senate, such office shall remain in abeyance without any salary, fees, or emoluments attached thereto until the same shall be filled by appointment thereto by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and during such time all the powers and duties belonging to such office shall be exercised by such other officer as may by law exercise such powers and duties in case of a vacancy in such office.

SEC. 4. That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to extend the term of any office, the duration of which is limited by law.

SEC. 5. That if any person shall, contrary to the provisions of this act, accept any appointment to, or employment in, any office, or shall hold or exercise, or attempt to hold or exercise any such office or employment, he shall be deemed, and is hereby declared to be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and upon trial and conviction thereof, he shall be punished therefor by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 6. That every removal, appointment, or employment made, had, or exercised contrary to the provisions of this act, and the making, signing, sealing, countersigning, or issuing of any commission or letter of authority for or in respect to any such appointment or employment, shall be

deemed and are hereby declared to be high misdemeanors, and upon trial and conviction thereof, every person guilty thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both said punishments in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That the President shall have power to make out and deliver after the adjournment of the Senate, commissions for all officers whose appointments shall have been advised and consented to by the Senate.

SEC. 7. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Senate, at the close of each session thereof, to deliver to the Secretary of the Treasury, and to each of his assistants, and to each of the auditors, and to each of the comptrollers in the treasury, and to the treasurer and to the register of the treasury, a full and complete list, duly certified, of all the persons who shall have been nominated to and rejected by the Senate during such session, and a like list of all the offices to which nominations shall have been made and not confirmed and filled at such session.

SEC. 8. That whenever the President shall, without the advice and consent of the Senate, designate, authorize, or employ any person to perform the duties of any office, he shall forthwith notify the Secretary of the Treasury thereof, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury thereupon to communicate such notice to all the proper accounting and disbursing officers of his department.

SEC. 9. That no money shall be paid or received from the Treasury, or paid or received from or retained out of any public moneys or funds of the United States, whether in the Treasury, or not, to, or by, or for the benefit of any person appointed to, or authorized to act in, or holding or exercising the duties or functions of any office contrary to the provisions of this act, nor shall any claim, account, voucher, order, certificate, warrant, or other instrument providing for or relating to such payment, receipt, or retention, be presented, passed, allowed, approved, certified, or paid by any officer of the United States or by any person exercising the functions or performing the duties of any office or place of trust under the United States, for, or in respect to such office or the exercising or performing the functions or duties thereof; and every person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and upon trial and conviction thereof, shall be punished therefor by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding ten years, or both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

1868—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—CHICAGO, MAY 20.

The National Republican Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Chicago on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruc-

tion policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of Constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those Constitutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained, while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime, and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the Nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the National faith will permit.

5. The National debt, contracted, as it has been, for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy, and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by ANDREW JOHNSON call loudly for radical reform.

8. We professedly deplore the untimely and tragic death of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and regret the accession of ANDREW JOHNSON to the Presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him, and the cause he was pledged to support—who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions—who has refused to execute the laws—who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws—who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen—who has abused the pardoning power—who has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional—persistently and corruptly resisted by every measure in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion—who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption, and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations and at war with our National honor and independence Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citi-

zenship as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people, a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign emigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this Nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all Nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This Convention declares itself in sympathy with all the oppressed people who are struggling for their rights.

The following resolutions were also adopted unanimously, and are added to the declaration of principles:

Resolved, That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served in the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly coöperate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State Governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people. And we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions placed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of loyalty will direct, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

Resolved, That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

1868.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—NEW YORK, JULY 4.

The Democratic party, in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled, for all time to come, by the war or voluntary action of the Southern States in Constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be revived or reagitated, do, with the return of peace, demand:

1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

3. Payment of all the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable—all money drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property, according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the Government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue; that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, and the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the Administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the Executive and Judicial departments of the Government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens, at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, Constitutional liberty and individual rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms, we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny

which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated the most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret Star Chamber inquisitions, for the Constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters, without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law. It has converted the American Capitol into a bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no Constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort. It has abolished the right of appeal, on important Constitutional questions, to the Supreme Judicial Tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution; while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history; and, by its frauds and monopolies, it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his Constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults, the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base; and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively; and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of Government, and can only end in a single centralized, and consolidated Government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of co-

equal States. And that we regard the construction acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against the most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the Constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people; and, on behalf of the Democratic party, we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform, the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such, cooperating with us, as friends and brethren.

Resolved, That this Convention sympathizes cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the Court of Impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

XXII.

TWENTY-FIRST ADMINISTRATION—1869–1873.

U. S GRANT, PRESIDENT. SCHUYLER COLFAX, VICE PRESIDENT.

XLIst and XLIId Congresses.

SECTION 1.

On March 4, 1869, **Grant** and **Colfax** were sworn into office. General Grant entered upon the Presidency with the promise of restoring tranquillity, and with the pledge of an economical administration of the Government.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Lieutenant-General **Ulysses S. Grant** was born at Mount Pleasant, Clermont county, Ohio, April 27, 1822. It seems that the only marked traits of character he exhibited in early boyhood were energy, industry, will. His educational advantages, at this period, were those of the common, country school—no more.

In the year 1839, at the age of 17, he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, from which he graduated on the 30th day of January, 1843. During his stay at this institution he manifested that untiring industry, close application, and unconquerable will which distinguished his boyhood, and which have constituted so conspicuous an element of his military character. It appears, however, that he was never regarded as a genius; and the grade he sustained on the day of graduation—that of 21 in a class of about 42—would not indicate extraordinary advancement in the studies assigned him. But it was remarked by those who conducted him through his academic course, as it has been by those who have observed his military career, that he never lost an inch of the ground gained at each successive step in his progress. At his graduation it is said he possessed a "practical knowledge of the use of the rifled musket, the field piece, mortar,

U. S. Grant

siege, and seacoast guns, small sword and bayonet, as well as the construction of field works, and the fabrication of all munitions and *materiel* of war."

At the close of his academic course, he entered the United States regular army as a brevet Second Lieutenant of infantry. At this time, the United States being at peace with all nations, Grant was attached as a supernumerary lieutenant to the fourth infantry, then stationed on the frontier in Missouri and Missouri Territory, and engaged in keeping down the Indian tribes that at that time were very troublesome to the early settlers of that region. Here Grant had not been many months when he was ordered, with his regiment, to join the army of General Taylor, in Texas. Soon after this, Corpus Christi, an important port on the Texan shore, was taken possession of by the American army as a base of operations against the Mexicans, between whom and the United States disputes respecting certain imaginary boundary lines were fast ripening into a war; and it was here that Grant received his commission as full Second Lieutenant of infantry. This commission dated from the 30th day of September, 1845. On the 8th day of May, 1846, he participated in the battle of Palo Alto, and although not noticed in the official reports, was spoken of by his comrades as having displayed great gallantry. He was likewise engaged in the subsequent brilliant operations of Gen. Taylor along the banks of the Rio Grande. On the 23d of September, 1846, he took part, with great credit to himself, in the splendid affair at Monterey. It is a noteworthy fact that, although Grant's conduct in every one of these engagements was highly meritorious, he remained in the back-ground, claiming no honors or promotions, but quietly biding his time.

After the formal declaration of war by the United States, against Mexico, he was transferred to the command of General Scott, and subsequently (March 29, 1847,) participated in the siege of Vera Cruz. Immediately after this affair, he was appointed the Quartermaster of his regiment, which of-

fice he retained throughout the Mexican campaign. He was, however, honored with the appointment, on the field, of First Lieutenant, to date from the 8th of September, 1847, for gallant and distinguished voluntary services rendered on that day in the famous battle of Molino del Rey. Congress afterwards wished to confirm the appointment as a mere brevet, but Grant refused to accept it under such circumstances.

On the 13th of September, 1847, he was made Brevet Captain of the regular army for gallant conduct in the battle of Chepultepec, which battle occurred on the preceding day. On the 16th of November, 1847, he was commissioned a First Lieutenant in the fourth regiment of regular infantry, still retaining his brevet rank of Captain.

At the close of the Mexican war, Grant, upon the distribution of his regiment in companies and sections among the various Northern frontier defenses, along the borders of the States of Michigan and New York, took command of his company in one of these defenses. His regiment having been afterwards consolidated and ordered to the Department of the Pacific, Grant, with his own and some other companies, was sent into Oregon to Fort Dallas. He received his full promotion to Captain of infantry, in August, 1853, and was, shortly afterwards, attached to the Department of the West; but, not regarding military so favorable to progress as civil life, he resigned his connection with the United States Army on the 31st day of July, 1854, after which he resided near the city of St. Louis, Missouri, until the year 1859. Here he resided on a small farm, occupying himself in winter by hauling wood to the Carondelet market, and during the summer in the collection of debts, for which latter business, it is said, he had little capacity.

In the year 1859, he embarked in the leather trade with his father, the firm opening business in the city of Galena, Illinois. Grant continued in the leather business, driving a prosperous trade, up to the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1861, when he offered his services to his country, upon the

first call for volunteers, and was appointed by Governor Yates as Commander-in-Chief of the Illinois forces and mustering officer of Illinois volunteers. Desiring active service in the field, he resigned his appointment as mustering officer, and accepted the Colonelcy of the 21st regiment of Illinois volunteers, with a commission dating from June 15, 1861. In August, 1861, Colonel Grant was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General of volunteers, his commission dating from May 17, 1861.

Shortly after this he was appointed commandant of the post at Cairo—which post included the Missouri shore of the Mississippi river, from Cape Girardeau to New Madrid, and the opposite shore, to the point of land on which Cairo stands. This position Grant filled with great ability, checkmating, by his adroit maneuvering, the efforts of the rebels to occupy, permanently, Southern Kentucky, and conducting those successful expeditions against Forts Henry and Donelson, which opened the way to the occupation of Western Tennessee.

On the 16th of February, 1862, the day after the surrender of Fort Donelson, he was appointed Major General of volunteers, and was placed in command of an expedition up the Tennessee river against the rebels in and about Corinth, under command of Johnston and Beauregard. This expedition terminated in the great battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing—which battle, occupying two days (April 6 and 7, 1862), was one of the bloodiest of the war, and resulted in the defeat of the rebels and their retreat upon Corinth.

For the immense slaughter which attended this battle General Grant was very severely censured by the people, generally, throughout the Western States.

Soon after this, General Halleck having assumed command of the army before Corinth, and that place having fallen into the hands of the United States forces by evacuation, an important change took place in the army, which resulted in the assignment of General Grant to the District of West Ten-

nessee, and the promotion of General Halleck to the office of General-in-Chief. The former soon after formed the plan of opening the Mississippi river to its mouth. Memphis having been given up to our troops, the chief obstacles in the way of the prosecution of the design were Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

After a series of expeditions and battles, land and naval, in which the courage and fortitude of the Union troops were no less prominently exhibited than the superior engineering powers and unyielding stubbornness of General Grant, Vicksburg was reduced by siege, and was occupied by Grant on the 4th of July, 1863; and directly after this (July 8, 1863), followed the surrender of Port Hudson to General N. P. Banks.

On the 16th of October, 1863, the Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee were formed into the Military Division of the Mississippi, under the command of General Grant. The General, however, was not long in this position until, the grade of Lieutenant-General having been revived, he was promoted to that office—which office gave him control of the entire forces of the United States. This appointment was made in February, 1864, and was immediately followed by the most active, thorough preparations for a movement upon Richmond by the Army of the Potomac under the personal command of General Grant and an expedition against Atlanta under command of General Sherman. After the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, and the siege of Petersburg, Lee's retreat was cut off by the rapid movements which Grant instituted, and on the 9th of April, just one week after the last great battle, the army of Northern Virginia capitulated. Soon after, General Johnston surrendered to General Sherman on the same terms granted by Grant to Lee, and the great civil war was ended. Grant was appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*, August 12, 1867, and filled the office with distinction until January 14, 1868, at which time Secretary Stanton was reinstated by Con-

gress. On the 21st of May, 1868, he was unanimously nominated for the Presidential chair by the Republican Convention, which met at Chicago, and was elected over Horatio Seymour by a large majority. His first term gave such satisfaction that he was renominated June 5, 1872, and was elected over Horace Greeley. President Grant was an honest, virtuous executive officer. His tenacity for his friends, leading to the exclusion of more capable men, somewhat dimmed the glory of his Administration.

In May, 1877, General Grant started, with his escort, from Philadelphia, on a tour around the world. He visited all the principal countries, and was grandly entertained wherever he went, as a guest and representative from a great and free Republic. Through him the United States received the greatest honors and respect from all the nations of the earth. Returning in September, 1879, after an absence of more than two years, he landed at San Francisco, California, where his arrival was celebrated by a grand procession and public ceremony. He also received immense ovations in many of the large cities of the country, being honored as no other public man of the United States was ever honored. He afterward visited Cuba and Mexico.

In the National Republican Convention of 1880, he was a leading candidate for a third Presidential term.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1869 TO 1877—EIGHT YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
ULYSSES S. GRANT, of Illinois, President	March 4, 1869

Vice Presidents.

SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana	March 4, 1869
HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts	March 4, 1873

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
ELIHU B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois	March 5, 1869
HAMILTON FISH, of New York	Mar. 11, 1869

Secretaries of the Treasury.

ALEXANDER T. STEWART (withdrawn), of New York .....March 5, 1869
GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts.....Mar. 11, 1869
WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON, of Massachusetts.....Mar. 17, 1873
BENJAMIN H. BREWSTER, of Kentucky.....June 2, 1874
LOT M. MORRILL, of Maine.....June 21, 1876

Secretaries of War.

JOHN M. SCHOFIELD (Johnson's Admin.), New York.....March 5, 1869
JOHN A. RAWLINS, of Illinois.....Mar. 11, 1869
WILLIAM T. SHERMAN (Secretary *pro tem.*), of Ohio .....Sept. 6, 1869
WILLIAM W. BELKNAP, of Iowa.....Oct. 3, 1869
ALPHONSO TAFT, of Ohio .....March 8, 1876
J. D. CAMERON, of Pennsylvania .....May 22, 1876

Secretaries of the Navy.

ADOLPH E. BORIE, of Pennsylvania.....March 5, 1869
GEORGE M. ROBESON, of New Jersey.....June 25, 1869

Secretaries of the Interior.

JACOB D. COX, of Ohio.....March 5, 1869
COLUMBUS DELANO, of Ohio.....Oct. 29, 1870
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, of Michigan .....Oct. 9, 1875

Postmasters General.

JOHN A. J. CRESSWELL, of Maryland .....March 5, 1869
MARSHALL JEWELL, of Connecticut .....Aug. 24, 1874
JAMES M. TYNER, of Indiana.....July 12, 1876

Attorneys General.

E. ROCKWOOD HOAR, of Massachusets.....March 5, 1869
AMOS T. AKERMAN, of Georgia.....June 16, 1870
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, of Oregon.....Dec. 14, 1871
EDWARD PIERREPONT, of New York.....April 26, 1875
ALPHONSO TAFT, of Ohio.....May 22, 1876

Speakers of the House.

	SERVED.
JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine	41st Cong., 1869
JAMES G. BLAINE, "	42d Cong., 1871
JAMES G. BLAINE, "	43d Cong., 1873
MICHAEL C. KERR, of Indiana	44th Cong., 1875
SAMUEL J. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania, (2d Ses.)	44th Cong., 1876

State Admitted.—Colorado was admitted as the thirty-eighth State, August 1, 1876.

SECTION 3.

An Extra Session of the XLIst Congress met March 4, 1869, with a Republican majority in both Houses. James G. Blaine, of Maine, a Republican, was chosen Speaker in the House. All of Grant's nominations for Cabinet places were confirmed, except A. T. Stewart, of New York, nominated for Secretary of the Treasury. Being engaged in foreign commerce he was ineligible under the law, and his name was withdrawn.

The XLIst Congress.

In February, 1869, the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT was added to the list by its adoption in Congress and submission to the States. It conferred the right of suffrage on all citizens, without distinction of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." By the 30th of March, 1870, it was ratified by twenty-nine States, the required three-fourths of all in the Union. There was much local agitation in some of the Northern States on this new advance, and many who had never manifested their hostility to the negroes before did it now, and a portion of these passed over to the Democratic party. The issue, however, was shrewdly handled, and in most instances met Legislatures ready to receive it. Many of the Southern States were especially interested in its passage, since a denial of suffrage would abridge their representation in Congress.

The Fifteenth Amendment.

A political struggle arose in Congress as to the re-admission of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, which had not ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, or been reconstructed. A bill was passed (April 10th), authorizing their people to vote on the Constitutions already prepared by the State conventions, to elect members of Congress and State officers, and requiring, before re-admission to the Union, their Legislatures to ratify both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The "unreconstructed" and "irreconcilable" bitterly op-

posed both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. With the close of the war thousands of Northern men had settled in the South. These were now denounced as political adventurers—"carpet baggers"—by those who opposed the Amendments, Reconstruction, and Freedmen's Bureau Acts. Many of these opposers organized themselves first into KU-KLUX-KLANS, secret societies, organized with a view to affright negroes from participating in the elections, and to warn white men of opposing political views to leave the country. The object of the organization broadened with the trouble which it produced. Midnight assaults, horrible whippings, outrages, and murders were perpetrated. The proceedings of this base and secret organization go to show the dangerous excesses which political and race hostilities may reach. By these agencies, the whites in Georgia soon gained absolute political control. Under the advice of men like Stevens and Hill, the whites in Georgia passed laws providing for free public schools, etc. They guarded their newly acquired power by passing tax laws, thus virtually disfranchising more than half the blacks. Soon, those in favor of "a white man's Government" had undisputed control in Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas.

Ku-Klux-Klans.

To repress the Ku Klux outrages, Congress, in May, 1870, passed an act giving to the President all needed powers to protect the freemen in their newly acquired rights, and to punish the perpetrators of all outrages, whether upon whites or blacks. This was called in Congress the ENFORCEMENT ACT. The KU KLUX ACT was passed April 20, 1871. All of these measures were strongly advocated by Senator OLIVER P. MORTON, who, through this advocacy, won new political distinction as the special champion of the blacks.

The several Enforcement Acts and their supplements have but little force now, although some of them still stand. They were enforced with moderation and wisdom, but they became invalid after the defeat of the "carpet-bag governments."

The trial, arrest, and conviction of many of the leaders, and the enforcement of the Ku Klux Act, led to the disbanding of that organization. Previous to these trials many of the Southerners were incredulous as to the enormity of the secret political crimes which had been committed in all the Southern States. Popular sentiment now ran strongly against the Klan. Other means of intimidation, however, were employed at elections. In South Carolina and Mississippi Rifle Clubs were formed; the "WHITE LEAGUE" originated in Louisiana and was organized in all the neighboring States. They were open organizations, created under the semblance of State militia acts. Until the close of the Presidential election of 1876, they were potent factors in several Southern States.

Pacific Railroad.

The beginning of Grant's Administration was signalized by the completion of the Pacific Railroad, connecting the Missouri with the Bay of San Francisco. On the 10th of May, 1869, the last rail was laid, with imposing ceremonies, in a region which had been a vast wilderness ten years before. The Pacific Railroad, proper, is but 1,900 miles long—extending from San Francisco, California, to Omaha, Nebraska; but including its connections, it is 3,000 miles long, and extends from Boston to San Francisco. It thus connects the Atlantic with the Pacific, and the traveler can cross the continent in one week. Thousands of pioneers have gone from the populous East to the Western wilds to develop fresh sources of industry and wealth. Communication is thus held with the great Empire of China, from which silks, teas, and spices are obtained. "American ingenuity has made a route to India—the great desire of olden navigators."

The Ninth Census, 1870.

The first census of the United States was taken in 1790. The population of the country was then nearly four million. In 1870 the ninth census was completed. It presented results of the most encouraging character. Notwithstanding the ravages of war, the last decade had been a

period of wonderful growth and progress. During that time the population had increased from 31,443,000 to 38,587,000 souls. The National debt, though enormous, had fallen off. The products of the country had grown to a vast aggregate; even the cotton crop of the South was regaining much of its former importance. American manufacturers were competing with those of England in the markets of the world. The Union now embraced thirty-seven States and eleven Territories, including the Indian Territory and Alaska. From the narrow limits of the thirteen original Colonies, with their 421,000 square miles of territory, the National domain had spread to the vast area of 3,604,000 square miles, equal to 2,000,000,000 acres. The purchase of Louisiana more than doubled the geographical area of the Nation; the several Mexican acquisitions were only second in importance; while the recent Russian cession alone was greater in extent than the original thirteen States.

Reconstruction Completed.

In 1869 the Supreme Court sustained the Constitutionality of the Reconstruction acts of Congress. It held that the Ordinances of Secession had been "absolutely null;" that the seceding States had no right to secede, and had never been out of the Union, but that during and after their rebellion they had no Governments "competent to represent these States in their relations with the National Government," and therefore Congress had the power to re-establish the relations of any rebellious State to the Union. This decision fortified the Republicans and aided the President.

Before the close of the year (1869) Virginia, Georgia, Texas, and Mississippi had all complied with the conditions of reconstruction, and were readmitted to the Union. This completed the work of reconstruction. Georgia, however, had passed State laws declaring negroes incapable of holding office, and Congress refused full admission until she had revoked the laws and ratified the Fifteenth Amendment. It was finally readmitted July 15, 1870. The South was thus restored to

all her abandoned rights, and the work of **Reconstruction** by the adoption of the *Fifteenth Amendment* was completed. Thus the ballot was conferred upon the emancipated black men of the South and the free colored men of the North. Texas was the last State to signify its acceptance of the amended Constitution and to take its place in the reconstructed Union.

San Domingo Applies.

In 1871 the republic of San Domingo, comprising a large part of the island of Hayti, West Indies, applied for admission to the United States. A commission, sent by President Grant, visited the island, examined into its affairs, and gave a favorable report. The question of annexation was debated in Congress, but it met with such violent opposition that the application was rejected.

The Alabama Claims.

This Administration was signalized by the settlement of the Alabama claims—a difficult and threatening question. The injury done during the war to American commerce by Confederate privateers—fitted out in England and manned mostly by British sailors—had been very great. These cruisers had been sent out without any attempt to conceal their purpose, and with no efforts on the part of the British Government to restrain them. The repeated remonstrances of the Secretary of State against this violation of the laws of nations had been almost unheeded; but after the war, both parties became anxious for a settlement.

A "JOINT HIGH COMMISSION," composed of five British and five American statesmen, met at Washington, and, after much discussion, bound their respective countries to submit all the claims of either nation against the other to a board of arbitration, composed of five members, to be appointed by the kings and rulers of friendly nations. This court of arbitration met at Geneva, Switzerland, in the summer of 1872,

The Geneva Award.

gave the two nations a full and impartial hearing, and rendered an award of damages to the United States for $16,-

250,000. This sum was paid by Great Britain the next year. This result was very encouraging to those who hope that the bloody and expensive methods of war will gradually go out of use, and that the disputes of nations will be settled by PEACEFUL ARBITRATION.

The Northwestern Boundary Settled.

The question concerning the Northwestern boundary, between Washington Territory and British Columbia, was settled at the same time. By the terms of the treaty of 1846 it was stipulated that the Northwestern boundary line, running westward along the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, should extend to the middle of the channel which separated the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly *through the middle of said channel*, and of Fuca's Straits to the Pacific. But a dispute arose as to "the middle of said channel," for there were several channels. The British Government claimed the Straits of Rosario to be the true line intended by the treaty, while the United States would have the Canal de Haro. The matter thus stood till October, 1872, when it was referred for settlement to the arbitration of William I., Emperor of Germany. That monarch heard the cause, decided in favor of the United States, and the Canal de Haro became the international boundary.

The Credit Mobilier Investigation.

Toward the close of Grant's first term, public attention was directed to the CREDIT MOBILIER investigation in Congress. This was a joint stock company, organized in 1863, for the purpose of facilitating the construction of public works. In 1867 another company, which had undertaken to build the Pacific Railroad, purchased the charter of the Credit Mobilier (*cray'-de mobeel-yare'*), and the capital was increased to $3,750,000. Owing to the profitableness of the work in which the company was engaged, the stock rose rapidly in value and enormous dividends were paid to the share-holders. "In 1872 a lawsuit developed

the startling fact that much of the stock of the Credit Mobilier *was owned by members of Congress.* A suspicion that those members had voted corruptly in the legislation affecting the Pacific Railroad at once seized the public mind and led to a Congressional investigation, in which many scandalous transactions were brought to light, and the faith of the people in the integrity of their servants was greatly shaken."

Political Disabilities Removed.

In 1872, Congress, by a two-thirds vote, removed the political disabilities imposed by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment. The only exceptions were members of Congress, officers in the army and navy, Cabinet officers, and foreign ministers, who had resigned and joined the Confederacy. One hundred and fifty thousand men of capacity and experience were thus restored to political life.

The Force Bill.

An extra session of the XLIId Congress was convened March 4, 1871. James G. Blaine, Republican, was chosen Speaker in the House. The chief business was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the condition of the late insurrectionary States—often called the "Ku-Klux Committee"—and the passage of a "Force Bill" to enforce the XIVth Amendment. This Act allowed suit in Federal courts by the party injured against any person who should in any way deprive another of the rights of a citizen; it provided that inability, neglect, or refusal by any State to suppress such conspiracy, to protect the rights of its citizens, or to call upon the President for aid, should be "deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws" under the XIVth Amendment; it declared such conspiracies, if not suppressed by the authorities, "a rebellion against the Government of the United States;" it authorized the President, "when in his judgment the public safety shall require it," to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any district, and suppress the insurrection by means of the army and navy; and it exclu-

ded from the jury box any person "who shall, in the judgment of the court, be in complicity with any such combination or conspiracy."

The Issues of 1872.

The **Issues** entering into the **Presidential Canvass** at the close of Grant's first term, grew out of RECONSTRUCTION as completed by Congress. Some of these measures had been received with great disapproval in the South. The bestowal of the complete rights of citizenship upon the colored race excited there the greatest alarm and indignation. A state of violence and lawlessness was thus inaugurated, and the issues of the war often rediscussed with much bitterness. There was but little difference between the platforms of principles adopted by the opposing parties, and the canvass, which was exciting and sharp, was really a struggle for place and power.

Split in Republican Party.

The Republican party in Missouri had (1870) split into two parts—the "**Radical**" wing and the "**Liberal**" wing; the former wished to maintain the disqualifications imposed on the Southerners by the State Constitution during the war; the latter, headed by B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz, preferred to abolish these disqualifications and substitute "universal amnesty and universal enfranchisement." The Liberal Republicans carried the State.

In 1871 the Liberal Republicans and Democrats of Ohio manifested a common feeling.

The **Liberal Republican National Convention** met at Cincinnati May 1, 1872, and adopted a platform pledging the party to maintain the Union of the States, emancipation, enfranchisement, the last three amendments, universal amnesty, the writ of *habeas corpus*, and the duty of a thorough civil service reform. The Convention nominated Horace Greeley, of New York, for President, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice President. The **Republican National Convention** met at Philadelphia, June 5th, renominated President Grant unani-

Presidential Nominations.

mously, and nominated Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for the Vice Presidency. The platform approved civil service reform and the suppression of disorders in the South, and demanded complete equality for all men throughout the entire country. The **Democratic National Convention** met at Baltimore, June 9th, and by a nearly unanimous vote adopted the Liberal Republican platform and candidates. Many Democrats refused to vote for Greeley, thus—as has been the custom of that impolitic party for the past sixteen years—defeating themselves by their lack of union. The result was the success of the Republican candidates by an increased popular and electoral majority. When the electoral votes were counted, in February, 1873, they were found to be: For President, Grant, 286; Greeley, 0, and 63 scattering. For Vice President, Wilson, 286; Brown, 47, and 19 scattering.

Returning Boards.

At the second session of the XLIId Congress appeared the first case of conflict of State Governments in the South. "The reconstructed State Constitutions, in order to guard against intimidation by disfranchised citizens, had generally provided for RETURNING BOARDS, usually composed of three State officers and two citizens, specified by name in the Constitution. The Returning Board was empowered to canvass the votes, to reject the votes of all counties (or parishes) where they should judge force or fraud had been used, and to declare the results of all elections. In Louisiana successive removals and appointments of State officers by the Governor, for the purpose of controlling the Returning Board, had resulted in the formation of two bodies, each claiming to be the legitimate Returning Board. Two State Legislatures and Governments, one (Democratic) headed by Governor John McEnery, the other (Republican) headed by Governor W. P. Kellogg, were thus declared elected. Kellogg, who apparently controlled the Federal District Judge, Durell, brought suit before him against his political opponents, and obtained an order, illegitimately given, that the

Federal Marshal should seize the building used as a State House, and prevent the meeting of the McEnery Legislature. Both Governments, however, were inaugurated, and each claimed recognition by Congress. The Senate committee reported Durell's conduct most reprehensible, that Louisiana had no real Government, that the McEnery Government was most nearly a Government of right, and that the Kellogg Government was most nearly a Government in fact. The election of November 4, 1872, was declared null and void by a bill introduced in the Senate, but it was lost by a close vote.

The Salary Act.

At the second session of the XLIId Congress (February, 1873), an act was passed to abolish the franking privilege, and another to increase the salaries of officers of the Government. The President's salary was increased from $25,000 to $50,000, and that of Senators and Representatives from $5,000 to $7,500 per annum. This last feature of the act proved very unpopular, as it was made to apply to the salaries of the Congressmen who passed the bill, and it was commonly known as the **Salary Grab.** This was not new, as precedents were found to excuse it, but the people were nevertheless dissatisfied, and it was made an issue by both parties in the nomination and election of Representatives. Many were defeated, but many survived the issue. The agitation was kept up until the obnoxious feature of the bill and the Congressional increase of salary were repealed, leaving it as now, at the rate of $5,000 a year and mileage.

SALARY ACT OF 1873.

Be it enacted, etc., That on and after the 4th day of March A. D. 1873, the President of the United States shall receive in full for his services during the term for which he shall have been elected, the sum of $50,000 per annum, to be paid monthly; the Vice President of the United States shall receive in full for his services during the term for which he shall have

been elected, the sum of $10,000 per annum, to be paid monthly; and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States shall receive the sum of $10,500 per annum, and the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States shall receive the sum of $10,000 per annum each, to be paid monthly; the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General shall receive $10,000 per annum each for their services, to be paid monthly; and each Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, State, and Interior Departments shall receive as annual compensation, to be paid monthly, $6,000; and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall, after the present Congress, receive in full for all his services compensation at the rate of $10,000 per annum; and Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress, including Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in the Forty-second Congress, shall receive $7,500 per annum each, and this shall be in lieu of all pay and allowances; and all those holding such office at the passage of this act, and whose claim to a seat has not been adversely decided, shall receive $7,500 per annum each, and this shall be in lieu of all pay and allowances, except the actual individual traveling expenses from their homes to the seat of Government and return by the most direct route of usual travel, once for each session of the House to which such Senator, member or delegate belongs, to be certified to under his hand to the disbursing officer, and filed as a voucher: *Provided*, That in settling the pay and allowances of Senators, members, and delegates in the Forty-second Congress, all mileage shall be deducted and no allowance made for expenses of travel. And there is hereby appropriated a sum sufficient to make the annual salaries of such clerks in the office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives as receive $2,500 and upward, and less than $3,000 (including the petition clerk and printing clerk), $3,000 each; and of such as receive $2,000 and upward, and less than $2,500, the sum of $2,500 each; and of such as receive $1,800 and upward, and less than $2,000, the sum of $2,000 each; and of the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives $5,000 each; and of the chief clerk and journal clerk of the House, while such positions are held by the present incumbents, and no longer, $3,600 each; and of the doorkeeper of the House and the assistant doorkeeper of the Senate, while the position is held by the present incumbents, and no longer, $3,000; and of the postmaster of the Senate, $2,592; assistant postmaster, $2,000; and of two mail carriers, $1,700; and of the superintendent and first assistant of the Senate document room, $2,500 each; and second assistant in said document room, $1,800; and of the additional compensation to the reporters of the House and Senate for the Congressional Globe, $1,500 each; and additional pay to the chief engineer of the House, $360 (so as to equalize his pay with that of the chief engineer of the Senate). And it is hereby

provided that the increase of compensation to the officers, clerks, and others in the employ of the Senate and House of Representatives provided for in this act shall begin with the present Congress; and the pay of all the present employes of the Senate and House of Representatives, including the employes in the Library of Congress and those under the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, now employed in the Capitol building, and also the House reporters whose pay has not been specifically increased by this act, holding their places by appointment under the respective officers thereof, or by the authority of the Committee of Contingent Expenses of the Senate, or the Committee of Accounts of the House, be increased fifteen per cent. of their present compensation on the amount actually received and payable to them respectively from the beginning of the present Congress, or from the date of their appointment during the present Congress, and who shall be actually employed at the passage of this act. And the amounts of money necessary to carry the foregoing provisions into effect are hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

REPEAL OF THE SALARY ACT.

AN ACT repealing the increase of salaries of members of Congress and other officers.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That so much of the act of March 3, 1873, entitled "An act making appropriations for Legislative, Executive, and Judicial expenses of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1874," as provides for the increase of the compensation of public officers and employes, whether members of Congress, Delegates, or others, except the President of the United States and the Justices of the Supreme Court, be, and the same is hereby, repealed, and the salaries, compensation, and allowances of all said persons, except as aforesaid, shall be as fixed by the laws in force at the time of the passage of said act: *Provided*, That mileage shall not be allowed for the first session of the Forty-third Congress; that all moneys appropriated as compensation to the members of the Forty-second Congress, in excess of the mileage and allowances fixed by law at the commencement of said Congress, and which shall not have been drawn by the members of said Congress respectively, or which, having been drawn, have been returned in any form to the United States, are hereby covered into the Treasury of the United States, and are declared to be the moneys of the United States absolutely, the same as if they had never been appropriated as aforesaid.

Approved January 20, 1874.

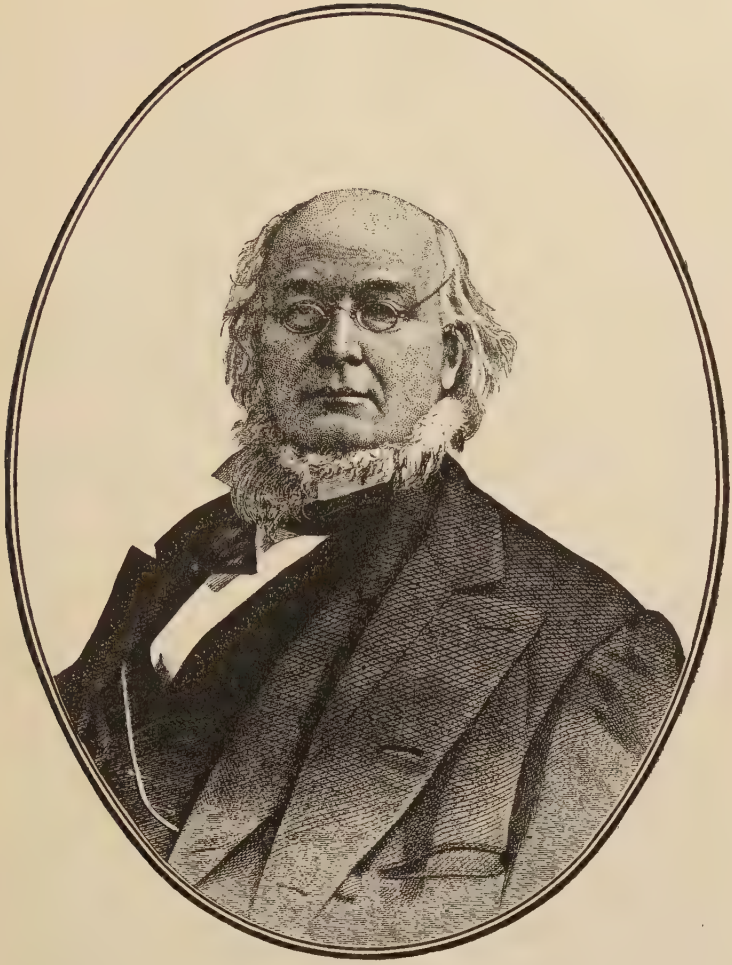
HORACE GREELEY.

This eminent journalist was born in Amherst, New Hampshire, February 3, 1811. He learned the printer's trade in the office of the *Northern Spectator*, in East Poultney, Vermont, and occasionally assisted in editing the paper. After working for a time in Pennsylvania, he went to New York in 1831, with ten dollars in his pocket, and worked as a journeyman till January 1, 1833, when, with a partner, he became the printer of the *Morning Post*. In 1834–'41 he edited the *New Yorker*, a literary weekly, celebrated for the accuracy of its political statistics. In 1840 he edited the *Log Cabin*, a Whig campaign weekly. On April 10, 1841, he issued the first number of the *Daily Tribune*, which started with five hundred subscribers. In the autumn of 1841 the *Weekly Tribune* was commenced.

In 1848 he was elected to Congress to fill a vacancy, and during his brief term he distinguished himself by exposing the abuses of the mileage system.

In 1855, on his second trip to Europe, he passed two days in prison in Paris, on the action of a French sculptor, who claimed damages for a statue injured at the New York world's fair of 1852, of which Mr. Greeley was a director. He spent the winter of 1855-'6 in Washington, and wrote letters to the *Tribune*. For certain strictures on a resolution introduced by Albert Rust, of Arkansas, he was brutally assaulted by him, and was confined for several days by his injuries. In 1859 he visited California by the overland route.

In the beginning of the Civil War Mr. Greeley declared himself in favor of allowing the Southern States to secede from the Union, provided a majority of their inhabitants voted for that course. When hostilities began he demanded their vigorous prosecution. At the close of the war he advocated universal amnesty with universal suffrage. In May, 1867, he signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis, thereby incurring much popular censure. In 1869 he was defeated as candidate for Comptroller of the State of New York.



Yours
Horace Greeley

Early in 1872 he made a journey to Texas, delivering many speeches on the way; and on May 1, a convention of "Liberal Republicans" at Cincinnati, who were dissatisfied with the Administration of President Grant, nominated him for President, and B. Gratz Brown for Vice President. The Democratic Convention, which met at Baltimore in July, adopted these candidates and their platform. Mr. Greeley retired from the editorship of the *Tribune* in July, and traveled and spoke in various parts of the country. He received 2,834,079 votes against 3,597,070 for Grant, and carried the States of Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. His wife died a few days before the election.

Shortly after the election he was prostrated by a disorder of the brain and sank rapidly. His funeral, though simple, was, perhaps, the most impressive ever witnessed in New York. In December, 1876, a memorial bronze bust, procured by printers, was unveiled over his tomb in Greenwood cemetery.

For twenty years Mr. Greeley had devoted much attention to agriculture, cultivating a farm at Chappaqua, in New Castle, Westchester county. His published volumes are: "Hints Towards Reforms," 1850; "Glances at Europe," 1851; "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension," 1856; "Overland Journey to San Francisco," 1860; "The American Conflict" (a history of the Civil War), 1864–6; "Recollections of a Busy Life," 1868; "Essays designed to elucidate the Science of Political Economy," 1870; and "What I Know About Farming," 1871.

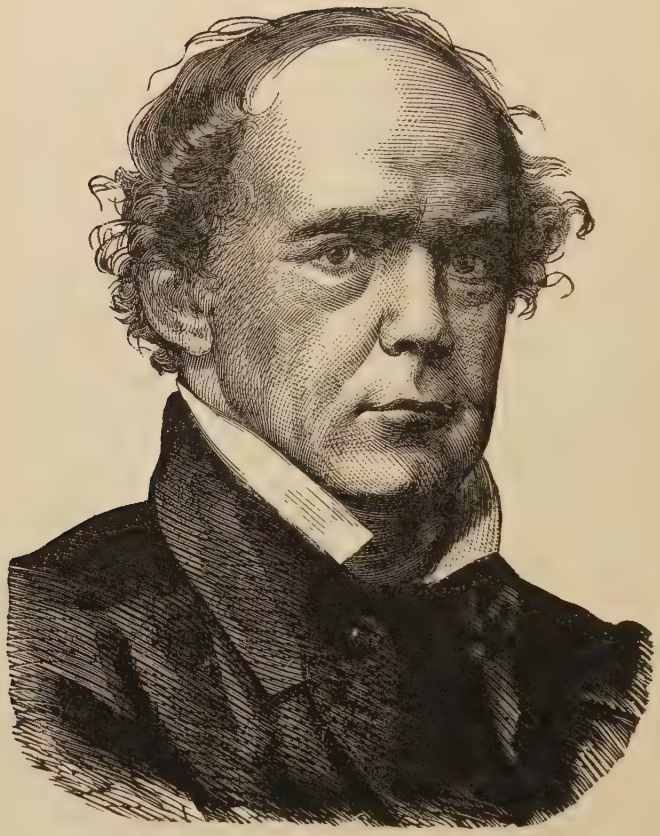
For thirty years he had been one of the foremost men and the brightest light of journalism in the country. He had long been a leader of public opinion, having discussed daily, with great ability and enthusiasm, almost every subject of interest to the people. He was one of the truly great men of America. Mr. Greeley died three weeks after the reëlection of Grant, broken down by labor, political disappointment and domestic bereavement.

SALMON P. CHASE.

Salmon Portland Chase (born 1808, died 1873) was born at Cornish, New Hampshire. His father died when Salmon was but nine years old, and the latter's uncle, then an Episcopal bishop, in Ohio, undertook his education. After a collegiate training, first at Cincinnati College and then at Dartmouth, he went to Washington, where he taught school while studying law. In 1830 he removed to Cincinnati to practice, and there employed his leisure time in preparing an edition of the "Statutes of Ohio," which at once gave him reputation, and has since superseded all other editions.

Chase was a warm advocate of anti-slavery principles, and may be considered virtually the originator and leader of the Republican party. In 1849 he was elected United States Senator, and took a prominent part in all the exciting debates over the slavery question which occurred during his term. He was elected Governor of Ohio in 1855, and re-elected in 1857 by a larger majority than had ever been given a Governor in that State. He was returned to the United States Senate in 1860, but President Lincoln almost immediately made him Secretary of the Treasury, and he bore one of the most arduous positions during the war, evolving and carrying out financial schemes with wonderful judgment and skill. As a foundation to work upon, he had an empty treasury and a poor National credit; yet he rapidly repaired both evils, and by the National banking system, which was purely his invention, placed the finances of the country on a sounder basis than ever before known.

Mr. Chase resigned from this office in June, 1864, only to accept, in the following December, the still more responsible position of Chief-Justice of the United States. The grave questions raised immediately succeeding the war, which involved the Constitutionality of certain acts of Congress and the President, the reconstruction of the South, and other matters of equal importance, were dealt with by him in a manner to excite the admiration of all.



SALMON P. CHASE.

In 1870 a paralytic stroke ruined his physical health, and although still able to perform the duties of his office with the usual clearness and greatness of mind, he gradually wasted away and died at New York in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

HENRY WILSON.

Henry Wilson, eighteenth Vice President, was born in New Hampshire in 1812, and died in Washington City in 1875. His original name was Jeremiah Jones Colbath, but at the age of seventeen he was authorized by the Legislature to call himself Henry Wilson. He was apprenticed at ten years of age to a farmer, with whom he continued eleven years. On attaining his majority he walked to Natick, Massachusetts, worked for two years at shoemaking, afterward studied in the academies at Stafford, Wolfeborough, and Concord, New Hampshire, and then returned to Natick. In 1840 he made more than sixty speeches in behalf of General Harrison. In the next five years he was three times elected a Representative from Natick to the Legislature, and twice a State Senator from Middlesex county, acting as a zealous opponent of slavery.

In 1848 he aided in organizing the Free-Soil party, and purchased the *Boston Republican*, a daily newspaper, which he edited for two years. In 1850 and 1851 he was President of the State Senate. In 1852 he was made President of the Free-Soil National Convention at Pittsburgh, and chairman of the national committee of the party. He was a United States Senator from 1855 to 1873. In the Senate he took a leading part in all important debates, especially those affecting the question of slavery. Throughout the Civil War he was chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and after its close advocated the mildest measures toward the seceded States, and also the granting of all political and civil rights to the colored population.

In 1872 Mr. Wilson was elected Vice President by the Republicans. In 1873 he sustained a shock of apoplexy, from which he had nearly recovered when, on November 10, 1875, a second shock prostrated him. For twelve days he lay ill in the Vice President's room, and died very suddenly from a third shock. In the latter years of his life he wrote the "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," and other works.

ABSTRACT OF THE SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

In the Canvass Against Horace Greeley, at Richmond, Indiana, August 3, 1872.

Gentlemen, standing here to-day in this presence, among these liberty-loving, patriotic men and women of Wayne county, I want to call your attention for a few moments to what we have struggled for in the past.

Nearly forty years ago, when the slave power dominated the country—when the dark shadow of human slavery fell upon us all here in the North—there arose a body of conscientious men and women who proclaimed the doctrine that emancipation was the duty of the master and the right of the slave; they proclaimed it to be a duty to let the oppressed go free. Rewards were offered—they were denounced, mobbed—violence pervaded the land. Yet these faithful ones maintained with fidelity, against all odds, the sublime creed of human liberty. The struggle, commencing forty years ago against the assumptions and dominations of the slave power, went on from one step to another—the slave power went right on to the conquest of the country—promises were broken without regard to Constitutions or laws of the human race. The work went on till the people, in their majesty, in 1860, went to the ballot-box and made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States. Then came a great trial; that trial was whether we should do battle for the principles of eternal right and maintain the cause of liberty, or surrender; whether we would be true to our principles or false. We stood firm—stood by the sacred cause—and then the slave power plunged the country into a godless rebellion.

Then came another trial, testing the manhood, the courage, the sublime fidelity of the lovers of liberty in the country. We met that test as we had met every other test—trusting in God, trusting in the people—willing to stand or fall by our principles. Through four years of blood we maintained those principles; we broke down the rebellion, restored a broken Union, and vindicated the authority and power of the nation. In that

struggle Indiana played a glorious part in the field, and her voice in the councils of the nation had great and deserved influence.

Now, gentlemen, measured by the high standard of fidelity to country, of patriotism, the great political party to which we belong to-day was as true to the country in war as it had been in peace—true to the country every time and on all occasions.

Not only true to the country, but the Republican party was true to liberty. It struck the fetters from the bondman and elevated four and a half millions of men from chattelhood to manhood; gave them civil rights, gave them political rights, and gave them part and parcel of the power of the country.

Now, gentlemen, here to-day I point to this record—this great record—and say to you that, measured by the standard of patriotism—one of the greatest and grandest standards by which to measure public men, political organizations of nations—measured by that standard which the whole world recognizes, the Republican party of the United States stands before the world with none to accuse it of want of fidelity to the country. Measured by the standard of liberty, equal, universal, impartial liberty—liberty to all races, all colors and all nationalities—the Republican party stands to-day before the country preëminently the party of universal liberty. Measured by the standard of humanity—that humanity that stoops down and lifts up the poor and lowly, the oppressed and the castaways, the poor, struggling sons and daughters of toil and misfortune—measured by that standard, the Republican party stands before this country to-day without a peer in our history, or in the history of any other people. We have gone further, embraced more, lifted up lowlier men, carried them to a higher elevation, labored amid obloquy and reproach to lift up the despised and lowly nations of the earth than any political organization that the sun ever shone upon.

And then, gentlemen, tested by the support of all the great ideas that tend to lift up humanity, to pull none down, to lift all up, to carry the country upward and forward, ever toward God, the Republican party of the country has been, and now is, to-day, in advance of any political organization the world knows.

Gentlemen, I am not here to maintain that this great party, with its three and a half millions of voters, tested and tried as it has been during twelve years—I am not here to say that it has made no mistakes. We have committed errors; we could not always see what the right was; we failed sometimes; but, gentlemen, take our record—take it as it stands—it is a bright and glorious record that any man, or set of men, may be proud of. We have stood, and we stand to-day, on the side of man, and on the side of the ideas God has given us in His Holy Word. There has not been a day since by the labors, the prayers and the sacrifices of the old anti-slavery men and women of the country, from 1830 to 1855—during twenty-five years—I say to you, gentlemen, here to-day, that this party, the pro-

duct of these prayers, and these sacrifices, and these efforts—with all its faults—has been true to patriotism, true to liberty, true to justice, true to humanity, true to Christian civilization.

I say to you here to-day, that all along during this time the Democratic party carried the banners of slavery. Whenever the slave power desired anything they got it. They wielded the entire power of the nation, until, in their arrogance, when we elected Abraham Lincoln, they plunged the country into the fire and blood of the greatest civil war recorded in history. After the war all the measures inaugurated for emancipation—to make the country free—to lift an emancipated race up—to give them instruction and make them citizens—to give them civil rights and make them voters—to put them on an equality with the rest of the people—to every one of that series of thirty or forty measures the Democratic party gave their President unqualified and united opposition. Well, now, we have been accustomed to say that they were mistaken, misinformed, that they were honest—that they believed what they did; but, gentlemen, if they have believed what they have said, that they have acted according to their convictions from 1832 to 1872—a period of forty years—can they be honest to-day in indorsing the Cincinnati platform—in supporting Horace Greeley?

Why, we have read of sudden and miraculous conversions. We read of St. Paul's conversion, of the light that shone around him, but I ask you, in the history of the human family have you ever known three millions of men—three millions of great sinners for forty years—three millions of men, all convicted, all converted and all changed in the twinkling of an eye. Why, gentlemen, if it is so, for one I will lift up my eyes and my heart to God, that those sinners, that this great political party that has been for forty years, every time and all the time, on every question and on all questions pertaining to the human race and the rights of the colored race, on the wrong side—on the side of injustice, oppression and inhumanity—on the side that has been against man and against God's holy word; I say, gentlemen, that I will lift up my heart in gratitude to God that these men have suddenly repented.

Why, I have been accustomed to think that the greatest victory the Republican party would ever be called upon to win—and I knew it would win it, because the Republican party, as Napoleon said of his armies, are accustomed to sleep on the field of victory. The Republican party—that always won—always ought to win, because it is on the right side; and when it is defeated, it only falls back to gather strength to advance again. I did suppose that the greatest task it would ever have, greater than putting down the rebellion, greater than emancipating four millions of men, greater than lifting them up to civil rights—greater than all its grand deeds—would be the conviction and conversion of the Democratic party of the United States. Just as we are going into a Presidential election—when it was certain that if the Republican party said and affirmed, said

by its members, said altogether, that its ideas, its principles, its policy, its measures, were stronger than were the political organization of the Democrats; I say, just as we are going into the contest, when it was certain that we would break down and crush out its ideas, and take its flags and disband it, and out of the wreck we would gather hundreds of thousands of changed and converted men, the best part of the body—just at that time some of our men are so anxious to embrace somebody that has always been wrong that they start out at once in a wild hunt to clasp hands with our enemies and to save the Democratic party from absolute annihilation. To do what they want us is to disband. Well, gentlemen, I suppose there are some here to-day that belonged to the grand old Army of the Potomac. If when Lee had retreated on Richmond, and Phil. Sheridan sent back to Grant that if he pushed things he would capture the army—if, instead of sending back to Sheridan, as Grant did, "Push things," he had said to him, "Let us disband the Army of the Potomac; don't hurt the feelings of these retreating men; let us clasp hands with them," what would have been the result? I suppose there are some of you here to-day that followed Sherman—that were with him in his terrible march from Chattanooga to Atlanta—with him in that great march from Atlanta to the sea—what would you have thought of him, if, when you came in sight of the Atlantic ocean, you had had orders to disband before the banners of the rebellion had disappeared from the Southern heavens?

I tell you, to-day, this movement of a portion of our forces is this and nothing more. I would as soon have disbanded that Army of the Potomac after Sheridan's ride through the valley of the Shenandoah, or when Sherman had reached the sea, as to disband the Republican party to-day. The time has not come.

I am not making a mere partisan appeal to you. I believe in this Republican party, and, if I know myself, rather than see it defeated to-day—rather than see the Government pass out of its hands—I would sacrifice anything on earth in my possession, even life itself. I have seen brave and good men—patriotic, liberty-loving, God-fearing men—I have seen them die for the cause of the country—for the ideas we profess, and I tell you to-day, with all the faults of the Republican party—and it has had faults and has made some mistakes—I say to you that I believe upon my conscience its defeat would be a disaster to the country, and would be a stain upon our record. It would bring upon us—we might say what we pleased, our enemies would claim it, and the world would record it—that this great, patriotic, liberty-loving Republican party of the United States, after all its great labors and great history, had been weighed in the balances and found wanting, and condemned by the American people.

Well, gentlemen, I choose, if it is to fall, to fall with it. I became an anti-slavery man in 1835. In 1836 I tied myself, pledged myself, to do all I could to overthrow the slave power of my country. During all these

years I have never given a vote, uttered a word, or written a line that I did not suppose tended to this result. I invoke you old anti-slavery men here to-day—and I know I am speaking to men who have been engaged in the cause—I implore you men who have been true in the past, no matter what the men or their natures are, to stand with the grand organization of the Republican party—be true to its cause and fight its battles—if we are defeated, let us accept the defeat as best we may; if we are victorious, let us make our future more glorious than the past. If we fail, let us have the proud consciousness that we have been faithful to our principles, true to our convictions; that we go down with our flag flying—that we go down trusting in God that our country may become, what we have striven to make it, the foremost Nation on the globe.

SECTION 4.

1872.—LABOR REFORM PLATFORM—COLUMBUS, FEB. 21.

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free Government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges or immunities from the Government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed. And believing that all the evils resulting from unjust legislation now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principles contained in the following declaration; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor, by providing a purely national circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and interchangeable, at the option of the holder, for Government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.65 per cent., subject to future legislation by Congress.

2. That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the Government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future exigencies of labor to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

3. That justice demands that the burdens of Government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption from taxation of Government bonds, bearing extravagant rates of interest, is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.

5. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.

6. That the presence in our country of Chinese laborers, imported by capitalists in large numbers for servile use is an evil, entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime on all classes of the American people, and should be prohibited by legislation.

7. That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all mechanics and day-laborers employed by or on behalf of the Government, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations, contracting with the State, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day, recently adopted by Congress for national employes; and also for an amendment to the acts of incorporation for cities and towns, by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

8. That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

9. That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of Government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore, money needed for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealthy of the country, and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

10. That it is the duty of the Government to exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation, or charges, by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the National Government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.

12. That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other, by a regular Constitutional change in the chief

of the country at each election; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the Presidential chair to one term.

13. That we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the States together and restore the Government of the people.

14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to national purposes alone.

15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the patent laws so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own ideas and inventions.

16. That fitness, and not political or personal considerations, should be the only recommendation to public office, either appointive or elective; and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.

1872.—PROHIBITION PLATFORM—COLUMBUS, OHIO, FEB. 22.

The preamble recites that protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties; and every citizen who yields obediently to the full commands of Government should be protected in all enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty, and private property. That the traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a great mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure. That all political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question. Therefore, as a National Convention, we adopt the following declaration of principles:

That while we acknowledge the pure patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundation of this Government, securing at once the rights of the States severally and their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchres of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our pledges of solemn fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution.

That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, a political wrong of unequalled enormity, subversive of ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, and imperatively demands, for its suppression, effective legal prohibition, both by State and National Legislation.

That there can be no greater peril to a nation than existing party competition for the liquor vote. That any party not opposed to the traffic, experience shows will engage in this competition—will court the favor of criminal classes—will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government, for party success.

That, as Prohibitionists, we will individually use all efforts to persuade men from the use of intoxicating liquors; and we invite all persons to assist in this movement.

That competence, honesty, and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for holding office.

That removals from public office for mere political differences of opinion are wrong.

That fixed and moderate salaries of public officers should take the places of fees and perquisites; and that all means should be taken to prevent corruption and encourage economy.

That the President and Vice President should be elected directly by the people.

That we are in favor of a sound National currency, adequate to the demands of business, and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder, and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice and public safety to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

That the rates of ocean and inland postage, and railroad telegraph lines and water transportation, should be made as low as possible by law.

That we are opposed to all discrimination in favor of capital against labor, as well as all monopoly and class legislation.

That the removal of the burdens imposed in the traffic in intoxicating drinks will emancipate labor, and will practically promote labor reform.

That suffrage should be granted to all persons, without regard to sex.

That the fostering and extension of common schools is a primary duty of the Government.

That a liberal policy should be pursued to promote foreign immigration.

1872.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 5.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given

to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform National currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the National credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the Nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the Government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and demand that the National domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the Nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legistion as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European Nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former Governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the Nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a National crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent National currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the

State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

17. It is the duty of the General Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

1872—LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—CINCINNATI, MAY 1.

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of person under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the Nation a return to the methods of peace and the Constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican Government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and

that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payments is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest Government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly-earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign Nations, to cultivate the friendships of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite and cordially welcome the coöperation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

1872.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—BALTIMORE, JULY 9.

We, the Democratic electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, do present the principles already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just Government.

[Here followed the "LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM," which see above.]

XXIII.

TWENTY-SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1873–1877.

U. S. GRANT, PRESIDENT. HENRY WILSON, VICE PRESIDENT.

XLIIId and XLIVth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Grant's Indian Policy.

The President's policy toward the Indians was to civilize and win them by every possible means to the pursuits of peace. Schools, model farms, premiums for success in cattle raising, etc., were proposed. He committed all questions concerning the Indians to a board of "Friends," while an educated Indian, who had served on his staff during the war, was a prominent member.

Financial Panic of 1873.

In the autumn of 1873 occurred one of the most disastrous financial panics known in the history of the United States. The great banking house of JAY COOKE & Co., of Philadelphia, failed suddenly. Other important failures occurred in rapid succession. Depositors hurried to the banks all over the land and withdrew their money. The national currency was sent home for redemption. The result was that a large percentage of the banks temporarily suspended payment. Mercantile houses and manufacturing companies, not being able to meet the sudden demands of their creditors, were forced into suspension or bankruptcy.

It was now seen that both public and private expenditures had been extravagant, and that the apparent prosperity of business had been largely fictitious. Public confidence was shaken. Months elapsed before this was restored, and for years afterward business languished, manufactures fell off, and the value of nearly everything gradually receded. The main causes of the panic were speculation in railroad stocks, construction of unprofitable railroads in new and unsettled

parts of the country, and the scarcity of money, caused by the contraction of the national currency from seven hundred million dollars in 1865 to only half that sum in 1873.

Troubles in Louisiana.

During the years 1873 and 1874 difficulties prevailed in Louisiana, which threatened the peace of the Nation. There were two rival Governors—WILLIAM P. KELLOGG, Republican, and JOHN MCENERY, Democrat; and rival Legislatures were elected. For awhile the State was in a condition bordering on anarchy. A large party opposed to the Administration of Kellogg, whom the Federal Government sustained, rose in arms and took possession of the State House. Kellogg appealed to the President for help. The opposing party were ordered to disperse, and United States troops were sent to New Orleans to enforce the order.

The Grangers.

In 1874 an Order, called the PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY, extended widely over the country. All persons engaged in agriculture were eligible to membership. The objects were, to cultivate mutual acquaintance, to secure prosperity to the farmers by selling their products directly to the consumer, and buying their goods directly from the producer, to oppose all monopolies and corporations that oppress the people, to strengthen the attachment to rural life, to discontinue the credit and mortgage systems, and to insist on purity in the management of public affairs. In 1868 there were but ten Granges in the United States. Six years afterwards they had increased to twenty thousand Granges, with a membership of a million and a half, securing a saving to the members of twenty million dollars yearly.

Early in the same year, a similar order, called **Sovereigns of Industry**, was formed to secure to all industrial classes the same benefits the Grange was intended to secure to the farmers. This order flourished mostly in the East, as the Grangers in the West. The problems which these orders have tried to solve are among the most important of the age. Some of

them are rapidly claiming the attention of the political parties, and appearing in Congress and in State Legislatures.

Signal Service Bureau.

The SIGNAL SERVICE BUREAU was established by Congress in 1870. It comprises a detachment of officers and privates in the army service, whose business it is to station and superintend observers in all parts of the country to make note three times per day of atmospheric changes, the rise and fall of rivers, the direction and velocity of wind, and report them simultaneously to the Bureau at Washington by telegraph. By this means the approach of storms and floods is announced hours, and sometimes days, before they reach distant localities. Thus time is gained for the protection of property and life. The probabilities of the weather for the various sections of the United States are daily published, and ninety per cent. of these predictions have been verified.

Stations for observations are established at about two hundred places in the United States, besides many daily reports from other places by citizens. There are also stations at Behring Strait, Hudson Bay, Greenland, Labrador, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Italy, India, West Indies, South America—around the globe! At all the stations in the United States observations are taken at the same moment of time—corresponding to 7:35 A. M. at Washington.

When the reports are received by the Bureau at Washington, they are compared, a summary of the general facts is immediately arranged, the state and changes of the weather for each region of the country during the following day are estimated from the indications given by the reports, and this estimate is furnished without cost to all the newspapers that care to publish them. The Chief Signal Officer at the head of this Bureau ranks in the army by law as Colonel of Cavalry.

The exactness and value of the results of the Signal Service led to the combination of all National systems into an

international one. Though yet in its infancy, the system promises much for the future. Great benefits have already resulted to river, lake, and marine commerce, and to agriculture, from the Bureau, whose usefulness has probably only just begun.

The Virginius Affair.

The steamer *Virginius*, a vessel owned by citizens of the United States, conveying filibusters to aid the Cubans, was captured by the Spanish authorities in the fall of 1873, and all her crew except eighteen were shot in Cuba. The Spaniards entertained some ill-feeling toward the United States because of this apparent interference in the affairs of the island, but the course of the filibusters was disavowed, and Spain was satisfied.

Specie Resumption Act Passed.

The SPECIE RESUMPTION Act, providing that after January 1, 1879, the legal-tender notes should be redeemed on presentation, in coin, was passed by Congress in 1875. In the meantime silver was to take the place of fractional currency. This law was much discussed by the people, being greatly praised in the East and criticised in the West. Its effect was to raise the value of United States bonds and lower the premium on gold.

The Centennial.

1876, the great **Centennial**—the hundredth year of our existence as an independent Nation—was celebrated at Philadelphia by the grandest EXPOSITION the world ever saw. Specimens of about all the country had produced, invented, or manufactured during the past one hundred years were there exhibited. Philadelphia was naturally selected as the place, it being the original seat of Government. The celebration took the shape of an industrial exhibition, or world's fair. Representatives from almost every nation and country of the earth were there to witness the gigantic progress our Republic had made during that time, and also to place on exhibition productions of their own skill and ingenuity. Many

spacious buildings were erected and the grounds elegantly laid off. The immense inclosures of the Centennial Exposition were in course of erection two years before the opening of the "great show." The Exhibition opened with appropriate ceremonies on the 10th of May, and closed on the 10th of November—a period of six months. Visitors from all parts of the Union and of the world thronged the Exhibition Buildings and Grounds. The average daily attendance was 100,000 persons. The products, industries, and achievements of nearly all civilized nations—new thoughts of the new age—were represented there. "It was the first gathering of the democracy of the world to which ALL MANKIND had been invited."

On the FOURTH OF JULY—the greatest day—upward of 275,000 people assembled to hear the reading of the Declaration of Independence from the original document, and to hear the oration of Hon. WILLIAM M. EVARTS, the orator of the day.

The Morton Amendment.

A large part of the second session of the XLIIId Congress was taken up in considering the mode of election of President and Vice President, a great part of whose possible dangers and difficulties, as they eventuated in 1876–77, were already plainly foreseen and discussed in the debates, but Congress did nothing to avoid them. Senator **Morton,** of Indiana, introduced an amendment to the Constitution, providing for the general choice of electors by districts, and a resolution to abolish the Twenty-Second Joint Rule, under which the counting of electoral votes had been conducted since 1865, but neither was adopted. Following is

THE MORTON AMENDMENT.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and, when ratified by the Legislatures of

three-fourths of the several States, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution, to wit:

"ARTICLE —.

"I. The President and Vice President shall be elected by the direct vote of the people, in the manner following: Each State shall be divided into districts, equal in number to the number of Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress, to be composed of contiguous territory, and to be as nearly equal in population as may be; and the person having the highest number of votes in each district for President shall receive the vote of that district, which shall count one Presidential vote.

"II. The person having the highest number of votes for President in a State shall receive two Presidential votes from the State at large.

"III. The person having the highest number of Presidential votes in the United States shall be President.

"IV. If two persons have the same number of votes in any State, it being the highest number, they shall receive each one Presidential vote from the State at large; and if more than two persons shall have each the same number of votes in any State, it being the highest number, no Presidential vote shall be counted from the State at large. If more persons than one shall have the same number of votes, it being the highest number in any district, no Presidential vote shall be counted from that district.

"V. The foregoing provisions shall apply to the election of Vice President.

"VI. The Congress shall have power to provide for holding and conducting the elections for President and Vice President, and to establish tribunals for the decision of such elections as may be contested."

VII. The States shall be divided into districts by the Legislatures thereof, but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter the same.

The Senate abolished the Twenty-second Joint Rule, so that the electoral count was now left without any provisions whatever for its government.

OLIVER P. MORTON.

Oliver P. Morton, Indiana's great "War Governor," was born in the county of Wayne, Indiana, on August 4, 1823. A brief period in the common schools, four years apprenticeship at the hatter's trade, and two short years at Oxford College, Ohio, made up the sum of his preparation to enter upon the business of life. He devoted himself to the study of law, and came to the bar in 1847. Had he continued in the prac-

tice of his profession, it is not to be doubted that, with the energy and ability he displayed in other fields, he would have become a leading member in it. While he was more or less connected with the political controversies of the times, it was not till 1856 that he may be said to have entered actively into political life, when he became the candidate of what was known as the people's party for Governor of the State.

Before that time, and up to 1854, he had been identified, politically, with the Democratic party; but upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, by which the Missouri Compromise line was repealed, he detached himself from that party and joined in the movement which resulted in the establishment first of the people's and afterwards of the Republican party. But it was not till 1861 that he became generally known to the country. In October, 1860, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of his State on the ticket with Governor Henry S. Lane, and upon the election of Governor Lane to the Senate, in January following, he became acting Governor, and continued to be the Chief Magistrate of his native State until January, 1867, when he was elected Senator from the State to succeed Senator Lane in this body.

His course and conduct as Governor of Indiana during the Civil War are well known to the country. The energy with which he supported and upheld the power of the Federal Government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion won for him the name and title of "War Governor," and gave him a prominent place in the front rank of the public men of the country.

During the early part of Mr. Morton's political career he was as distinguished for his physical strength as for his mental ability and energy; but in the fall of 1865, almost without warning, he was stricken down by partial paralysis, from the disabilities of which he never recovered and which gradually but surely carried him to his grave.

Mr. Morton was the champion of the Reconstruction Policy and advocated the logical results of it during the re-

mainder of his life. His labors upon the Electoral Commission, during the eventful period when it seemed as if the very foundations of our Government were in danger of being uprooted, are prominent in the history of the country. As a great partisan leader, he possessed many high and generous qualities. He died November 1, 1877.

SPEECH OF SENATOR OLIVER P. MORTON, OF INDIANA,

On the National Idea, at Providence, R. I.

The distinguished orator was introduced by Senator Anthony, and made an extended speech, from which we take the more pertinent paragraphs:

From this proposition two corollaries have been adduced from time to time, and I must say with great force of logic. The first is that this Union is composed of sovereign and independent States which have simply entered into a compact for particular purposes, and the Government is merely their agent; that any State has the right to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, or whenever in its judgment the terms of the compact have been violated, or the interests of the State require its withdrawal. The second is 'that each State has the right to nullify any law of Congress which, in the judgment of the State, is in violation of the compact by which the Government was formed. This doctrine has been the evil genius of the country from the foundation of our Government. It may be said to be the devil in our political system. It has been our danger from the first. It is the rock in the straits, and we fear that the end is not yet. Now, what can we oppose to this doctrine? We oppose what we call "the national idea." We assume that this Government was formed by the Governments of the United States in their aggregate and in their primary capacity. We assume that, instead of there being thirty-seven nations, there is but one: instead of there being thirty-seven Sovereignties, there is but one Sovereignty. We assume that the States are not sovereign, but that they are integral and subordinate parts of one great country. I may be asked the question here, "Are there no State rights? Would you override the States? Would you obliterate State lines?" I answer, "No." I answer that this doctrine is the only doctrine that can preserve the peace of this Nation and preserve the rights of the States. I answer that there is a vast body of State rights guaranteed and secured by the Constitution of the United States, by the same Constitution that created and upholds the Government of the United States; that these State rights have the same guarantee that the rights of the National Government have, equally entitled to the protection of the Supreme Court, springing out of the same instrument, and that one set of rights is just as sacred as the other. Some confound the idea of State sovereignty and State rights as being one and the same thing.

Others seem to suppose that State rights are only consistent with State sovereignty, and can not exist except upon the theory of State sovereignty; while I assume that State rights are consistent with National sovereignty, and are safest under the protection of the Nation. The Constitution gives one class of rights to the Government of the United States. They are specified, and they carry with them all the rights that are indispensable and necessary to their full execution and enjoyment. The rest are to be held and enjoyed by the States, or reserved to the people. The States have their rights by the agreement of the Nation. That seems to be the important truth that is so often overlooked, that the rights of the States, sacred and unapproachable, are sacred by the agreement of the Nation, as much so as are the powers that are conferred upon the Government of the United States, that the States derive their powers from the same source, viz: The Constitution of the United States. That Constitution says that the Government shall have one class of powers, and that other powers shall be gained by the States, to be enjoyed by them or reserved to the people. In the consideration of this question, we must reflect that the Nation had assembled in convention in 1787 and there formed a Government, there declared what rights should be given to the National Government, and what rights should be reserved to the States, and that, in either case, the grant and guarantee is an act of National sovereignty by the people in convention assembled. When we shall embrace this idea fully, all the danger of centralization will pass away, though we discard the idea of State sovereignty.

I do not differ so much with many gentlemen in regard to what the rights of the States are. I differ with them in regard to the titles by which they hold them. I say that so far as State rights are concerned, and the rights of the Government, that we are not to go back beyond the period of 1787, when the Constitution was formed. The rights of the elder States, and of Rhode Island as she has them now, are to be dated from the formation of the Constitution. Then they came into convention. They had the right to make any sort of Government they pleased, and they did. And in that Government they guarantied and secured to the States the great body of rights in regard to local and domestic government, but it was the agreement of the Nation at that time. So far as the new States are concerned, they are to come in on an equality. They are to have the same rights with the old; and this theory would be impossible of execution except upon the idea that the rights of the States and of the National Government are to be determined from the action that was taken at that time. The difficulty had been in regard to this theory of State sovereignty, and the assumed right of secession and of nullification was the result. They assumed that these States existed as nations, separate and distinct, before that time, and that they only loaned a portion of their rights for a particular purpose. This is the base of that theory; while we assume that the people were acting together at that time in their aggregate capacity,

raising a system of government, giving the United States certain powers, and providing that the States should hold and enjoy the rest, excepting those that were reserved to the people. The preservation of local self-government is essential to the liberties of this Nation. Nobody endorses that sentiment more strongly than I do. Nobody will stand by the rights of the States more firmly than I will. I hold that their rights are consistent with National sovereignty, and that National sovereignty is consistent with the rights of the States, and I deny that these rights are the result of inherent original State sovereignty. In other words, we differ in regard to the title. What the States should have, and what the Government should have, was settled by the act of the Nation in convention in 1787, changed to some extent by the adoption of Amendments since that time. It is not enough for a party to deny the right of secession. It is not enough for a party to deny the right of nullification. They must go further. They must deny the doctrine of State sovereignty; for as long as that doctrine is admitted, these other things will spring up spontaneously from it, and whenever the occasion allows it. If we were to admit that the States were sovereign, then we would be bound to say that Webster did not answer Hayne, and that Webster and Hayne never answered Calhoun. If once it is admitted that the States are sovereign, it is hard to resist the corollaries to which I have referred, that they have the right to secede, and that they have the right to nullify.

The doctrine of nationality planted deep in the hearts of the American people is our only sheet-anchor of safety for the future. Our country is greatly extended, from the tropical to the arctic regions, with every variety of climate, soil, and productions, with different commercial and manufacturing interests. The States on the Pacific slope are separated from those on this side of the Rocky Mountains by fifteen hundred miles of mountain and desert. They have a different commerce from what you have, almost an independent commerce. Their commerce will be with China, Japan, Australia, the western countries of South America, and the islands of the Southern Pacific. It is now but in its infancy, but it bids fair to develop into colossal proportions, and may change the commercial aspect of the world. We know not what feelings of independence may arise in those States in time to come. It is difficult to deny the effect that may be produced by the separation of vast States with a different commerce acting in conjunction with forced theories of the origin and laws of our Government. In saying this I will cast no imputation upon the loyalty of those States. They are now as loyal as any, and were during the war. But we can imagine that what has been may be again. And we can understand what may be the danger of this doctrine, if it should still maintain its hold in the minds of the American people, when conflicting interests arise, and conflicting notions arise as to what may be the interests of the people; as in 1812 a war was brought about which was regarded as being fatal to the interests of the New England States, they took their

position upon it. We have had a law which was regarded in South Carolina as being fatal to her interests, and she took her position upon it. This doctrine was again seized by slavery in 1861, and the rebellion was brought on. And what may happen in the far future upon the eastern and western coasts, upon the northern and southern extremities of our Nation, we can not tell.

The idea that we are a Nation, that we are one people, undivided and indivisible, should be a plank in the platform of every party. It should be printed on the banner of every party. It should be taught in every school, academy, and college. It should be the political North Star by which every political manager should steer his bark. It should be the central idea of American politics, and every child, so to speak, should be vaccinated with this idea, so that he may be protected against this political distemper that has brought such calamity upon our country. Were the mind of the Nation, so to speak, fully saturated with this sentiment of nationality, that we are but one people, undivided and indivisible, there would be no danger, though our boundaries came to embrace the entire continent. It is therefore of the utmost importance that it should be taught and inculcated upon all occasions. What the sun is in the heavens, diffusing light, and life, and warmth, and by its subtle influence holding the planets in their orbits and preserving the harmony of the universe—such is the sentiment of nationality in a Nation, diffusing light and protection in every part, holding the faces of Americans always toward their home, protecting the States in the exercise of their just powers, and preserving the harmony and prosperity of all.

We must have a Nation. It is a necessity of our political existence, and we find the countries of the Old World now aspiring for nationality. Italy, after a long absence, has returned. Rome has again become the center and capital of a great Nation. The bleeding fragments of the beautiful land have been bound up together, and Italy again resumes her place among the Nations. And we find the great Germanic family has been sighing for a nationality. That race, whose overmastering civilization is acknowledged by all the world, has hitherto been divided into petty Principalities and States, such as Virginia and South Carolina aspire to be, but now are coming together and asserting their unity, their National existence, and are now able to dominate all the Nations of Europe. We should then cherish this idea, that while the States have their rights sacred and unapproachable, which we should guard with untiring vigilance, never permitting an encroachment, and remembering that such encroachment is as much a violation of the Constitution of the United States as to encroach upon the rights of the General Government, still bearing in mind that the States are but subordinate parts of one great Nation, and that the Nation is over all, even as God is over the universe. Without entering into any of the consequences that flow from this doc-

trine, allow me for to-night to refer to that great National attribute, that great National duty—the duty and the power to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. If the Government of the United States has not the power to protect the citizens of the United States in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property in cases where the States fail, or refuse, or are unable to grant protection, then that Government should be amended, or should give place to a better. Great Britain sent forth a costly and powerful expedition to Abyssinia to rescue four British subjects who had been captured and imprisoned by the Government of that country. She has recently threatened Greece with war, if she did not use all her power to bring to justice two brigands who had lately murdered two British subjects. These things are greatly to the honor of Great Britain. And our Government threatened Austria with war if she did not release Martin Koszta, who had declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and was therefore protected by the Government of the United States. More recently we have made war upon Corea, a province in Asia, and slaughtered her people, and battered down her forts, because Americans shipwrecked upon her coast were murdered, and the Government had refused to give satisfaction for it. And if a mob in London should murder half a dozen American citizens, we would call upon that Government to use all its power to bring the murderers to punishment, and if Great Britain did not do so, it would be regarded as a cause of war. And yet some people entertain the idea that our Government has the power to protect its citizens everywhere except upon its own soil. The idea that I would advocate, the doctrine that I would urge as being the only true and National one, flowing inevitably from National sovereignty, is that our Government has the right to protect her citizens in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, wherever the flag floats, whether at home or abroad.

The Whisky Ring.

During 1875 an extensive WHISKY RING, organized to control revenue legislation and avoidance of revenue taxes, was discovered in the West. It was an association of distillers in collusion with Federal officers. For a time it succeeded in defrauding the Government of a large amount of tax on distilled spirits. It employed a part of the proceeds in political corruption. A number of Federal officers were convicted on trial. O. E. Babcock, the President's private Secretary, was tried for alleged complicity with the fraud. He was acquitted, but had to resign.

Congressional Proceedings.

Besides the matters just mentioned, this Congress considered also the so-called BLAINE AMENDMENT, prohibiting the appropriation of public money by any State to sectarian schools. It passed the House, but it did not secure a two-thirds vote in the Senate.

An unlimited **Amnesty Bill** failed to secure a two-thirds vote in the House.

Belknap Acquitted.

The Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, was impeached by the House on a charge of having received bribes for the appointment of a post-trader at Fort Sill. As there was not a two-thirds vote for conviction, he was acquitted.

Politics in 1876.

In the Presidential campaign of 1876, the attitude of parties was nearly the same as four years before. Politics presented no great issue before the people. The Republican party had now been in power sixteen years, the most exciting and momentous years in the history of our country. Violent differences of opinion had arisen in those years concerning finance, reconstruction, and other questions occasioned by the war. It may be said that the canvass of 1876 was the most closely contested that had ever been held. The decision of the "Returning Boards" in favor of the Republican party in Florida and Louisiana was denounced by the Democratic party as fraudulent. The Democrats had much to say about the extravagance and corruption of the Republican party, and the necessity of reform and economy in public expenditures. The Republicans argued that the record of the Democratic party for the last forty years showed it to be unfit to control the affairs of the Nation. Both parties accepted the amended Constitution. It was a struggle for the preferments of office and the patronage of the Government.

On May 17, 1876, the INDEPENDENT NATIONAL CONVENTION met at Indianapolis. Its platform demanded the repeal of the act for resumption of specie payments and the issue

of "Greenbacks" (United States notes), convertible into bonds on demand, as the currency of the country. Hence, this was called the **Greenback Party.** This organization, first heard of in 1868, took its name from the leading article of its political faith—that the Government should issue paper money similar to that issued during the war, popularly called, from its color, "greenback currency," based on the credit of the country without regard to coin. It nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for Vice President.

Presidential Nominations (1876).

The **Republican** National Convention met at Cincinnati June 14, with James G. Blaine recognized as the leading candidate. Grant had been named for a third term, and there was a belief that his name would be presented. Such was the feeling on this question that the House of Representatives and a Republican State Convention, in Pennsylvania, had passed resolutions declaring that a third term for President would be a violation of the "unwritten law" handed down through the examples of Washington and Jackson. His name, however, was not then presented. The "unit rule" at this Convention was, for the first time, resisted, and by the friends of Blaine, in order to release from instructions of State Conventions some of his friends. New York had instructed for Conkling, and Pennsylvania for Hartranft. On the first six ballots Blaine led all the other candidates; on the seventh ballot **Rutherford B. Hayes**, of Ohio, was nominated, with William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice President.

The **Democratic** National Convention met at St. Louis June 28. Great interest was excited by John Kelly, the Tammany leader of New York, who was present, and opposed with great bitterness the nomination of Tilden. He afterward yielded to the will of the majority and supported him. On the second ballot Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, was nominated for President. His leading competitor was Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, who was nominated for

Vice President. The **Prohibition** party nominated General Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, and advocated, among other things, the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment prohibiting the sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

THE ELECTORAL COUNT.

The following statements of the *Electoral Count* are taken from COOPER'S AMERICAN POLITICS:

"The election followed November 7th, 1876, Hayes and Wheeler carrying all of the Northern States except Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Indiana; Tilden and Hendricks carried all of the Southern States except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The three last named States were claimed by the Democrats, but their members of the Congressional Investigating Committee quieted rival claims as to South Carolina by agreeing that it had fairly chosen the Republican electors. So close was the result that success or failure hinged upon the returns of Florida and Louisiana, and for days and weeks conflicting stories and claims came from these States. The Democrats claimed that they had won on the face of the returns from Louisiana, and that there was no authority to go behind these. The Republicans publicly alleged frauds in nearly all of the Southern States; that the colored vote had been violently suppressed in the Gulf States, but they did not formally dispute the face of the returns in any State save where the Returning Boards gave them the victory. This doubtful state of affairs induced a number of prominent politicians of both the great parties to visit the State capitals of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana to witness the count. Some of these were appointed by President Grant; others by the Democratic National Committee, and both sets were at the time called the 'visiting statesmen,' a phrase on which the political changes were rung for months and years thereafter.

"The electoral votes of Florida were decided by the Return-

ing Board to be Republican by a majority of 926—this after throwing out the votes of several districts where fraudulent returns were alleged to be apparent or shown by testimony. The board was cited before the State Supreme Court, which ordered a count of the face of the returns; a second meeting only led to second Republican return, and the Republican electors were then declared to have been chosen by a majority of 206, though before this was done the Electoral College of the State had met and cast their votes for Hayes and Wheeler. Both parties agreed very closely in their counts, except as to Baker county, from which the Republicans claimed 41 majority, the Democrats 95 majority—the Returning Board accepting the Republican claim.

"In Louisiana the Packard Returning Board was headed by J. Madison Wells, and this body refused to permit the Democrats to be represented therein. It was in session three weeks, the excitement all the time being at fever heat, and finally made the following average returns: Republican electors, 74,436; Democratic, 70,505; Republican majority, 3,931. McEnery, who claimed to be Governor, gave Democratic electors a certificate based on an average vote of 83,635 against 75,759, a Democratic majority of 7,876.

"In Oregon, the three Republican electors had an admitted majority of the popular vote, but on a claim that one of the number was a Federal office-holder, and therefore ineligible, the Democratic Governor gave a certificate to two of the Republican electors, and a Mr. Cronin, Democrat. The three Republican electors were certified by the Secretary of State, who was the canvassing officer by law. This Oregon business led to grave suspicions against Mr. Tilden, who was thereafter freely charged by the Republicans with the use of his immense private fortune to control the result, and thereafter, the New York *Tribune*, with unexampled enterprise, exposed and reprinted the "cipher dispatches" from Gramercy, which Mr. Pelton, the nephew and private secretary of Mr. Tilden, had sent to Democratic "visiting statesmen" in

the four disputed sections. In 1878, the Potter Investigating Committee subsequently confirmed the 'cipher dispatches,' but Mr. Tilden denied any knowledge of them

"The second session of the 44th Congress met on December 5, 1876, and while by that time all knew the dangers of the approaching electoral count, yet neither House would consent to the revision of the joint rule regulating the count. The Republicans claimed that the President of the Senate had the sole authority to open and announce the returns in the presence of the two Houses; the Democrats plainly disputed this right, and claimed that the joint body could control the count under the law. Some Democrats went so far as to say that the House (which was Democratic, with Samuel J. Randall in the Speaker's chair), could for itself decide when the emergency had arrived in which it was to elect a President.

"There was grave danger, and it was asserted that the Democrats, fearing the President of the Senate would exercise the power of declaring the result, were preparing first to forcibly and at least with secrecy swear in and inaugurate Tilden. Mr. Watterson, member of the House from Kentucky, boasted that he had completed arrangements to have 100,000 men at Washington on inauguration day, to see that Tilden was installed. President Grant and Secretary of War Cameron thought the condition of affairs critical, and both made active though secret preparations to secure the safe if not the peaceful inauguration of Hayes. Grant, in one of his sententious utterances, said he 'would have peace if he had to fight for it.' To this end he sent for Governor Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, to know if he could stop any attempted movement of New York troops to Washington, as he had information that the purpose was to forcibly install Tilden. Governor Hartranft replied that he could do it with the National Guard and the Grand Army of the Republic. He was told to return to Harrisburg and prepare for such an emergency. This he did, and as the Legislature was then in session, a Republican caucus was called, and it resolved, without knowing

exactly why, to sustain any action of the Governor with the resources of the State. Secretary Cameron also sent for General Sherman, and for a time went on with comprehensive preparations, which, if there had been need for completion, would certainly have put a speedy check upon the madness of any mob. There is a most interesting unwritten history of events then transpiring which no one now living can fully relate without unjustifiable violations of political and personal confidences. But the danger was avoided by the patriotism of prominent members of Congress representing both of the great political parties. These gentlemen held several important and private conferences, and substantially agreed upon a result several days before the exciting struggle which followed the introduction of the Electoral Commission Act. The leaders on the part of the Republicans in these conferences were Conkling, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen; on the part of the Democrats, Bayard, Gordon, Randall, and Hewitt, the latter a member of the House and Chairman of the National Democratic Committee."

The Electoral Commission Act.

The Electoral Commission Act, the basis of agreement, was supported by Conkling in a speech of great power, and of all men engaged in this great work he was at the time most suspected by the Republicans, who feared that his admitted dislike to Hayes would cause him to favor a bill which would secure the return of Tilden, and as both of the gentlemen were New Yorkers, there was for several days grave fears of a combination between the two. The result showed the injustice done, and convinced theretofore doubting Republicans that Conkling, even as a partisan, was faithful and far-seeing. The Electoral Commission measure was a Democratic one, if we are to judge from the character of the votes cast for and against it. In the Senate the vote stood 47 for to 17 against. There were 21 Republicans for it, and 16 against, while there were also 26 Democrats for it to only 1 (Eaton) against it. In the House much the same propor-

tion was maintained, the bill passing that body by 191 to 86. Following is the text of the

ELECTORAL COMMISSION ACT.

An Act to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Senate and House of Representatives shall meet in the hall of the House of Representatives, at the hour of 1 o'clock post meridian, on the first Thursday in February, A. D. 1877; the President of the Senate shall be their presiding officer. Two Tellers shall be previously appointed on the part of the Senate, and two on the part of the House of Representatives, to whom shall be handed, as they are opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates, of the electoral votes, which certificates and papers shall be opened, presented and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States, beginning with the letter A; and said Tellers having then read the same in presence and hearing of the two Houses, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates; and the votes having been ascertained and counted as in this act provided, the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote, and the names of the persons, if any elected, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the journals of the Houses. Upon such reading of any such certificate or paper when there shall only be one return from a State, the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any. Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one Senator and one member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received. When all objections so made to any vote or paper from a State shall have been received and read, the Senate shall thereupon withdraw, and such objections shall be submitted to the Senate for its decision; and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall, in like manner, submit such objections to the House of Representatives for its decision; and no electoral vote or votes from any State from which but one return has been received shall be rejected, except by the affirmative vote of the two Houses. When the two Houses have votes, they shall immediately again meet, and the presiding officer shall then announce the decision of the question submitted.

SEC. 2. That if more than one return, or paper purporting to be a return from a State, shall have been received by the President of the Senate, purporting to be the certificate of electoral votes given at the last preceding elec-

tion for President and Vice President in such State (unless they shall be duplicates of the same return), all such returns and papers shall be opened by him in the presence of the two Houses when met as aforesaid, and read by the Tellers, and all such returns and papers shall thereupon be submitted to the judgment and decision as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of such State, of a commission constituted as follows, namely: During the session of each House, on the Tuesday next preceding the first Thursday in February, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, each House shall, by *viva voce* vote, appoint five of its members, with the five Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, to be ascertained as hereinafter provided, shall constitute a commission for the decision of all questions upon or in respect to such double returns named in this section. On the Tuesday next preceding the first Thursday in February, Anno Domini, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, or as soon thereafter as may be, the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States now assigned to the first, third, eighth, and ninth circuits, shall select, in such manner as a majority of them shall deem fit, another of the Associate Justices of said court, which five persons shall be members of said commission; and the person longest in commission of said five Justices shall be the president of said commission. The members of said commission shall respectively take and subscribe the following oath: "I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be,) that I will impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the commission of which I am a member, and a true judgment give thereon, agreeably to the Constitution and the laws: so help me God;" which oath shall be filed with the Secretary of the Senate. When the commission shall have been thus organized, it shall not be in the power of either House to dissolve the same, or to withdraw any of its members; but if any such Senator or member shall die or become physically unable to perform the duties required by this act, the fact of such death or physical inability shall be by said commission, before it shall proceed further, communicated to the Senate or House of Representatives, as the case may be, which body shall immediately and without debate proceed by *viva voce* vote to fill the place so vacated, and the person so appointed shall take and subscribe the oath hereinbefore prescribed, and become a member of said commission; and in like manner, if any of said Justices of the Supreme Court shall die or become physically incapable of performing the duties required by this act, the other of said Justices, members of said commission, shall immediately appoint another Justice of said court a member of said commission, and in like manner, if any of said Justices of the Supreme Court shall die or become physically incapable of performing the duties required by this act, the other of said Justices, members of the said commission, shall immediately appoint another Justice of said court a member of said commission, and, in such appointment, regard shall be had to the impartiality and freedom from bias sought by the original appointments to said commission, who

shall thereupon immediately take and subscribe the oath hereinbefore prescribed, and become a member of said commission to fill the vacancy so occasioned. All the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral votes of each State shall be opened, in the alphabetical order of the States, as provided in section one of this act; and when there shall be more than one such certificate or paper, as the certificates and papers from such State shall so be opened (excepting duplicates of the same return), they shall be read by the Tellers, and thereupon the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any. Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one Senator and one member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received. When all such objections so made to any certificate, vote, or paper from a State shall have been received and read, all such certificates, votes and papers so objected to, and all papers accompanying the same, together with such objections, shall be forthwith submitted to said commission, which shall proceed to consider the same, with the same powers, if any, now possessed for that purpose by the two Houses acting separately or together, and, by a majority of votes, decide whether any and what votes from such State are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and how many and what persons were duly appointed electors in such State, and may therein take into view such petitions, depositions, and other papers, if any, as shall, by the Constitution and now existing law, be competent and pertinent in such consideration; which decision shall be made in writing, stating briefly the ground thereof, and signed by the members of said commission agreeing therein; whereupon the two Houses shall again meet, and such decision shall be read and entered in the journal of each House, and the counting of the vote shall proceed in conformity therewith, unless, upon objection made thereto in writing by at least five Senators and five members of the House of Representatives, the two Houses shall separately concur in ordering otherwise, in which case such concurrent order shall govern. No votes or papers from any other State shall be acted upon until the objections previously made to the votes or papers from any State shall have been finally disposed of.

SEC. 3. That, while the two Houses shall be in meeting, as provided in this act, no debate shall be allowed and no question shall be put by the presiding officer, except to either House on motion to withdraw; and he shall have power to preserve order.

SEC. 4. That when the two Houses separate to decide upon an objection that may have been made to the counting of any electoral vote or votes from any State, or upon objection to a report of said commission, or other question arising under this act, each Senator and Representative may speak to such objection or question ten minutes, and not oftener than once;

but after such debate shall have lasted two hours, it shall be the duty of each house to put the main question without further debate.

SEC. 5. That at such joint meeting of the two Houses, seats shall be provided as follows: For the President of the Senate, the Speaker's chair; for the Speaker, immediately upon his left; the Senators in the body of the hall upon the right of the presiding officer; for the Representatives, in the body of the hall not provided for the Senators; for the Tellers, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, at the Clerk's desk; for the other officers of the two Houses, in front of the Clerk's desk and upon each side of the Speaker's platform. Such joint meeting shall not be dissolved until the count of electoral votes shall be completed and the result declared; and no recess shall be taken unless a question shall have arisen in regard to counting any such votes, or otherwise under this act, in which case it shall be competent for either House, acting separately, in the manner hereinbefore provided, to direct a recess of such House not beyond the next day, Sunday excepted, at the hour of 10 o'clock in the forenoon. And while any question is being considered by said commission, either House may proceed with its legislative or other business.

SEC. 6. That nothing in this act shall be held to impair or affect any right now existing under the Constitution and laws to question by proceeding in the judicial courts of the United States, the right or title of the person who shall be declared elected, or who shall claim to be President or Vice President of the United States, if any such right exists.

SEC. 7. That said commission shall make its own rules, keep a record of its proceedings, and shall have power to employ such persons as may be necessary for the transaction of its business and the execution of its powers.

Approved, January 29, 1877.

Election of Hayes and Wheeler.

The Electoral Commission met on February 1st, and by uniform votes of 8 to 7, decided all objections to the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon, in favor of the Republicans, and while the two Houses disagreed on nearly all of these points by strict party votes, the electoral votes were, under the provisions of the law, given to Hayes and Wheeler, and the final result declared to be 185 electors for Hayes and Wheeler to 184 for Tilden and Hendricks. So far as the Nation was concerned, this was the gravest crisis that ever attended an electoral count in this country. Though there had been a desire for peaceful settlement of all differences, yet partisan bitterness

was manifested by a majority of Northern Democrats, who believed that their party had been deprived by a partisan spirit of its rightful President.

SECTION 2.

1875.—THE AMERICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM,

ADOPTED IN MASS MEETING, PITTSBURGH, JUNE 9.

We hold:

1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen Nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

3. That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, is the true policy on the temperance question.

4. The charters of the secret lodges granted by our Federal and State Legislatures should be withdrawn, and their oaths prohibited by law.

5. That the civil equality secured to all American citizens by Articles 13th, 14th, and 15th of our amended Constitution should be preserved inviolate.

6. That arbitration of differences with Nations is the most direct and sure method of securing and perpetuating a permanent peace.

7. That to cultivate the intellect without improving the morals of men is to make mere adepts and experts; therefore, the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

8. That land and other monopolies should be discountenanced.

9. That the Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency and a return to specie payment, as soon as practicable.

10. That maintenance of the public credit, protection to all loyal citizens, and justice to Indians are essential to the honor and safety of our Nation.

11. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of electoral colleges, and a direct vote for President and Vice President of the United States.

1876.—PROHIBITION REFORM PLATFORM,

CLEVELAND, OHIO, MAY 17.

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit, in this Centen-

nial year of the Republic, for the suffrages of all good citizens, the following platform of national reforms and measures:

1. The legal prohibition in the District of Columbia, the Territories, and in every other place subject to the laws of Congress, of the importation, exportation, manufacture, and traffic of all alcoholic beverages, as high crimes against society; an amendment of the National Constitution, to render these prohibitory measures universal and permanent; and that the adoption of treaty stipulations with foreign powers, to prevent the importation and exportation of all alcoholic beverages.

2. The abolition of class legislation, and of special privileges in the Government, and the adoption of equal suffrage and eligibility to office, without distinction of race, religious creed, property, or sex.

3. The appropriation of public lands, in limited quantities, to actual settlers only; the reduction of the rates of inland and ocean postage; of telegraphic communication; of railroad and water transportation and travel, to the lowest practical point, by force of laws, wisely and justly framed, with reference, not only to the interest of capital employed, but to the higher claims of the general good.

4. The suppression, by laws, of lotteries and gambling in gold, stocks, produce, and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

5. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil; and the protection of purity, peace, and happiness of homes, by ample and efficient legislation.

6. The national observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employment (works of necessity, charity, and religion excepted), on that day.

7. The establishment, by mandatory provisions in National and State Constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

8. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground of religious creeds, but as a text-book of the purest morality, the best liberty, and the noblest literature in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light, and that its spirit and principles may pervade our Nation.

9. The separation of the Government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws, with entire freedom of religious faith and worship.

10. The introduction into all treaties hereafter negotiated with foreign Governments of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

11. The abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punish-

ment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and Nation, which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

12. The abolition of Executive and Legislative patronage, and the election of President, Vice President, United States Senators, and of all civil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

13. The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to immigrants from all nations, the guaranty to them of ample protection, and of equal rights and privileges.

14. The separation of the money of Government from all banking institutions. The National Government, only, should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be subject to prompt redemption on demand, in gold and silver, the only equal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

15. The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio with the decline of wages and market prices; the abolition of sinecures, unnecessary offices, and official fees and perquisites; the practice of strict economy in Government expenses; and a free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public trusts.

1876.—INDEPENDENT (GREENBACK) PLATFORM.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., MAY 17.

The Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic parties refuse to change; and, in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles, and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.

1. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every Congressional district of the country, with a view of electing Representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

2. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the Government, and convertible, on demand, into United States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be

full legal tenders for all purposes, except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the Government to provide such a circulating medium, and insist, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed, and circulation restored to the Nation, to whom it belongs."

3. It is the paramount duty of the Government, in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and commercial.

4. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made, for a long period, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the Government may need to sell, provided they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent. per annum, or even a lower rate.

5. We further protest against the sale of Government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fluctuating fractional currency, which, although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress, in taxation, an already overburdened people.

1876.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—CINCINNATI, JUNE 14.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with ulfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in National Convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a Nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective Constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these Governments to the hundredth anniversary of the Nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends Governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these

truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent Constitutional amendments is vested, by those amendments, in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the Legislative and Executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their Constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive, whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution, the President and Heads of Departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interests of the public service demand that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The Public School System of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European Governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect immigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes, with approval, the substantial advances recently made towards the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican Legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities, should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

14. The pledges which the Nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We, therefore, note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the Nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the Nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding, in the national capital, the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliber-

ately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself through the period of its ascendency in the lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The National Administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

18. We present, as our candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

1876.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—ST. LOUIS, JUNE 27.

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do hereby declare the Administration of the Federal Government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; and do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and coöperation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake, with us, this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of Republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of Church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole

people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism, which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyranny, has honey-combed the offices of the Federal Government itself with incapacity, waste, and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule; and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the National honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the Nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in Federal taxes, thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but, instead, has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation, by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the Nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and of its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating, at no time, an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed, a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries—set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts—restore employment to labor—and, renew, in all its natural sources, the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the

products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State, and municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870—or, in one decade, from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the National debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the Government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers, by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and, out of more than thrice that aggregate, has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omission of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now, by law, denied citizenship through naturalization, as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women, imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men, held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within Constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the officeholding class and the party in power seek to smother it:

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belongs exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain, without

prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred people once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible Republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the Governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward for party zeal, instead of post of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition. Here, again, promises, falsified in the performance, attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary, even more, in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers—are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched, or enriching friends, by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England concerned in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private Secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures, and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes—the product of sixteen years' ascendency of the Republican party—create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the Cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of Administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this Convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of

Representatives, in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government, in cutting down salaries and extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat the wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow citizens.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OF 1875.

SECTION 1. That all the persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of insurances, public conveyances on land and water, theaters, and other places of public amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to the citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. That any person who shall violate the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons by law applicable to the citizens of every race and color, and regardless of any previous condition of servitude, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in an action of debt, with full costs, and shall also, for every such offense, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof be fined not less than five hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, or shall be imprisoned not less than thirty days nor more than one year: *Provided*, That all persons may elect to sue for the penalty aforesaid, or to proceed under their rights at common law and by State statutes, and having so elected to proceed in the one mode or the other; their right to proceed in the other jurisdiction shall be barred; but this proviso shall not apply to criminal proceedings either under this act or the criminal law of any State: *And Provided further*, That the judgment for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved, or a judgment upon an indictment, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

SEC. 3. That the District and Circuit Courts of the United States shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all the crimes and offenses against and violations of the provisions of this act, and actions for the penalty given by the preceding section may be prosecuted in a Territorial District or Circuit Court of the United States wherever the

dependent may be found, without regard to the other party; and the district attorneys, marshals, and deputy marshals of the United States, and commissioners appointed by the Circuit and Territorial Courts of the United States, with powers of arresting and imprisoning or bailing offenders against the law of the United States, are hereby especially authorized and required to institute proceedings against every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States or Territorial court as by law has cognizance of the offense, except in respect of the right of action accruing to the person aggrieved, and such district attorney shall cause such proceedings to be prosecuted to their termination, as in other cases: *Provided*, Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to deny or defeat any right of civil action accruing to any person, whether by reason of this act or otherwise; and any district attorney who shall wilfully fail to institute and prosecute the proceedings herein referred to, shall, for every offense, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars to the party aggrieved thereby, to be recovered by an action of debt, with costs, and shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be fined not less than one thousand nor more than five thousand dollars: *And Provided further*, That a judgment for the penalty in favor of the party aggrieved against any such district attorney, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

SEC. 4. That no citizen, possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law, shall be disqualified for the service of a grand or petit juror, in any court of the United States, or of any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and any officer or other person charged with any duty of the selection or summoning of jurors, who shall exclude or fail to summon any citizen for the cause aforesaid, shall, on conviction thereof, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and be fined not more than five thousand dollars.

SEC. 5. That all cases arising under the provisions of this act in the courts of the United States, shall be reviewable by the Supreme Court of the United States, without regard to the sum in controversy, under the same provisions and regulations as are now provided by law for review of other causes in said court.

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENT.

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required, as rapidly as practicable, to be caused to be coined at the mints of the United States, silver coins of the denominations of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents, of standard value, and to issue them in redemption of an equal number and amount of fractional currency of

similar denominations, or, at his discretion, he may issue such silver coins through the mints, the sub-treasuries, public depositories, and postoffices of the United States; and, upon such issue, he is hereby authorized and required to redeem an equal amount of such fractional currency, until the whole amount of such fractional currency outstanding shall be redeemed.

SEC. 2. That so much of section three thousand five hundred and twenty-four of the Revised Statutes of the United States as provides for a charge of one-fifth of one per centum for converting standard gold bullion into coin is hereby repealed, and hereafter no charge shall be made for that service.

SEC. 3. That section five thousand one hundred and seventy-seven of the Revised Statutes of the United States, limiting the aggregate amount of circulating notes of national banking associations, be, and is hereby repealed; and each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and the provisions of law for the withdrawal and redistribution of national currency among the several States and Territories are hereby repealed. And whenever, or so often, as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal-tender United States notes in excess only of three hundred million of dollars, to the amount of eighty per centum of the sum of national bank notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of three hundred million dollars of such legal-tender United States notes, and no more. And on and after the first day of January, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem, in coin, the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption, at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States in the City of New York, in sums of not less than fifty dollars. And to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and provide for the redemption in this act authorized or required, he is authorized to use any surplus revenues, from time to time, in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par, in coin, either of the descriptions of bonds of the United States described in the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled, "An act to authorize the funding of the national debt," with like qualities, privileges, and exemptions, to the extent necessary to carry this act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purpose aforesaid. And all provisions of law inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Approved, January 14, 1875.

COL. ROBERT G. INGERSOLL, OF ILLINOIS,

In the National Republican Convention at Cincinnati, June, 1876, in Nominating James G. Blaine for the Presidency.

[**Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll** was born in Oneida county, New York, in 1834. He was the youngest of five children, was liberally educated, and always had the best of society. From New York he went with the family to Ohio, thence to Wisconsin, and thence to Illinois, his father, the Rev. Mr. Ingersoll, preaching in these several States. At Shawneetown, Illinois, Robert and his brother Eben practiced law. In 1860 he was a Democratic candidate for Congress in his district, but was defeated because of his outspoken anti-slavery sentiments. In the Civil War he was Colonel of an Illinois regiment. In 1868 he was a candidate for Governor before the State convention for the nomination of State officers, but was again defeated because of his heterodox sentiments on religious questions. He was urged by his friends to accept the position of Minister to Berlin, in 1877, but this also was declined, his time then being too fully occupied in lecturing.

He has long been regarded as one of the most effective public speakers in the country. The Republican Convention, which met at Cincinnati, in 1876, selected Mr. Ingersoll to deliver the speech nominating James G. Blaine as Presidential candidate. This he did in the following fitting and happy speech, which won for himself the plaudits of the people everywhere. Although the candidate of his choice was not selected, yet he entered vigorously upon the work of the campaign, and made many speeches, which stamped him as a speaker of great eloquence and commanding power, an orator of the finest order. He is a genial, large-hearted, public citizen.]

Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow; so am I; but if any man nominated by this Convention can not carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this Convention can not carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest, and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this Government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this Government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the National debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories

in the world can not redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire—greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil.

This money has to be dug out of the earth. You can not make it by passing resolutions in a political convention.

The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this Government should protect every citizen, at home and abroad; who knows that any Government that will not defend its defenders, and protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of Church and School. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has, in full, heaped and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain beneath her flag. Such a man is James G. Blaine.

For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the past; with the sacred legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for a man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat.

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress, and threw his shining lance full

and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor.

For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now, is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he saw so vividly, remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country, that prince of parliamentarians—that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.

XXIV.

TWENTY-THIRD ADMINISTRATION—1877–1881.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, PRESIDENT. WM. A. WHEELER, VICE PRESIDENT.

XLVth and XLVIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Hayes and Wheeler Inaugurated.

March 4 (1877), falling on Sunday, President Hayes took the oath of office privately on that day, and on the next day, the 5th, he was inaugurated at the Capitol. Before the adjournment of the XLIVth Congress, March 5th, the House of Representatives passed a resolution declaring that Tilden and Hendricks had been elected. The Democratic party gave proof, however, of moderation and patriotism in submitting to a decision they deemed inconclusive, and which deprived them of victory at the moment of seeming success.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Rutherford B. Hayes, the nineteenth President, was born in Delaware, Ohio, on the 4th of October, 1822. His ancestors settled in this country in the seventeenth century, and were honored as valued members of society. Some of them rendered faithful service in the Revolution. The blood that flowed in their veins belonged to the world's best type—the blood of England and Scotland. He graduated with distinction at Kenyon College, at the age of twenty.

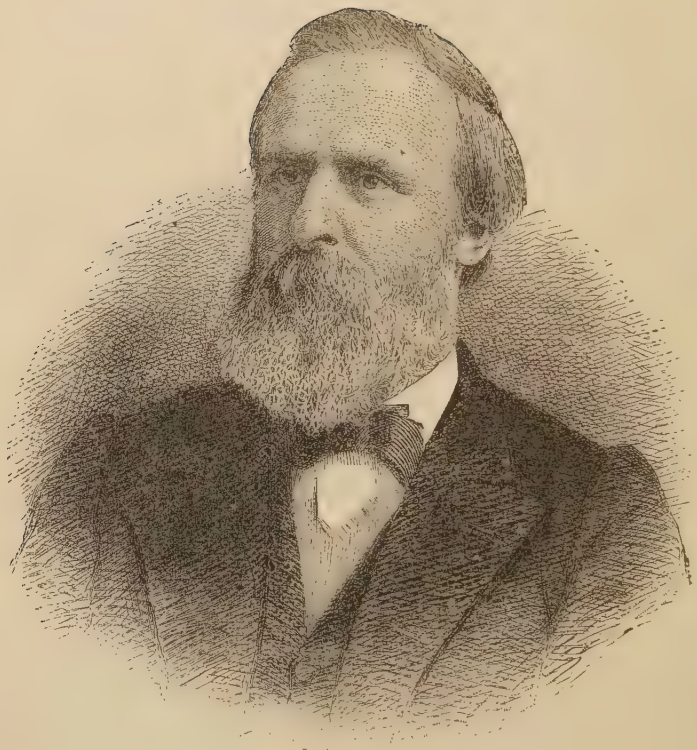
He chose the law as a profession, graduating at Harvard University Law School in 1845. He immediately began the practice of law in Cincinnati, and was soon recognized as one of the most accomplished and brilliant members of the profession.

In 1858 he was elected City Solicitor, and held the office for three years. At the commencement of the Civil War he was on the highway to political preferment, and was a candidate for Congressional honors; but he preferred to join the brave defenders of the Nation, in the hour of its weakness and peril.

In May, 1861, he recruited the Twenty-third Ohio volunteers, and was appointed Major.

Not having a military education, he transferred the command to Colonel W. S. Rosecrans, and served as Judge Advocate on his staff. Afterwards he received a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in August, 1862, with McClellan's army, soon after participated in the battles of Rich Mountain and Antietam. In the battle of South Mountain he was severely wounded, and had to be carried from the field. In the fall of 1862 his command was again assigned to service in Western Virginia.

It participated in the battle of Floyd Mountain, in 1864, and afterwards joined General Hunter's command in the Shenandoah Valley. In the battle of Winchester Colonel Hayes gallantly led the First Brigade of General Crook's



Sincerely
R. B. Hayes

command into action. Subsequently in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, he displayed great gallantry, and was accordingly breveted Major-General for his meritorious conduct.

Before the close of the war he was elected to Congress, and in 1866 he was reëlected, but resigned before the close of his term, in order to accept the nomination of Governor by the Republican party of Ohio. In 1867 he was elected Governor of Ohio, and served his third term with marked ability and fidelity.

Mr. Hayes, as President, maintained his spotless reputation as a citizen of high moral character, and discharged his duties as a statesman with unswerving fidelity to the best interest of the country, against opposition and adverse circumstances.

SECTION 2.

STATISTICS OF HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION.

TERM, 1877 TO 1881—FOUR YEARS.

	INAUGURATED.
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, of Ohio, President	March 5, 1877

Vice President.

WILLIAM A. WHEELER, of New York	March 5, 1877

Secretary of State.

	APPOINTED.
WILLIAM M. EVARTS, of New York	Mar. 12, 1877

Secretary of the Treasury.

JOHN SHERMAN, of Ohio	March 8, 1877

Secretaries of War.

GEORGE W. MCCRARY, of Iowa	Mar. 12, 1877
ALEXANDER RAMSEY, of Minnesota	Dec. 12, 1879

Secretaries of the Navy.

RICHARD W. THOMPSON, of Indiana	Mar. 12, 1877
NATHAN GOFF, Jr., of West Virginia	Jan. 6, 1881

Secretary of the Interior.

CARL SCHURZ, of Missouri.....Mar. 12, 1877

Postmasters General.

DAVID M. KEY, of Tennessee.....Mar. 12, 1877
HORACE MAYNARD, of Tennessee.....Aug. 25, 1880

Attorney General.

CHARLES DEVENS, of Massachusetts.....Mar. 12, 1877

Speakers of the House.

	SERVED.
SAMUEL J. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania	45th Cong., 1876
SAMUEL J. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania	46th Cong., 1879

SECTION 3.

President Hayes's Administration did not, from the beginning, receive the cordial support of the Republican party, nor the solid opposition of the Democrats.

Hayes's Southern Policy.

The policy of the new Administration was that the Southern States were now so fully reconstructed that Federal interference was no longer necessary; that the harmony of the sections, and even the welfare of the freedmen would be promoted by confining the action of the General Government to its ordinary sphere.

Troubles in Louisiana and South Carolina.

The political troubles in Louisiana and South Carolina were still annoying the country. In Louisiana, PACKARD, Republican, and NICHOLLS, Democrat, both claimed the Governorship, the former being sustained by the General Government, the latter by the people. In South Carolina, HAMPTON, Democrat, and CHAMBERLAIN, Republican, contended for gubernatorial honors and responsibility. The former was the choice of the people, but the latter was sustained, for a while, by the opposing party in power. The nominal authority of the Republican Governors, in each, was upheld by United States troops.

President Hayes was immediately confronted with the question of the *removal of the troops* that had been sent to keep the peace in the South. Many people of the North thought it would not be safe or prudent to do so. The rival Governors of South Carolina—Hampton and Chamberlain—with other "visiting statesmen," were invited by the Cabinet to Washington, in order to confer with the Government. A commission was also sent to Louisiana. These officials assured the President that the presence of troops in the South only promoted irritation and was not needed for the preservation of order. The President desired to do all that the most generous confidence could dictate toward soothing all feelings of bitterness and establishing peace and friendship. As a result of these conferences, the United States troops were withdrawn from the two States named, in April, an action that caused the overthrow of the local Republican governments, and put the States entirely in the control of the Democrats. This policy of the President—causing the overthrow of the Packard government in Louisiana—embittered the hostility of many radical Republicans. Senator Conkling was conspicuous in his opposition, as was Logan, of Illinois; also, the younger Senator Cameron, of Pennsylvania. It was this disturbing element, and the conservative tendencies of the Administration, that induced these three leaders to form the purpose of bringing GRANT again to the Presidency.

Removal of Troops from the South.

Both in his letter accepting the nomination, and in his inaugural, President Hayes had favored a conciliatory policy toward the South. He went into office pledged by the Republican party to CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. For many years it had been the custom to appoint such officials as were recommended by the members of Congress from that State where the officer was to be stationed. Great abuses had grown up

Civil Service Reform.

under this system, as it had become the custom to recommend persons for appointment as a reward for party services or as a return for personal obligations. Too often the fitness of the applicant was disregarded. The President gave much attention to the correction of these abuses. He made but few dismissals, and did not specially consult supposed party interests. His course in this matter excited much discussion and disapproval, especially among the members of the Republican party. President Andrew Jackson inaugurated the custom (*page* 312), since prevalent, of removing from office political opponents and installing men of congenial politics. This course has not always secured public officers adapted to the work required of them, and has also led to corruption, since many appointments have been made as payment for political services. President Hayes was pledged to regulate both his appointments and dismissals by questions of personal worth. In July, 1877, he issued a circular forbidding officers of the General Government from taking part in political organizations and caucuses, and from being assessed for political purposes. He also urged Congress to further the reform. A system of examination was adopted in the Departments, and, to some extent, promotions and discharges were founded upon them. (*See also Arthur's Administration.*)

The President's Situation.

The President's situation, from the very beginning of his Administration, was rendered unpleasant. He had not the hearty support of any party in Congress. Many Republicans looked upon his efforts to conciliate the South as being weak and wavering. His appointment of members of the Returning Boards to Federal offices excited much bitter feeling among the Democrats. He was deprived of much of a President's usual influence over Congress in consequence of his efforts to free himself from the control which Congressmen had gradually acquired over appointments.

Had Hayes's elevation to the Presidency been unattended by the peculiar partisan unpleasantness which characterized

it, he could, doubtless, have made his Administration one of the most successful in the history of the Republic.

Railroad "Strikers."

The summer of 1877 was marked by labor disturbances of greater magnitude than had ever before been witnessed in the country. There were numerous "*strikes*" of railroad employes on most of the trunk lines, brought on by a general reduction of wages, induced by a reduction of freight rates—the result of competition among the different roads. The strikers seized the roads at prominent centers, and for several days in July all traffic was suspended. In various portions of Pennsylvania, especially at Pittsburgh, they revolted *en masse*, joined by roughs, rioters, and other lawless characters; and millions of dollars worth of property—chiefly railroad property—was destroyed. Similar occurrences took place in other large cities of the country—at New York, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, and Reading—and much railroad property was destroyed. The military was called out to quell them, and collisions between the troops and the mob resulted in serious loss of life. In Pittsburgh, the mob, maddened at being fired upon by a Philadelphia regiment, drove the troops into a round-house, and in trying to burn them out, set fire to a large railroad depot. Before the flames could be subdued, two thousand loaded cars, and property valued at more than three million dollars were destroyed. By the use of sufficient military force, and the arrest of hundreds of the ring-leaders, the tumult was quelled. Some of the railroad companies acceded to the demands of the strikers, but the majority held to the reduction of wages. By the last of July the main roads were in working order, but the trouble continued at various points, at intervals, through the month of August. This great insurrection lasted twelve days. It was commonly called the **railroad strike,** and was the first riotous illustration in American history of the supposed conflict between labor and capital.

In consequence of the failure of the preceding Congress to pass the appropriation for the army, the President by proclamation called an extra session of Congress, October 15, 1877. The Senate was still Republican and the House Democratic. As soon as Congress met, the **Currency Question** assumed fresh importance, and bills for the *remonetization of silver* were introduced. Since 1873, silver had not been coined very largely, and was not legal tender for the payment of public or private debts in sums of over five dollars, and gold had been the sole standard of the currency. Opposition to this measure had gradually arisen, and in December, 1877, the BLAND SILVER BILL was introduced in Congress, which provided for the resumption of the coinage of the silver dollar of 412½ grains (worth then about 92 cents), made it a legal tender for public and private debts, and directed its coinage at the rate of not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 monthly. After much discussion the bill passed Congress. It was vetoed by the President, and on February 28, 1878, it was passed over the veto by more than a two-thirds vote in both Houses. The mints immediately began to coin and send out silver money.

The Bland Silver Bill.

At this session, June 7, 1878, an act repealing the bankrupt law, adopted March 2, 1867, was passed, and received the President's signature. It took effect in the following September.

Repeal of the Bankrupt Law.

Disagreements had arisen between the United States and England with relation to the Newfoundland fisheries, and the rights of our citizens therein. In November, 1877, a Commission, to which the matter had been referred, awarded $5,500,000 damages to England. In November, 1878, this sum was paid to the British Government in London by the American Minister, who accompanied it with a protest against the payment being understood as an acquiescence in the result of the

The Halifax Award.

Commission "as furnishing any just measure of the value of a participation by our citizens in the in-shore fisheries of the British provinces."

The Potter Committee. Cipher Dispatches.

In 1878 a House Committee, usually known as the POTTER COMMITTEE—from its chairman, Clarkson N. Potter—was appointed to investigate the alleged frauds in the Southern States. The investigation of this committee led to the discovery of a number of *cipher dispatches* exposed by the *New York Tribune*. These telegrams were from persons nearly connected with Mr. Tilden, having for their object the bribery of the Returning Boards. Mr. Tilden denied that he was a party to these negotiations. These "*ciphers*" are matters of historical interest, and convey information as to the methods which politicians will resort to in desperate emergencies.

Resumption of Specie Payments.

On January 1, 1879, the Government resumed specie payment. The act authorizing it was passed January 14, 1875. (*See pages* 617-648.) Every preparation had been made, and no interests were unfavorably affected.

The Chinese Question.

The Chinese immigration to this country now numbers over 125,000, of whom upward of 75,000 are in California. Under the direction of contractors, they come to America in large companies, seeking employment at very low wages, in the mines, factories, market gardening, and domestic service. It has been feared by some that the relation of these "heathen" with the contractors may abridge personal liberty, and that the presence of hosts of such immigrants may prove injurious to the morals of the community. In 1879 President Hayes vetoed a bill passed by Congress, which had for its object the prohibition of further immigration from China. (*See Arthur's Administration for further agitation of this question.*)

The Negro Exodus.

Induced by misrepresentations of politicians, and by a desire and hope of bettering their circumstances, many negroes of the South, in 1879, removed to some of the Northern States. At home their condition was that of agricultural laborers, with plenty of work and moderate pay, though, on the whole, they were probably as comfortably placed as white laborers on farms at the North. As a rule, they have little plats of land about their cabins to till for their own benefit. It is much to be questioned whether the agitators, who sought to make them discontented with their condition, were not really doing them much harm by exposing them to the severity of competition in the labor market, of which they hitherto had but a vague idea.

XLVth Congress, Extra Session.

The President, by proclamation, summoned Congress to an extra session, March 18, 1879. Both branches had Democratic majorities. The WARNER SILVER BILL, providing for the unlimited coinage of silver, was passed by the House, but the Senate Finance Committee refused to report it.

The chief business of the extra session was devoted to the consideration of the **Appropriation Bills**, which the regular session had failed to pass. On all of these the Democrats added "riders" (additions having no reference to the subject matter of the original bill) for the purpose of destroying Federal supervision of the elections. To the **Army Appropriation Bill**, a rider was added repealing the existing permission to the army "to keep the peace at the polls;" to the **Legislative Bill** was added another, repealing the authority given to Federal supervisors to count the votes at Congressional elections, and to Federal marshals to arrest at the polls; and to the **Judiciary Bill** was added another, forbidding the payment of Federal marshals for "services in connection with elections." All of these political "riders" were vetoed by President Hayes. The discussions of the several measures and the ve-

toes were very exciting. The excitement cemented afresh the Republicans, and caused all of them to act in accord with the Administration. The debates on these measures were bitterly partisan in their character.

The extra session finally passed the Appropriation Bills without riders. The Republican party was more firmly united by their opposition to these several supplementary measures. The Democrats, in attempting to pass these political riders, lost ground; for, "with the view not 'to starve the Government,' they had to abandon their position, and the temporary demoralization which followed bridged over the questions pertaining to the title of President Hayes, overshadowed the claims of Tilden, and caused the North to again look with grave concern on the establishment of Democratic power. If it had not been for this extra session it is asserted and believed by many that the Republicans could not have so soon gained control of the lower House, which they did in the year following; and that the plan to nominate General Hancock for the Presidency, which originated with Senator Wallace, of Pennsylvania, could not have otherwise than succeeded if Tilden's cause had not been kept before his party, unclouded by an extra session which was freighted with disaster to the Democratic party."

National Facts of 1879.

The great National facts of 1879 were the success of specie resumption by the U. S. Treasury; the refunding, at 4 per cent., of U. S. Bonds, bearing interest at 5 and 6 per cent., as could be legally called in; a great and general revival of business; a still larger volume of agricultural produce than ever before, and an increased balance of trade with Europe in favor of the United States. About 5,000 miles of new railroad were built, and 270,000 immigrants settled in the country.

The Tenth Census (1880).

In 1880 was completed the tenth census of the United States. The results presented were of the most encouraging character. The last decade had been a period of great prosperity. The

ninth census (1870) showed the population of the country to be 38,587,000; that of 1880 gave a total of 50,152,866 souls, being an increase of thirty per cent. Of the large cities, there were ten with a population of over 200,000 and ten having over 100,000. New York City had over 1,200,000 inhabitants; Philadelphia, near 850,000; Brooklyn, over 560,000; Chicago, over 500,000; Boston, 360,000; St. Louis, over 350,000; Baltimore, 330,000. The American Union now consists of thirty-eight States and eleven Territories, with Alaska and the Indian Territory, aggregating 3,604,000 square miles of land. The whole area of the United States and Territories, including water surface of lakes and rivers, is equal to nearly 4,000,000 square miles. In 1880 immigration was greater than in any previous year.

General Election Law.

During the session of Congress in the winter of 1879–'80, the Democratic opposition to the General Election Law was greatly tempered, the Supreme Court having made an important decision which upheld its Constitutionality. No Congress under President Hayes, nor since, has done anything to provide permanent and safe methods for completing the electoral count. Each political party seems to be afraid of the other.

President Hayes's Last Message.

The last annual message of President Hayes (February, 1881,) recommended the earliest practical retirement of the legal-tender notes, and the maintenance of the laws for the accumulation of a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish the public debt within a limited period. Referring to the Civil Service, he declared that every citizen has an equal right to the honor and profit of entering the public service; that the only just ground of discrimination is the measure of character and capacity he may have to make that service most useful to the people. (*See, also, Arthur's Administration.*) His message set forth, also, his pol-

icy for improving the condition of the Indians. It suggested that the Indians should be prepared for citizenship by giving their youth of both sexes that industrial and general education which is requisite to enable them to be self-supporting and capable of self-protection in civilized communities; that lands should be allotted to the Indians in severalty, inalienable for a certain period; that the Indians should have a fair compensation for their lands not required for individual allotments, the amounts to be invested, with suitable safeguards, for their benefit, and that, these prerequisites secured, the Indians should be made citizens, and invested with the rights and charged with the responsibilities of citizenship.

Hayes's Indian Policy.

"A portion of this policy was inaugurated in April, 1878, in a **school for Indian young men,** established in connection with General Armstrong's famous Normal School for negroes, at Hampton, Virginia. It was begun with seventeen ex-prisoners of war out of a party of sixty-five, who had been confined for three years at Fort Marion, Florida, in charge of Captain R. H. Pratt, U. S. A. They represented the worse stock in the Indian Territory—the class which the West declared could not be elevated any more than a buffalo, and which gave rise to the creed, 'There is no good Indian but a dead one.' Under Captain Pratt, aided by Miss Mather, Miss Perrit, and other philanthropic ladies, who volunteered their services as teachers, the fierce prisoners, who came to St. Augustine in war-paint and blankets, were transformed into tractable pupils, wearing the National uniform, and tolerably skilled in various trades. A few months after their arrival at Hampton, eleven of them were received into the Christian Church connected with the institution."

Indian School at Hampton, Va.

" Four of the young men from Fort Marion, Florida, were educated by Bishop F. D. Huntington of the Central New York Diocese of the Episcopal Church. Two of them be-

came clergymen, and were ordained deacons at Syracuse, New York, in June, 1881. Of one of these deacons, Captain Pratt said that, at first, he was the worst among the prisoners, being so wild and untamable that he feared he should be obliged to shoot him. Yet the Bishop declared, on the day of the young man's ordination, that he was one of the gentlest Christian men he ever knew. Both Indians returned to labor among their people, the Kiowas."

Indian School at Carlisle, Pa.

"By Act of Congress, a school was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to accommodate some two hundred Indians, and within two years of its opening, its pupils made a portion of the shoes, harnesses, wagons, tinware, and other supplies needed by the Department of Indian Affairs. Indian young men were also now employed in the Indian office of the Government, training for clerks or superintendents of the agencies."

Bills not Disposed of by the XLVIth Congress.

Among the bills not disposed of by the last session of Congress, in Hayes's Administration, were the Electoral Count Joint Rule; the Funding Bill; the Irish Relief Bill; the Chinese Indemnity Bill; bill to restrict Chinese immigration; to amend the Constitution as to the election of President; to regulate the pay and number of Supervisors of Election and Special Deputy Marshals; to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; to prohibit military interference at elections; to define the terms of office of the Chief Supervisors of elections; for the appointment of a Tariff Commission; the Political Assessment Bill; the Kellogg-Spofford case; and the Fitz John Porter Bill.

Closing of Hayes's Administration.

Some of the Congressional acts of the last year of Hayes's Administration may be briefly summed up as follows: An effort was made in Congress to provide for a Constitutional Amendment changing the man-

ner of voting for President and Vice President and for the official count of that vote, it being clear that such an Amendment was generally desired; but the parties could not agree on its details and no result was obtained.

A new set of **Parliamentary Rules** was adopted by the House, and went into operation in March, 1880.

The session of Congress was prolonged through the spring (1880) because Congress and the President could not agree on details of the Appropriation Bills and the "riders" attached thereto (*page* 662). The President vetoed the Deficiency Appropriation Bill because of what he considered inappropriate legislation attached.

All the regular and necessary Appropriation Bills passed in such form as to receive the approval of the President. Their amount was $186,000,000. Some special bills were also passed; among them $30,000 was for the celebration of the Centennial of the **Surrender of Cornwallis** at Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781, with $100,000 for a monument to commemorate it. This monument was voted in 1782 by the Continental Congress, but no appropriation having ever been made it was not erected.

The **Public Debt** stood at $1,918,326,747.45, and the annual interest due on it at $79,633,981—the debt having been reduced, in fourteen years and ten months, nearly one-third and the interest almost one-half, while the annual revenue had been reduced in various ways. Success in finance had been added to the long and brilliant record of progress in other lines, and a new decade began with bright promise of a still more wonderful future.

The President, on the last day of his Administration (March 3, 1881), vetoed a bill for refunding a part of the Public Debt.

Presidential Nominations (1880).

The **Republican National** Convention met June 5, 1880, at Chicago. The excitement among Republicans was very high, because of the candidacy of General Grant for a "third term," though

not a third consecutive term. In the State Conventions of New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, Grant's three powerful Senatorial friends, in the face of bitter protests, had secured instructions for him—Conkling in New York, Cameron in Pennsylvania, and Logan in Illinois. In each of these States, however, the opposition was so impressive that no serious attempts were made to substitute other delegates for those which had previously been selected by their Congressional districts. As a result, there was a large majority in the delegations of these States opposed to the nomination of General Grant, and their votes could be controlled only by the enforcement of the unit rule. The Convention, however, refused to recognize the unit rule, and absolved the delegates from obedience to it.

The platform detailed the party's achievements in the past, denounced the Democratic party and the "Solid South," and favored a **Protective Tariff**, the **protection of all citizens in all their rights by Federal power, and the restriction of Chinese immigration.** (*See Platform.*)

On the thirty-sixth ballot, June 8, **James A. Garfield,** of Ohio, was nominated for President. His nomination was the result of a sudden union of the forces of Blaine and Sherman, doubtless with the full consent of both, "for both employed the same wire leading from the same room in Washington in telegraphing to their friends at Chicago." The object was to defeat Grant. After the nomination there was a temporary adjournment, during which the friends of the nominee consulted Conkling and his leading friends, and the result was the selection of **Chester A. Arthur,** of New York, for Vice President. "The object of this selection was to carry New York, the great State which was then almost universally believed to hold the key to the Presidential position."

The **Democratic National** Convention met at Cincinnati, June 22. It adopted a strict construction platform, which called for **home rule, honest money** ("gold and silver, and

paper convertible into coin on demand"), a **revenue tariff**, and permission to purchase ships abroad. It denounced the "fraud of 1876–'77," and the Administration's "claim of a right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops." Up to the holding of the Pennsylvania State Convention, **Samuel J. Tilden** had been one of the most prominent candidates. In this Convention there was a bitter struggle between the Wallace and Randall factions, the former favoring Hancock, the latter Tilden. "Wallace, after a contest far sharper than he expected, won, and bound the delegation by the unit rule." Though Tilden sent a letter to the Cincinnati Convention, disclaiming that he was a candidate, yet he really invited a nomination on the issue of "the fraudulent counting in of Hayes."

The two ballots resulted in the nomination of **Winfield S. Hancock**, of Pennsylvania, for President, on the second ballot, and **William H. English**, of Indiana, for Vice President.

The **Greenback-Labor National** Convention met at Chicago, June 9, and adopted a platform which claimed for the Government the **entire control** of the issue of money, and condemned the grant of any such power to corporations, the continuance of grants of **lands to railroads**, and the **immigration of Chinese.** It nominated **James B. Weaver**, of Iowa, for President, and **B. J. Chambers**, of Texas, for Vice President.

Presidential Canvass of 1880.

"In the canvass which followed, the Republicans were aided by such orators as Conkling, Blaine, Grant, Logan, Curtis, Boutwell, while the Camerons, father and son, visited the October elections of Ohio and Indiana, as it was believed that these States would determine the result, Maine having, in September, very unexpectedly defeated the Republican State ticket by a small majority. The Democrats were aided by Bayard, Voorhees, Randall, Wallace, Hill, Hampton, Lamar, and others of their best orators. Every issue was recalled; but for the first

time in the history of the Republicans of the West, they accepted the tariff issue and made open war on Watterson's plank in the Democratic platform—'a tariff for revenue only.'" Iowa, Ohio, and Indiana, all elected the Republican State tickets with good margins; West Virginia went Democratic, but the result was, notwithstanding this, reasonably assured to the Republicans. The Democrats, however, feeling the strong personal popularity of their leading candidate, persisted with high courage to the end.

Presidential Election of 1880.

In the Presidential election in November, Democratic electors were chosen by all the Southern States, and by New Jersey, California, and Nevada in the North; all the other States chose Republican electors. One Democratic elector in California was defeated on a local issue. The Greenbackers held only a balance of power, which they could not exercise in California, Indiana, and New Jersey. On the entire popular vote the Republicans had a slight plurality, neither party having a majority. Of the 369 electoral votes, Garfield and Arthur received 214, and Hancock and English 155. The electoral vote of Georgia was cast irregularly—on the second Wednesday of December, instead of the first Wednesday, as required by act of Congress.

Garfield and Arthur Elected.

In the count of the electoral vote, February 9, 1881, Congress declared Hancock to have received 155 votes if Georgia were counted, and 144 votes if not counted; that in either case, Garfield had received a majority of the votes, and was duly elected.

The Congressional elections in the same canvass gave the Republicans a majority of one over all in the House of Representatives. Fifteen States elected Governors, nine of them Republicans, and six Democrats.

General Garfield, on November 10, sent to Governor Foster, of Ohio, his resignation as a Senator, and John Sherman,

the Secretary of the Treasury, was, in the winter following, elected as his successor.

SECTION 4.

POLITICAL PLATFORMS.

1879.—NATIONAL LIBERAL PLATFORM.

CINCINNATI, SEPTEMBER 14.

1. Total separation of Church and State, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution; including the equitable taxation of church property, secularization of the public schools, abrogation of Sabbatarian laws, abolition of chaplaincies, prohibition of public appropriations for religious purposes, and all measures necessary to the same general end.

2. National protection for National citizens in their equal civil, political, and religious rights, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, and afforded through the United States Courts.

3. Universal education, the basis of universal suffrage in this secular Republic, to be guaranteed by amendment of the United States Constitution, requiring every State to maintain a thoroughly secularized public school system, and to permit no child within its limits to grow up without a good elementary education.

1880.—INDEPENDENT REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

I. Independent Republicans adhere to the republican principles of National supremacy, sound finances, and civil service reform, expressed in the Republican platform of 1876, in the letter of acceptance of President Hayes, and in his message of 1879; and they seek the realization of those principles in practical laws and their efficient administration. This requires,

1. The continuance on the statute-book of laws protecting the rights of voters at National elections. But National supremacy affords no pretext for interference with the local rights of communities; and the development of the South from its present defective civilization can be secured only under Constitutional methods, such as those of President Hayes.

2. The passage of laws which shall deprive greenbacks of their legal-tender quality, as a first step toward their ultimate withdrawal and cancellation, and shall maintain all coins made legal-tender at such weight and fineness as will enable them to be used without discount in the commercial transactions of the world.

3. The repeal of the acts which limit the terms of office of certain Government officials to four years; the repeal of the tenure-of-office acts, which

limit the power of the Executive to remove for cause; the establishment of a permanent Civil Service Commission, or equivalent measures to ascertain, by open competition, and certify to the President or other appointing power the fitness of applicants for nomination or appointment to all non-political offices.

II. Independent Republicans believe that local issues should be independent of party. The words *Republican* and *Democrat* should have no weight in determining whether a school or city shall be administered on business principles by capable men. With a view to this, legislation is asked which shall prescribe for the voting for local and for State officers upon separate ballots.

III. Independent Republicans assert that a political party is a coöperation of voters to secure the practical enactment into legislation of political convictions set forth as its platform. Every voter accepting that platform is a member of that party; any representative of that party opposing the principles or evading the promises of its platform forfeits the support of its voters. No voter should be held by the action or nomination of any caucus or convention of his party against his private judgment. It is his duty to vote against bad measures and unfit men as the only means of obtaining good ones; and if his party no longer represents its professed principles in its practical workings, it is his duty to vote against it.

IV. Independent Republicans seek good nominations through participation in the primaries and through the defeat of bad nominees; they will labor for the defeat of any local Republican candidate, and, in coöperation with those holding like views elsewhere, for the defeat of any general Republican candidate whom they do not deem fit.

1880.—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—CHICAGO, JUNE 2.

The Republican party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States its brief report of its Administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the National authority. It reconstructed the union of the States with freedom, instead of slavery, as its corner-stone. It transformed four million of human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin for all the National obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the Nation from the point where six per cent. bonds sold at

eighty-six to that where four per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade has increased from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the same time; and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed, annually, over $30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid $888,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly $151,000,000 to less than $89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record, the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people; and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the Nation, and that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved, through immense difficulties, should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted, undiminished, to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted; and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract; out of confederate States it made a sovereign Nation. Some powers are denied to the Nation, while others are denied to States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National and not by the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its Constitutional ability. The intelligence of the Nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States; and the destiny of the Nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion; but it is idle to hope that the Nation can be protected against the influences of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the Legislature of each State, to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. That we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease. That the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory—to do them perpetual honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the early career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to select him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive, and that history will accord to his Administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interposition between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage. That to obtain possession of the National and State Governments, and the control of place and position, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have devised fraudulent certifications and returns; have labored to unseat lawfully-elected members of Congress, to secure, at all hazards, the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy, by force and fraud, the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courageous action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached

partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movements of Government depend; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the Nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. Equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws and protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the Nation. The danger of a Solid South can only be averted by the faithful performance of every promise which the Nation made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the Nation makes, the Nation must perform; and the Nation can not with safety relegate this duty to the States. The Solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country, at this time, to surrender the Administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

9. The Republican party, adhering to a principle affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the Constitutional rule covering appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the Civil Service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the coöperation of the Legislative with the Executive department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

1880.—NATIONAL (GREENBACK) PLATFORM.

CHICAGO, JUNE 9.

The civil Government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth-producers a state

of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong Government, and, hence, a weak people. Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce; and the scarcity of money enforces debt-trade, and public and corporate loans; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are—deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, we declare—

1. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of Constitutional sanction, and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations; and, when so issued, should be a full legal-tender for all debts, public and private.

2. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the National banks, the National banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

3. That labor should be so protected by National and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results. The eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control, the competition of contract convict labor abolished, a Bureau of Labor Statistics established, factories, mines, and workshops inspected, and the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

4. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore, immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

5. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the Government, and, henceforth, the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

6. It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-State commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

7. We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the Government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

8. That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest-consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bond-holder.

9. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

10. We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

11. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

12. We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

13. We demand a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a Government of the bond-holder, by the bond-holder, and for the bond-holder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

14. In the furtherance of these ends, we ask the coöperation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and the machinery of Government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions and over life and property.

1880.—PROHIBITION REFORM PLATFORM.

CLEVELAND, JUNE 17.

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit, for the suffrage of all good citizens, the following platform of National reforms and measures:

In the examination and discussion of the temperance question, it has been proven, and is an accepted truth, that alcoholic drinks, whether fermented, brewed, or distilled, are poisonous to the healthy human body, the drinking of which is not only needless but hurtful, necessarily tending to form intemperate habits, increasing greatly the number, severity, and fatal termination of diseases, weakening and deranging the intellect, polluting the affections, hardening the heart and corrupting the morals, depriving many of reason and still more of its healthful exercise, and annually bringing down large numbers to untimely graves, producing in the children of many who drink a predisposition to intemperance, insanity, and various bodily and mental diseases, causing diminution of strength, feebleness of vision, fickleness of purpose, and premature old age, and inducing, in all future generations, deterioration of moral and physical character. Alcoholic drinks are thus the implacable foe of man as an individual.

1. The legalized importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks minister to their use, and teach the erroneous and destructive sentiment that such use is right, thus tending to produce and perpetuate the above mentioned evils.

2. To the home it is an enemy—proving itself to be a disturber and destroyer of its peace, prosperity, and happiness; taking from it the earnings of the husband; depriving the dependent wife and children of essential food, clothing, and education; bringing into it profanity, abuse, and violence; setting at naught the vows of the marriage altar; breaking up the family and sundering the children from the parents, and thus destroying one of the most beneficent institutions of our Creator, and removing the sure foundation of good Government, National prosperity, and welfare.

3. To the community it is equally an enemy—producing vice, demoralization, and wickedness; its places of sale being resorts of gaming, lewdness, and debauchery, and the hiding-places of those who prey upon society; counteracting the efficacy of religious effort, and of all means of intellectual elevation, moral purity, social happinesss, and the eternal good of mankind, without rendering any counteracting or compensating benefits; being in its influence and effect evil and only evil, and that continually.

4. To the State it is equally an enemy—legislative inquiries, judicial investigations, and official reports of all penal, reformatory, and dependent institutions, showing that the manufacture and sale of such beverages is

the promoting cause of intemperance, crime, and pauperism, and of demands upon public and private charity, imposing the larger part of taxation, paralyzing thrift, industry, manufactures, and commercial life, which, but for it, would be unnecessary; disturbing the peace of streets and highways; filling prisons and poor-houses; corrupting politics, legislation, and the execution of the laws; shortening lives; diminishing health, industry, and productive power in manufactures and art, and is manifestly unjust as well as injurious to the community upon which it is imposed, and is contrary to all just views of civil liberty, as well as a violation of the fundamental maxim of our common law, to use your own property or liberty so as not to injure others.

5. It is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection to any traffic or any system which tends to waste the resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people; that the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating beverages is proven to be inimical to the true interests of the individual home, community, and State, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be classed among crimes to be prohibited.

6. In this time of profound peace at home and abroad, the entire separation of the General Government from the drink traffic, and its prohibition in the District of Columbia, Territories, and in all places and ways over which, under the Constitution, Congress has control and power, is a political issue of the first importance to the peace and prosperity of the Nation. There can be no stable peace and protection to personal liberty, life, or property, until secured by National or State Constitutional provisions, enforced by adequate laws.

7. All legitimate industries require deliverance from the taxation and loss which the liquor traffic imposes upon them, and financial or other legislation could not accomplish so much to increase production and cause a demand for labor, and as a result, for the comforts of living, as the suppression of this traffic would bring to thousands of homes as one of its blessings.

8. The administration of the Government and the execution of the laws are through political parties; and we arraign the Republican party, which has been in continuous power in the Nation for twenty years, as being false to duty, as false to loudly-proclaimed principles of equal justice to all and special favors to none, and of protection to the weak and dependent, insensible to the mischief which the trade in liquor has constantly inflicted upon industry, trade, commerce, and the social happiness of the people; that 5,652 distilleries, 3,830 breweries, and 175,266 places for the sale of these poisonous liquors, involving an annual waste to the Nation of one million five hundred thousand dollars, and the sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, have, under its legislation, grown up and been fostered as a legitimate source of revenue; that during its history, six Territories have been admitted into the Union, with Constitutions provided and approved by

Congress, but the prohibition of this debasing and destructive traffic has not been provided, nor even the people given, at the time of admission, power to forbid it in any one of them. Its history further shows, that not in a single instance has an original prohibitory law been passed by any State that was controlled by it, while in four States, so governed, the laws found on its advent to power have been repealed. At its National convention in 1872, it declared, as part of its party faith, that "it disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government," which, the author of this plank says, was adopted by the platform committee with the full and implicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance, prohibitory, and Sunday laws.

9. We arraign, also, the Democratic party as unfaithful and unworthy of reliance on this question; for, although not clothed with power, but occupying the relation of an opposition party during twenty years past, strong in numbers and organization, it has allied itself with liquor-traffickers, and become, in all the States of the Union, their special political defenders, and in its National convention in 1876, as an article of its political faith, declared against prohibition and just laws in restraint of the trade in drink, by saying it was opposed to what it was pleased to call "all sumptuary laws." The National party has been dumb on this question.

10. Drink-traffickers, having the history and experience of all ages, climes, and conditions of men, declaring their business destructive of all good—finding no support in the Bible, morals, or reason—appeal to misapplied laws for their justification, and intrench themselves behind the evil elements of political party for defense, party tactics and party inertia become battling forces, protecting this evil.

11. In view of the foregoing facts and history, we cordially invite all voters, without regard to former party affiliations, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drinking system, under the authority of our National and State Governments. We also demand, as a right, that women, having the privileges of citizens in other respects, be clothed with the ballot for their protection, and as a rightful means for the proper settlement of the liquor question.

12. To remove the apprehension of some who allege that a loss of public revenue would follow the suppression of the direct trade, we confidently point to the experience of Governments abroad and at home, which shows that thrift and revenue from the consumption of legitimate manufactures and commerce have so largely followed the abolition of drink as to fully supply all loss of liquor taxes.

13. We recognize the good providence of Almighty God, who has preserved and prospered us as a Nation; and, asking for his Spirit to guide us to ultimate success, we look for it, relying upon his omnipotent arm.

1880.—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—CINCINNATI, JUNE 22.

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare:

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the Constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralization, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism; no sumptuary laws; separation of the Church and State for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and National; and a tariff for revenue only; the subordination of the military to the civil power; and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

4. The right to a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights; and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

5. The existing Administration is the representative of conspiracy only; and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the elections, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insults the people and imperils their institutions. We execrate the course of this Administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime; and demand a reform, by statute, which shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

6. The great fraud of 1876–7, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time, in the firm and patriotic belief that the people would punish the crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the consciences of a Nation of freemen.

7. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden, not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with deep sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity unshaken by the assaults of the common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by

the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standard of the public morality, and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

8. Free ships, and a living chance for American commerce upon the seas; and on the land, no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

9. Amendments of the Burlingame treaty; no more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and, therein, carefully guarded.

10. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

11. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

12. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure $10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the National honor abroad; and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, OF MAINE,

ON THE FALSE ISSUE RAISED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 14, 1879.

[The Senate having under consideration the bill making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes, Mr. Blaine said:]

MR. PRESIDENT: The existing section of the Revised Statutes numbered 2002 reads thus:

No military or naval officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep, or have under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, *or to keep the peace at the polls.*

The object of the proposed section, which has just been read at the Clerk's desk, is to get rid of the eight closing words, namely, "or to keep the peace at the polls," and therefore the mode of legislation proposed in the Army bill now before the Senate is an unusual mode; it is an extraordinary mode. If you want to take off a single sentence at the end of a section in the Revised Statutes the ordinary way is to strike off those words, but the mode chosen in this bill is to repeat and re-enact the whole

section, leaving those few words out. While I do not wish to be needlessly suspicious on a small point, I am quite persuaded that this did not happen by accident, but that it came by design. If I may so speak, it came of cunning, the intent being to create the impression that whereas the Republicans in the administration of the General Government had been using troops right and left, hither and thither, in every direction, as soon as the Democrats got power they enacted this section. I can imagine Democratic candidates for Congress all over the country reading this section to gaping and listening audiences as one of the first offsprings of Democratic reform, whereas every word of it, every syllable of it, from its first to its last, is the enactment of a Republican Congress.

I repeat that this unusual form presents a dishonest issue, whether so intended or not. It presents the issue that as soon as the Democrats got possession of the Federal Government they proceeded to enact the clause which is thus expressed. The law was passed by a Republican Congress in 1865. There were forty-six Senators sitting in this chamber at that time, of whom only ten, or at most eleven, were Democrats. The House of Representatives was overwhelmingly Republican. We were in the midst of a war. The Republican Administration had a million or possibly twelve hundred thousand bayonets at its command. Thus circumstanced and thus surrounded, with the amplest possible power to interfere with elections, had they so designed, with soldiers in every hamlet and county of the United States, the Republican party themselves placed that provision on the statute-book, and Abraham Lincoln, their President, signed it.

I beg you to observe, Mr. President, that this is the first instance in the legislation of the United States in which any restrictive clause whatever was put upon the statute-book in regard to the use of troops at the polls. The Republican party did it with the Senate and the House in their control. Abraham Lincoln signed it when he was Commander-in-Chief of an army larger than ever Napoleon Bonaparte had at his command. So much by way of correcting an ingenious and studied attempt at misrepresentation.

The alleged object is to strike out the few words that authorize the use of troops to keep peace at the polls. This country has been alarmed, I rather think indeed amused, at the great effort made to create a widespread impression that the Republican party relies for its popular strength upon the use of the bayonet. This Democratic Congress has attempted to give a bad name to this country throughout the civilized world, and to give it on a false issue. They have raised an issue that has no foundation in fact—that is false in whole and detail, false in the charge, false in all the specifications. That impression sought to be created, as I say, not only throughout the North American continent, but in Europe to-day, is that elections are attempted in this country to be controlled by the bayonet. * * * * * * * * *

Mr. President, it was said, as the old maxim has it, that the soothsayers of Rome could not look each other in the face without smiling. There are not two Democratic Senators on this floor who can go into the cloak room and look each other in the face without smiling at this talk, or more appropriately, I should say without blushing—the whole thing is such a prodigious and absolute farce, such a miserably manufactured false issue, such a pretense without the slightest foundation in the world, and talked about most and denounced the loudest in States that have not had a single Federal soldier. In New England we have three hundred and eighty soldiers. Throughout the South it does not run quite seventy to to the million people. In New England we have absolutely one hundred and twenty soldiers to the million. New England is far more overrun today by the Federal soldier, immensely more, than the whole South is. I never heard anybody complain about it in New England, or express any great fear of his liberties being endangered by the presence of a handful of troops. * * * * * * * *

What then is the real motive underlying this movement? Senators on that side, Democratic orators on the stump, can not make any sensible set of men at the cross-roads believe that they are afraid of eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers distributed one to each county in the South. The minute you state that, everybody sees the utter, palpable, and laughable absurdity of it, and therefore we must go further and find a motive for all this cry. We want to find out, to use a familiar and vulgar phrase, what is "the cat under the meal." It is not the troops. That is evident. There are more troops by fifty per cent. scattered through the Northern States east of the Mississippi to-day than through the Southern States east of the Mississippi, and yet nobody in the North speaks of it; everybody would be laughed at for speaking of it; and therefore the issue, I take no risk in stating, I make bold to declare, that this issue on the troops, being a false one, being one without foundation, conceals the true issue, which is simply to get rid of the Federal presence at Federal elections, to get rid of the *civil power of the United States* in the election of Representatives to the Congress of the United States. That is the whole of it; and disguise it as you may there is nothing else in it or of it.

You simply want to get rid of the supervision by the Federal Government of the election of Representatives to Congress through civil means; and therefore this bill connects itself directly with another bill, and you can not discuss this military bill without discussing a bill which we had before us last winter, known as the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill. I am quite well aware, I profess to be as well aware as any one, that it is not permissible for me to discuss a bill that is pending before the other House. I am quite well aware that propriety and parliamentary rule forbid that I should speak of what is done in the House of Representatives; but I know very well that I am not forbidden to speak of that which is not done in the House of Representatives. I am

quite free to speak of the things that are not done there, and therefore I am free to declare that neither this Military Bill nor the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill ever emanated from any committee of the House of Representatives at all; that they are not the work of any committee of the House of Representatives, and, although the present House of Representatives is almost evenly balanced in party division, no solitary suggestion has been allowed to come from the minority of that House in regard to the shaping of these bills. Where do they come from? We are not left to infer; we are not even left to the Yankee privilege of guessing, because we know. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] obligingly told us—I have his exact words here—"that the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. THURMAN] was the chairman of a committee appointed by the Democratic party to see how it was best to present all these questions before us."

We are told, too, rather a novel thing, that if we do not take these laws, we are not to have the appropriations. I believe it has been announced in both branches of Congress, I suppose on the authority of the Democratic caucus, that if we do not take these bills as they are planned, we shall not have any of the appropriations that go with them. The honorable Senator from West Virginia [Mr. HEREFORD] told it to us on Friday; the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. THURMAN] told it to us last session; the honorable Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] told it to us at the same time, and I am not permitted to speak of the legions who told us so in the other House. They say all these appropriations are to be refused—not merely the Army appropriation, for they do not stop at that. Look for a moment at the Legislative bill that came from the Democratic caucus. Here is an appropriation in it for defraying the expenses of the Supreme Court and the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, including the District of Columbia, etc., "$2,800,000: *Provided*"—provided what?

That the following sections of the Revised Statutes relating to elections [going on to recite them] be repealed.

That is, you will pass an appropriation for the support of the Judiciary of the United States only on condition of this repeal. We often speak of this Government being divided between three great departments—the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial—co-ordinate, independent, equal. The Legislative, under the control of a Democratic caucus, now steps forward and says: "We offer to the Executive this bill, and if he does not sign it, we are going to starve the Judiciary." That is carrying the thing a little further than I have ever known. We do not merely propose to starve the Executive if he will not sign the bill, but we propose to starve the Judiciary, that has had nothing whatever to do with the question. That has been boldly avowed on this floor; that has been boldly avowed in the other House; that has been boldly avowed in Democratic papers throughout the country. * * * * * *

There is the Congressional Library that has become the pride of the whole American people for its magnificent growth and extent. You say it shall not have one dollar to take care of it, much less add a new book, unless the President signs these bills. There is the Department of State that we think, throughout the history of the Government, has been a great pride to this country for the ability with which it has conducted our foreign affairs; it is also to be starved. You say we shall not have any intercourse with foreign nations, not a dollar shall be appropriated therefor unless the President signs these bills. There is the Light-House Board that provides for the beacons and the warnings on seventeen thousand miles of sea and gulf and lake coast. You say those lights shall all go out and not a dollar shall be appropriated for the Board if the President does not sign these bills. There are the mints of the United States at Philadelphia, New Orleans, Denver, San Francisco, coining silver and coining gold—not a dollar shall be appropriated for them if the President does not sign these bills. There is the Patent Office, the patents issued which embody the invention of the country—not a dollar for them. The Pension Bureau shall cease its operations unless these bills are signed, and patriotic soldiers may starve. The Agricultural Bureau, the Postoffice Department, every one of the great executive functions of the Government is threatened, taken by the throat, highwayman-style, collared on the highway, commanded to stand and deliver in the name of the Democratic Congressional caucus. That is what it is; simply that. No committee of this Congress in either branch has ever recommended that legislation—not one. Simply a Democratic caucus has done it.

Of course this is new. We are learning something every day. I think you may search the records of the Federal Government in vain; it will take some one much more industrious in that search than I have ever been, and much more observant than I have ever been, to find any possible parallel or any possible suggestion in our past history of any such thing. Most of the Senators who sit in this chamber can remember some vetoes by Presidents that shook this country to its center with excitement. The veto of the National Bank Bill by Jackson in 1832, remembered by the oldest in this chamber; the veto of the National Bank Bill in 1841 by Tyler, remembered by those not the oldest, shook this country with a political excitement which up to that time had scarcely a parallel; and it was believed, whether rightfully or wrongfully is no matter, it was believed by those who advocated those financial measures at the time, that they were of the very last importance to the well-being and prosperity of the people of the Union. That was believed by the great and shining lights of that day. It was believed by that man of imperial character and imperious will, the great Senator from Kentucky. It was believed by Mr. Webster, the greatest of New England Senators. When Jackson vetoed the one or Tyler vetoed the other, did you ever hear a suggestion that those bank charters should be put on appropriation bills or

that there should not be a dollar to run the Government until they were signed? So far from it that, in 1841, when temper was at its height, when the Whig party, in addition to losing their great measure, lost it under the sting and the irritation of what they believed was a desertion by the President whom they had chosen; and when Mr. Clay, goaded by all these considerations, rose to debate the question in the Senate, he repelled the suggestion of William C. Rives, of Virginia, who attempted to make upon him the point that he had indulged in some threat involving the independence of the Executive. Mr. Clay rose to his full height and thus responded:

"I said nothing whatever of any obligation on the part of the President to conform his judgment to the opinions of the Senate and House of Representatives, although the Senator argued as if I had, and persevered in so arguing after repeated correction. I said no such thing. I know and I respect the perfect independence of each department, acting within its proper sphere, of the other departments." * * * *

Some gentleman may rise and say, "Do you call it revolution to put an amendment on an appropriation bill?" Of course not. There have been a great many amendments put on appropriation bills, some mischievous and some harmless; but I call it the audacity of revolution for any Senator or Representative, or any caucus of Senators or Representatives, to get together and say, "We will have this legislation or we will stop the great departments of the Government." That is revolutionary. I do not think it will amount to revolution; my opinion is it will not. I think that is a revolution that will not go around; I think that is a revolution which will not revolve; I think that is a revolution whose wheel will not turn; but it is a revolution if persisted in, and if not persisted in, it must be backed out from with ignominy. The Democratic party in Congress have put themselves exactly in this position to-day, that if they go forward in the announced programme, they march to revolution. I think they will, in the end, go back in an ignominious retreat. That is my judgment.

The extent to which they control the legislation of the country is worth pointing out. In round numbers, the Southern people are about one-third of the population of the Union. I am not permitted to speak of the organization of the House of Representatives, but I can refer to that of the last House. In the last House of Representatives, of the forty-two standing committees the South had twenty-five. I am not blaming the honorable Speaker for it. He was hedged in by partisan forces, and could not avoid it. In this very Senate, out of thirty-four standing committees the South has twenty-two. I am not calling these things up just now in reproach; I am only showing what an admirable prophet the late Vice President of the Southern Confederacy was, and how entirely true all his words have been, and how he has lived to see them realized. * * *

JAMES A. GARFIELD, OF OHIO,

In the National Republican Convention at Chicago, June, 1880, Nominating John Sherman for the Vice Presidency.

I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this convention with deep solicitude. No emotion touches my heart more quickly than a sentiment in honor of a great and noble character. But as I sat on these seats and witnessed these demonstrations, it seemed to me you were a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into a fury and tossed into a spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man. But I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea, from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its smooth surface, then the astronomer and surveyor takes the level from which he measures all terrestrial heights and depths. Gentlemen of the convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When our enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find the calm level of public opinion below the storm from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined. Not here, in this brilliant circle where fifteen thousand men and women are assembled, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed; not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of seven hundred and fifty-six delegates waiting to cast their votes into the urn and determine the choice of their party; but by four million Republican firesides, where the thoughtful fathers, with their wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and love of country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and the knowledge of the great men who have adorned and blessed our Nation in days gone by—there God prepares the verdict that shall determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago in the heat of June, but in the sober, quiet that comes between now and the melancholy days of November, in the silence of deliberate judgment, will this great question be settled. Let us aid them to-night.

But now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want? Bear with me a moment. Hear me for this cause, and for a moment be silent, that you may hear. Twenty-five years ago this Republic was wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with traffic in the bodies and souls of men had paralyzed the conscience of a majority of our people. The baleful doctrine of State Sovereignty had shocked and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the National Government, and the grasping power of slavery was seizing the virgin territory of the West and dragging it into the den of eternal bondage. At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from that fire of liberty which God has lighted in every man's heart, and which all the

powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and save the Republic. It entered the arena when the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever. Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man who, on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its leader, entered the National capital and assumed the high duties of the Government. The light which shone from its banner dispelled the darkness in which slavery had enshrouded the capital, and melted the shackles of every slave, and consumed, in the fire of liberty, every slave-pen within the shadow of the Capitol. Our national industries, by an impoverishing policy, were themselves prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the Treasury itself was well nigh empty. The money of the people was the wretched notes of two thousand uncontrolled and irresponsible State banking corporations, which was filling the country with a circulation that poisoned rather than sustained the life of business. The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the babel of confusion, and gave the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect as with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the Government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until victory was won. Then, after the storm of battle, were heard the sweet, calm words of peace uttered by the conquering Nation, and saying to the conquered foe that lay prostrate at its feet: "This is our only revenge, that you join us in lifting to the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars for ever and ever, the immortal principles of truth and justice, that all men, white or black, shall be free and stand equal before the law."

Then came the question of reconstruction, the public debt, and the public faith. In the settlement of the questions the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we do this great work? We can not do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word to cast a shadow upon any name on the roll of our heroes. This coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united, we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground this one year, for the stars in their courses fight for us in the future. The census taken this year will bring reinforcements and continued power. But in order to win this victory, we want the vote of every Republican, of every Grant

Republican, and every anti-Grant Republican in America, of every Blaine man, and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make our success certain; therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together, and inquire what we shall do. We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, sees all the achievements of our past history, and carries in his heart the memory of all its glorious deeds, and who, looking forward, prepares to meet the labor and the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive branch of peace, and wishes them to return to brotherhood, on this supreme condition, that it shall be admitted forever and forevermore, that, in the war for the Union, we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and on no other. We ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of a man who was the comrade and associate and friend of nearly all those noble dead whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night; a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago, whose first duty was courageously done in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when the first red drops of that bloody shower began to fall which finally swelled into the deluge of war. He bravely stood by young Kansas then, and, returning to his duty in the National Legislature, through all subsequent time, his pathway has been marked by labors performed in every department of legislation. You ask for his monuments. I point you to twenty-five years of National statutes. Not one great beneficent statute has been placed in our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided these men to formulate the laws that raised our great armies and carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back the unity and married calm of the States. His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in a still greater work that redeemed the promises of the Government, and made the currency equal to gold. And when at last called from the halls of legislation into a high executive office he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness and poise of character which has carried us through a stormy period of three years. With one-half the public press crying "crucify him," and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success, in all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him. The great fiscal affairs of the Nation, and the great business interests of the country, he has guarded and preserved, while executing the law of resumption and effecting its object without a jar and against the false prophecies of one-half of the press and all the Democracy of this continent. He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the Government for twenty-

five years. He has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice he has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne," but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain on his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican or as a better man than thousands of others we honor, but I present him for your deliberate consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.

DANIEL DOUGHERTY, OF PENNSYLVANIA,

In the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati, June, 1880, Nominating Winfield Scott Hancock for the Presidency.

I propose to present to the thoughtful consideration of the convention the name of one who, on the field of battle, was styled "The Superb," yet won the still nobler renown as a military Governor whose first act when in command of Louisiana and Texas was to salute the Constitution by proclaiming that the military rule shall ever be subservient to the civil power. The plighted word of a soldier was proved by the acts of a statesman. I nominate one whose name will suppress all factions, will be alike acceptable to the North and to the South—a name that will thrill the Republic, a name, if nominated, of a man that will crush the last embers of sectional strife, and whose name will be hailed as the dawning of a day of perpetual brotherhood. With him we can fling away our shields and wage an aggressive war. We can appeal to the supreme tribunal of the American people against the corruption of the Republican party and their untold violations of Constitutional liberty. With him as our chieftain the bloody banner of the Republicans will fall from their palsied grasp. Oh, my countrymen, in this supreme moment the destinies of the Republic are at stake, and the liberties of the people are imperiled. The people hang breathless on your deliberation. Take heed! Make no mis-step! I nominate one who can carry every Southern State, and who can carry Pennsylvania, Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York—the soldier-statesman, with a record as stainless as his sword—Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania. If elected, he will take his seat.

FRYE NOMINATING BLAINE IN THE CHICAGO CONVENTION, 1880.

I once saw a storm at sea in the night-time; an old ship battling for its life with the fury of the tempest; darkness everywhere; the winds raging and howling; the huge waves beating on the sides of the ship, and making her shiver from stem to stern. The lightning was flashing, the thunders

rolling; there was danger everywhere. I saw at the helm a bold, courageous, immovable, commanding man. In the tempest, calm; in the commotion, quiet; in the danger, hopeful. I saw him take that old ship and bring her into her harbor, into still waters, into safety. That man was a hero. I saw the good old ship of State, the State of Maine, within the last year, fighting her way through the same waves, against the dangers. She was freighted with all that is precious, in the principles of our Republic; with the rights of the American citizenship, with all that is guaranteed to the American citizen by our Constitution. The eyes of the whole Nation were on her, and intense anxiety filled every American heart lest the grand old ship, the "State of Maine," might go down beneath the waves forever, carrying her precious freight with her. But there was a man at the helm, calm, deliberate, commanding, sagacious; he made even the foolish man wise; courageous, he inspired the timid with courage; hopeful, he gave heart to the dismayed, and he brought that good old ship safely into harbor, into safety; and she floats to-day greater, purer, stronger for her baptism of danger. That man, too, was heroic, and his name was James G. Blaine.

Maine sent us to this magnificent convention with a memory of her own salvation from impending peril fresh upon her. To you representatives of 50,000,000 of the American people, who have met here to counsel how the Republic can be saved, she says, "Representatives of the people, take the man, the true man, the staunch man, for your leader, who has just saved me, and he will lead you to safety and certain victory.

XXV.

TWENTY-FOURTH ADMINISTRATION, 1881–1885.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, PRESIDENT. CHESTER A. ARTHUR, VICE PRESIDENT.

ALSO,

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, PRESIDENT. PRES. SENATE, ACTING VICE PRESIDENT.

XLVIIth and XLVIIIth Congresses.

SECTION 1.

Inauguration of Garfield.

On March 4, 1881, James A. Garfield was inaugurated twentieth President amidst the grandest civic and military display that the Capital has ever witnessed. "With vast throngs of enthusiastic visitors, with long lines of military organizations in their gay trappings, with miles of bunting and

clouds of flags and streamers, with trumpets, drums, bands, and singing, with feasts, collations, speeches, and a grand ball; with huzzahs, congratulations, and all kinds of demonstrations of joy, the people hailed him as their Chief Magistrate." All parties united to do him honor, and General Hancock, the defeated candidate of the Democratic party, accepted promptly an invitation to participate in the popular ceremonies of the day.

President Garfield, in his inaugural address, promised full and equal protection of the Constitution and the laws for the negro, and advocated universal education as a safeguard of suffrage, and recommended such an adjustment of our monetary system "that the purchasing power of every coined dollar will be exactly equal to its debt-paying power in all the markets of the world." That the National Debt should be refunded at a lower rate of interest, without compelling the withdrawal of the National Bank notes; that polygamy should be prohibited; and that Civil Service should be regulated by law.

Presidential Trials and Anxieties.

The Presidential office is not exempted from trials, annoyances, and temptations. "To perform all the duties faithfully and ably, the President is compelled to forsake his family, his social and religious privileges, his books, his friends, and his rest, and constantly to grapple with the evils which ceaselessly assail both himself and the Nation. The greatest of all these evils is connected with the change or recommissioning of all the officers of the Nation at each inauguration."

From the morning after his election until after his inauguration, the President's time was taken, his footsteps dogged, or his rest disturbed by the ceaselessly importuning office-seekers. "The behavior of many aspirants for official position was but little less than that of the assassin himself. They invaded his private house in swarms. They stopped his carriage in the street; they called him out of bed; they

bored him in the railroad carriages and stations; they wrote to his wife and his sons; they courted, fawningly, all his old neighbors and relatives. They covered him with flattery more contemptible than slander; they filled his office with piles of letters it was impossible for him to read or answer; they sent him tempting presents (?); they wrote most silly laudations of his life, and published them, to his great disgust; and teasing, coaxing, threatening, they made anxious and unhappy nearly every hour of his life after his election. More than six hundred applications were made for one office before he had the right to make the appointment. He could give it to but one, and thus innocently made more than six hundred bitter enemies."

Efforts to Avoid "Nepotism."

And from his inauguration until his death at Elberon, the President was thus annoyed. "Men who had supported him in the election, or who had urged his name at Chicago, demanded the right to place their friends in office. He could not please them all—he said so; and some of his life-long friends, not appreciating his great responsibilities and difficulties, accused him, in unmeasured terms, of gross ingratitude. The outcry of the people against the practice which Charles Sumner called 'nepotism' compelled President Garfield, as a servant of the people, to refuse an appointment to personal friends or relatives in many cases where such a disposition of the office would otherwise have been acceptable. The fact that he had the power to appoint his friends, was the very fact which hindered him in granting their requests. He frankly told them so when they applied to him; and looks of scorn, hatred, and contempt came to him from faces which had till then smiled continuously on him through a life-time."

Republican Discord.

"The President's situation in relation to the factions of the Republican party, and his determination to preserve the tranquillity of the country, made the selection of his Cabi-

net one of the most difficult questions ever suggested for his study. If he appointed only those who had supported him, it would show his appreciation of their friendship and endanger the peace of the Nation. If he appointed those who had opposed him, it would lead to dissatisfaction through the inclination of men to say it was a selfish bid for a second term. If he appointed Hon. James G. Blaine, then he should offend Hon. Roscoe Conkling, who was the leading opponent of Mr. Blaine at the Chicago Convention. If he appointed Mr. Conkling, then Mr. Blaine, or his friends, would accuse the President of partisanship. If he appointed both, there would be a dangerous lack of harmony in the Cabinet. If he omitted them all and their supporters, there was but a small class from which to choose his counselors. So, endeavoring to look at the question from a citizen's stand-point, but knowing that he could not please all, he selected those who, while they represented each prominent political movement of the day, would be willing to hide their partisan and personal differences for the sake of the public good."

Garfield's Cabinet.

An extra session of the Senate, to consider the President's nominations to office, met immediately after the inauguration. The following Cabinet nominations were made and confirmed:

James G. Blaine, of Maine	*Secretary of State.*
William Windom, of Minnesota	*Secretary of the Treasury.*
William H. Hunt, of Louisiana	*Secretary of the Navy.*
Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois	*Secretary of War.*
Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa	*Secretary of the Interior.*
Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania	*Attorney-General.*
Thomas L. James, of New York	*Postmaster-General.*

Republican Factions.

In this extra session of the Senate, the parties in actual membership were a tie, the Independent vote being divided between the two parties. Vice President Arthur had to employ the casting vote on all questions where the parties divided, and he invariably cast it on the side of the Republicans.

This gave the Republicans a majority. They at once undertook to change the employes of the Senate, as the Democrats had done on obtaining control of the Senate. The Democrats resisted the attempt on the ground that the Senate, at its extra session, ought to attend only to the specific business for which it had been summoned. These differences seemed to arise rather from a disagreement as to the disposition of the "spoils" than any variance of opinion as to any principle. There being no rules in the Senate to limit debate, the dispute was prolonged for many weeks, to the neglect of all other business. With the usual readiness of the people to bestow names on parties or factions, these were called "machine men" or "stalwarts," and "half-breeds" or "feather-heads"—the first opposing, the second sustaining the Administration.

On May 16, 1881, Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, of New York, the first of whom was the recognized leader of the faction opposed to the Administration, resigned their seats in the Senate, alleging as the chief reason for their action that the President had appointed to be the Collector of the port of New York a gentleman who was opposed to them and their political interests. They resigned as an appeal to their State. They now offered themselves to the State Legislature for reëlection; but, after a vigorous effort of about six weeks, they failed to receive the endorsement of a reëlection, two others being elected to the Senate to fill the vacant places.

On July 2, 1881, President Garfield, accompanied by Secretary Blaine, left the Executive Mansion to take a special train from the Baltimore and Potomac depot for New England, where he intended to visit Williams College to be in attendance upon the exercises of commencement week when the members of his class were to celebrate the 25th anniversary of their graduation. Arriving at the depot, he was walking arm-in-arm with Secretary Blaine through the main waiting-room,

The President Shot.

when a man, who had been apparently lounging about the room, stepped forward and fired two shots at the President from behind, one of which took fatal effect. The bullet was of forty-four calibre, and entered the lower portion of the body, to the right of the spinal column. The wounded President sank to the floor, and, as soon as possible, he was conveyed to a room where temporary conveniences were attainable. After preliminary treatment of his injuries he was taken to the White House, where his long and patient suffering has become matter of history.

The Assassin Captured.

The assassin—Charles J. Guiteau—was speedily captured and conveyed to prison, where he was strongly guarded, as threats of summary vengeance were freely made by the angry and horrified people. He was a man of bad reputation and ill-balanced mind, although he possessed a certain amount of intelligence and shrewdness. He had been a persistent applicant for office, and had at times annoyed the President and other officials by the persistence and impudence of his demands. At no time did the assassin express remorse over his murderous deed, his only expressed regret being that he did not kill the President instantly, as he had intended. His plans had all been made with cool deliberation, and his fanatical villainy is without a parallel in history. This infamous and fiendish act of striking down the head of the Government was not the prompting of any political conspiracy, but solely the individual scheme of a fanatic, who claimed to have been inspired of God "to remove the President."

Effect of the Calamity.

The announcement of the atrocious deed was, in less than an hour, flashed over the wires to all sections of the Union, and produced intense excitement—similar to that of the assassination of President Lincoln in 1865. Occurring during a time of peaceful sectional feeling and of unprecedented prosperity, the event was wholly unexpected and devoid of political motive. Expressions of sympathy and of horror at the das-

tardly act were telegraphed from all parts of the country, and from all the principal nations of the world. There were *now* no distinctions of party, and all dissensions were forgotten in the absorbing hope that the stricken President might recover and live to complete the Administration which had been so auspiciously begun.

The Nation Mourns.

For eleven weeks the President lingered amid the fluctuating hopes and fears of the whole Nation. All were intensely interested in the one absorbing topic of the wounded President's condition as reported hourly in the published bulletins. But, though his correct and strictly temperate habits of life led the people to be sanguine of his recovery, yet medical skill was powerless, and on the 19th of September, at Long Branch, he died. About two weeks previous to his death his physicians advised his removal to the seashore at Long Branch, in order to escape the malarial air at Washington. His remains were taken to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial. The entire country was draped in the garb of mourning, for the whole people had learned to love the President for his many noble qualities of head and heart, and to regard him as a true patriot.

Trial and Execution of the Assassin.

The murderer of the President was granted a full, fair, and impartial trial, in conformity to the laws of a great and dignified Republic, and in January, 1882, after a thorough investigation as to his sanity, consuming fifty-three days, he was pronounced guilty and sentenced to be hung. On June 30, 1882, the assassin was hanged in the corridor of the United States jail, in Washington City.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

James Abram Garfield was born November 19, 1831, in the township of Orange, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, about fifteen miles southeast of Cleveland. He was of New England descent. His father, Abram Garfield, was a farmer in very

J. A. Garfield

moderate circumstances, who died in 1833, leaving a family of four children, of whom James was the youngest. His mother, a woman of unusual strength of character, is still living (1884). By her exertions the family was kept together until the boys were old enough to earn their own living. Being an energetic business woman, she made the most of the small farm, which had been her husband's only property, and brought the boys up to aid her.

James received a meager education at the district school, and at the age of twelve began to aid in supporting the family—first as a carpenter, then as a book-keeper, and afterwards as a boatman on the Ohio and Erie Canal. Abandoning the last occupation on account of sickness, his ambition for a higher education became aroused, and he secured it in the face of many obstacles. In the spring of 1849, his mother gave him a few dollars, which she had saved for the purpose by close economy, and told him that he could now realize his ambition of learning something more than the district school could afford. He went to Geauga (Ohio) Academy, in a country village not far from Orange, and being too poor to pay the $1.50 a week for board, he took a few cooking utensils and a stock of provisions, and, renting a room in an old unpainted farm-house, he boarded himself. He was so poor that he was compelled to work in the mornings and evenings and Saturdays to help pay his tuition. Thus he prepared for Hiram College, of which he was first janitor and student, then a teacher, and finally the President. Before attaining the latter position, however, he had improved his mental attainments by a course at Williams College. At the head of the Faculty was Mark Hopkins, then in his prime. Graduating in 1856, with high honors, Mr. Garfield returned to Hiram as teacher of Ancient Languages and Literature. The next year, being twenty-six years old, he was made the head of the Institute, and this place he held and filled until he went into the army in 1861. While President of Hiram College, in 1860, Garfield was admitted to

the bar, but he did not leave his position there until the breaking out of the Civil War, when he was appointed Colonel of an Ohio regiment. After the battle of Chickamauga he was brevetted Major-General, and then resigned his commission to accept a seat in the House of Representatives. He was reëlected to the successive Houses until 1879, when he was elected to the Senate. His political life was one of constant labor and study, and few politicians have developed such breadth of thought and soundness of judgment. He took a high position as a well-read politician and an eloquent and witty debater.

Among the distinguished competitors for the Presidency in the electoral campaign of 1880, he proved to be the choice of the people for that high office. He discharged its duties for four months, when he was stricken down by the bullet of an assassin—not as a man, but as the Chief Magistrate of a great Republic. (*For details, see preceding topics.*) He lingered eighty days in extreme suffering, and on the 19th of September, 1881, he died.

President Garfield was large-framed, large-brained, and large-hearted. He was six feet in height and was a splendid picture of a man. His personal character and habits were clean and pure. He was a close student, and no man at Washington ever made so much use of the vast literary treasures of the Congressional library as he. "The future historian will declare Garfield the most thorough student of political problems in the Presidential chair since John Quincy Adams; the man of most scholarly breadth in statesmanship since James Madison; the most eloquent parliamentarian since John Adams."

ROSCOE CONKLING.

This eminent lawyer and statesman was born at Albany, N. Y., in 1828. His father was a member of the Seventeenth Congress, was appointed Minister to Mexico (1852), and associated judicially with the U. S. District Court of New York.

Roscoe Conkling was educated for the bar, and rose to

ROSCOE CONKLING.

eminence soon after entering upon the practice of the profession. The political arena, however, presented a fine field for the exercise of his oratory and executive ability, and he was soon appointed District Attorney for Oneida county. While in this position, in 1858, he was elected Mayor of Utica. His popularity secured his election as a member of the Thirty-sixth Congress. His ability here resulted in his reëlection, successively, to the Thirty-seventh, Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses.

Mr. Conkling's representation in Congress during the Civil War, his cultivated oratory and active participation in measures tending to preserve the integrity of the Union, won the approval of his personal and political friends and the admiration of the Northern people.

In 1867 the Legislature of his native State elected him to the United States Senate. In 1873 he was reëlected, and at the time of his resignation in May, 1881, he was serving his third term in that high office. (*See page* 696.)

"Whether Mr. Conkling is considered as a statesman, a political leader, or an attorney; whether his ruling motive be personal ambition, political influence, or patriotism, it is evident that he has striven to excel in the use of all his natural gifts and acquired accomplishments. All his life he has been a dignified, shrewd, hard-working, temperate man, bestowing upon the law cases entrusted to his care great research, thoughtfulness, and energy."

SECTION 3.

Arthur Becomes President.

The Government can not wisely be left without a head for a single day. At midnight on the 19th of September (less than two hours after President Garfield died), the Cabinet—then at Long Branch—telegraphed Vice President Arthur to take the oath of the Chief Magistracy. This he very properly did in his own house before a local judge in the city of New York. On the 21st of September, 1881, in the

Capitol at Washington, he was again sworn in with the usual ceremonies.

The new President requested the Cabinet to hold on until Congress should meet. It would have remained intact had Secretary Windom not found it necessary to resume his place in the Senate. Following is the Cabinet of the

TWENTY-FOURTH ADMINISTRATION—GARFIELD AND ARTHUR.

TERM, 1881 TO 1885—FOUR YEARS.

Secretaries of State.

	APPOINTED.
JAMES G. BLAINE, Maine	March 5, 1881
FREDERICK T. FRELINGHUYSEN, New Jersey	Dec. 12, 1881

Secretaries of the Treasury.

WILLIAM H. WINDOM, Minnesota	March 5, 1881
CHARLES J. FOLGER, New York	Oct. 27, 1881

Secretary of War.

ROBERT T. LINCOLN, Illinois	March 5, 1881

Secretaries of the Navy.

W. H. HUNT, Louisiana	March 5, 1881
WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, New Hampshire	April 1, 1882

Secretaries of the Interior.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD, Iowa	March 5, 1881
HENRY M. TELLER, Colorado	April 6, 1882

Attorneys-General.

WAYNE MACVEAGH, Pennsylvania	March 5, 1881
BENJAMIN H. BREWSTER, Pennsylvania	Dec. 16, 1881

Postmasters-General.

THOMAS L. JAMES, New York	March 5, 1881
TIMOTHY O. HOWE, Wisconsin	Dec. 20, 1881
WALTER Q. GRESHAM, Indiana	April 3, 1883

Speakers of the House.

J. WARREN KEIFER, Ohio	47th Cong., 1881
JOHN G. CARLISLE, Kentucky	48th Cong., 1883

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Chester Allan Arthur—twenty-first President—was born at Fairfield, Vermont, October 5, 1830. His father was a learned Irish clergyman. He entered Union College, Schenectady, New York, when only fifteen years of age, and so thorough was his preparation, and so diligent his study, that he took the highest honors of every year, although he was, part of the time, meeting his own expenses by teaching. Graduating in 1848, he commenced the study of law at Ballston Springs, New York, and continued it at Lansingburgh. In 1851 he became principal of an academy at Pownall, Vermont, but while fitting students for college he still continued his law studies. He was admitted to the bar in the city of New York (1853), and soon engaged in the contest against slaveholding interests which then agitated the Nation. He became known among the "practical men" in city politics by attending primary meetings and keeping watch over the polls at elections.

Mr. Arthur was a member of the Convention at Saratoga in 1856, which organized the Republican party, and subsequently became Engineer-in-Chief on the staff of Governor Morgan. He had previously been much interested in the organization of the State Militia, and, in 1861, was advanced to the important post of Quartermaster-General. The quota of the State of New York under one call in 1862 amounted to sixty regiments, or 59,705 men. In raising and providing for these recruits, General Arthur proved his great energy and talent for organization. His duties ended with the inauguration of a Democratic Governor, and he returned, in 1864, to his law practice, which he continued nearly eight years.

In 1871 he was appointed by President Grant to be Collector of the Port of New York—one of the most lucrative offices in the gift of the Government, which he held until 1878. In 1879 he was elected chairman of the Republican State Com-

mittee of New York, and had much to do with the success of the campaign.

Mr. Arthur was married in 1859 to Miss Herndon, who died in January, 1881, having borne him a son and a daughter. Vice President Arthur, during the long illness of President Garfield, and at the time of his death, deported himself so well that he won the good opinion of nearly all classes of the people, and for weeks and months all factious or partisan spirit was hushed by the Nation's great calamity.

Proceedings of Senate Special Session, October, 1881.

PURSUANT to the call of President Arthur, the United States Senate assembled in special session, October 10, 1881. Senator Bayard, of Delaware, was elected President of the Senate—to succeed Vice President Arthur—by the Democratic majority, before the new Republican Senators had been sworn in, which changed the party balance; but on the third day of the session Mr. Bayard was set aside, and Hon. David Davis, of Illinois, was made President of the Senate in his place. Hon. William Windom, of Minnesota, recent Secretary of the Treasury, having been rechosen United States Senator from his State, the vacancy in the Treasury Department was offered to ex-Governor Morgan, of New York, who was actually nominated and confirmed before he had made up his mind to decline it. Charles J. Folger's appointment to the position was confirmed by the Senate at this special session. The following appointments by the President were also confirmed: Thomas L. James, of New York, Postmaster-General; Frank Hatton, of Iowa, First Assistant Postmaster-General, and Rev. Dr. H. H. Garnett, United States Minister to Liberia. (*See Cabinet of the Twenty-fourth Administration, page* 704.)

On November 14, 1881, the trial of Charles J. Guiteau, for the murder of President Garfield, commenced in the District Supreme Court, Washington City, and closed February 4,

1882. The assassin was sentenced to be hanged on June 30th. (*For further data, see page* 698.)

First Session of XLVII Congress.

On December 5, 1881, the First (regular) Session of the Forty-seventh Congress opened, with Representative elect General Keifer, of Ohio, as Speaker. President Arthur's first Annual Message to Congress gave general satisfaction. The Senate confirmed his nominations of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as Secretary of State; J. Bancroft Davis, as Assistant Secretary of State; Benjamin H. Brewster, of Pennsylvania, as Attorney-General; Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, as Postmaster-General; Horace Gray, as Justice of United States Supreme Court.

At this session Congress gave $15,000 to the widow of President Lincoln, and increased her pension to $5,000; and assigned a pension of $5,000 to Mrs. Garfield. The salary of President Garfield, for one year ($50,000), was directed to be paid to Mrs. Garfield.

Republican Factions Subside.

The assassination of President Garfield checked the factious elements in the Republican party, for a disinterested retrospect caused men to acknowledge his pacific intentions—that his plain purpose was to check divisions and heal wounds. President Arthur, with commendable reticence and discretion, has sought the same end. He has made few changes, and those reluctantly. On March 2, 1882, the Senate confirmed his nomination of Roscoe Conkling, as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Though declined by Mr. Conkling, the nomination was generally accepted "as an assurance to New Yorkers that the leader hated by one side and loved by the other should be removed from partisan politics peculiar to his own State, but removed with the dignity and honor becoming his high abilities." Conkling accepted the situation with quiet composure, as the President united the ranks which his resignation had sundered. Arthur's Administration has to the present date

(July, 1884) remained free from further partisan quarrel. It has manifestly been his effort to allay any factious bitterness remaining in the Republican party. The terms "Half-Breed" and "Stalwart," in his own State of New York, have passed into comparative disuse; also the terms "Regulars" and "Independents" in Pennsylvania.

Mormon Question Revived.
(*See also page* 493.)

Ever since the settlement of the Mormons in Utah, polygamy has been one of the vexed questions in American politics. The Mormons are the only sect in Christian countries in which this custom is still practiced. An act of Congress, approved July 1, 1862, makes bigamy committed in a Territory of the United States punishable by a fine not exceeding $500, and by imprisonment not exceeding five years. But, thus far, laws passed for the suppression of polygamy have proved unavailing; troops have been sent to crush it out—battles have been fought and won—but without decided results; United States Courts have been powerless where juries could not be found to convict.

Anti-Polygamy Bill Before Congress.

In February, 1882, a vote was taken in the Senate by sections on Senator Edmunds's bill, which, like the law of 1862, is penal in its provisions, but directly aimed against the crime of polygamy. Delegate CANNON, of Utah, electioneered in the Senate against the bill, and several Democratic Senators made speeches against it. The Democrats were not solidly against it, though the general tenor of their discussion was against it. Senator Vest (Democrat), of Missouri, said: "If this bill should pass it would establish a precedent that would come home to plague us for all time to come. The pressure against polygamy to-day might exist to-morrow against any church, institution, or cause in this broad land, and when the crested waves of prejudice and passion mounted high they would be told that the Congress of the United States had trampled upon the Constitution. * * * * I am prepared for the abuse and

calumny that will follow any man who dares to criticise any bill against polygamy, and yet, if my official life had to terminate to-morrow, I would not give my vote for the unconstitutional principles contained in this bill." Other speeches for and against the bill were made by prominent Senators, and the debate was closed by Mr. Edmunds in an eloquent fifteen minutes' speech, in which he carefully reviewed and controverted the objections urged against the bill of the committee. After amendment and re-arrangement of its sections, the bill passed.

The Edmunds Bill Approved.

The House passed it March 14, 1882, without material amendment, the Republican majority refusing to allow the time asked by the Democrats for discussion. President Arthur signed the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy bill on the 23d of March, 1882.

By many statesmen, it is thought that the best remedy for the troublesome Mormon question would be to take away from Utah its present Territorial Government and govern it by COMMISSIONERS, as the District of Columbia is governed (*see page* 30); then to *enforce* the anti-polygamy laws and such other laws as Congress may prescribe.

TEXT OF EDMUNDS'S ANTI-POLYGAMY BILL.

Be it enacted, etc., That Section 5,352 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby amended so as to read as follows, namely:

"Every person who has a husband or wife living, who, in a Territory or other place over which the United States has exclusive jurisdiction, hereafter marries another, whether married or single, and any man who hereafter simultaneously, or on the same day, marries more than one woman, in a Territory or other place over which the United States has exclusive jurisdiction, is guilty of polygamy, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 and by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years; but this section shall not extend to any person by reason of any former marriage whose husband or wife by such marriage shall have been absent for five successive years, and is not known to such person to be living, and is believed by such person to be dead, nor to any person by

reason of any former marriage which shall have been dissolved by a valid decree of a competent court, nor to any person by reason of any former marriage which shall have been pronounced void by a valid decree of a competent court, on the ground of nullity of the marriage contract."

SEC. 2. That the foregoing provisions shall not affect the prosecution or punishment of any offense already committed against the section amended by the first section of this act.

SEC. 3. That if any male person, in a Territory or other place over which the United States has exclusive jurisdiction, hereafter cohabits with more than one woman, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $300, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 4. That counts for any or all of the offenses named in Sections 1 and 3 of this act may be joined in the same information or indictment.

SEC. 5. That in any prosecution for bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation under any statute of the United States, it shall be sufficient cause of challenge to any person drawn or summoned sa a juryman or talesman, first, that he is or has been living in the practice of bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation with more than one woman, or that he has been guilty of an offense punishable by any of the foregoing Sections, or by Section 5,352 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, or the act of July 1, 1862, entitled "An act to punish and prevent the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States and other places, and disapproving and annulling certain acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah;" or, second, that he believes it right for a man to have more than one living and undivorced wife at the same time, or to live in the practice of cohabiting with more than one woman, and any person appearing or offered as a juror or talesman and challenged on any of the foregoing grounds may be questioned on his oath as to the existence of any such cause of challenge, and other evidence may be introduced bearing upon the question raised by such challenge, and this question shall be tried by the court. But as to the first ground of challenge before mentioned, the person challenged shall be bound to answer if he shall say upon his oath that he declines on the ground that his answer may tend to criminate himself, and if he shall answer to said first ground his answer shall not be given in evidence in any criminal prosecution against him for any offense named in Sections 1 or 3 of this act; but if he declines to answer on any ground, he shall be rejected as incompetent.

SEC. 6. That the President is hereby authorized to grant amnesty to such classes of offenders guilty of bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation before the passage of this act, on such conditions and under such limitations as he shall think proper; but no such amnesty shall have effect unless the conditions thereof shall be complied with.

SEC. 7. That the issue of bigamous or polygamous marriages known as Mormon marriages, in cases in which such marriages have been solemnized according to the ceremonies of the Mormon sect in any Territory of the United States, and such issue shall have been born before the first day of January, A. D. 1883, are hereby legitimated.

SEC. 8. That no polygamist, bigamist, or any person cohabiting with more than one woman, and no woman cohabiting with any of the persons described as aforesaid in this Section, in any Territory or other place over which the United States has exclusive jurisdiction, shall be entitled to vote at any election held in any such Territory or other place, or be eligible for election or appointment to or be entitled to hold any office or place of public trust, honor or emolument in, under, or for such Territory or place or under the United States.

SEC. 9. That all the registration and election offices of every description in the Territory of Utah are hereby declared vacant, and each and every duty relating to the registration of voters, the conduct of elections, the receiving or rejection of votes, and the canvassing and returning of the same, and the issuing of certificates or other evidence of election in said Territory, shall, until other provision be made by the Legislative Assembly of said Territory as is hereinafter by this Section provided, be performed under the existing laws of the United States and of said Territory by proper persons, who shall be appointed to execute such offices and perform such duties by a board of five persons, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and not more than three of whom shall be members of one political party, and a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum. The members of said board so appointed by the President, shall each receive a salary at the rate of $3,000 per annum, and shall continue in office until the Legislative Assembly of said Territory shall make provision for filling said offices as herein authorized. The Secretary of the Territory shall be secretary of said board, and keep a journal of its proceedings and attest the action of said board under this Section. The canvass and return of all the voters at elections in said Territory for members of the Legislative Assembly thereof shall also be returned to said board, which shall canvass all such returns and issue certificates of election to those persons who, being eligible for such election, shall appear to have been lawfully elected, which certificate shall be the only evidence of the right of such persons to sit in such Assembly: *Provided*, That said board of five persons shall not exclude any person otherwise eligible to vote from the polls on account of any opinion such person may entertain on the subject of bigamy or polygamy; nor shall they refuse to count any such vote on account of the opinion of the person casting it on the subject of bigamy or polygamy; but each House of such Assembly, after its organization, shall have power to decide upon the elections and qualifications of its members. And at or after the first meeting of said Legislative Assembly, whose members shall have been elected and

returned according to the provisions of this act, said Legislative Assembly may make such laws, conformable to the organic act of said Territory and not inconsistent with other laws of the United States, as it shall deem proper concerning the filling of the offices in said Territory declared vacant by this act.

Proposed Congress of American Nations.

A suggestion, conceived by Secretary Blaine and sanctioned by President Garfield during his brief Administration, was again considered in 1882. This was for a Congress of all the Republics of America to assemble at Washington under the patronage of this Government, for the purpose of agreeing on such a basis of arbitration for international troubles as would obviate all necessity or possibility of war in the Western hemisphere. Its object was also to promote trade and to form alliances suitable to a new and advanced application of the Monroe Doctrine. While Monroe contended against foreign intervention with the Republics on this hemisphere, he asserted the right of the United States Government to participate in or seek the control either of the internal, commercial, or foreign policy of any of the Republics of America, by arbitration or otherwise. This proposed "Congress of American Nations" was an advance upon the Monroe Doctrine. "It is a policy brilliant beyond any examples in our history and a new departure from the teachings of Washington, who advised absolute non-intervention in foreign affairs." The new doctrine might thrive and acquire great popularity under an Administration friendly to it, but President Arthur intimated his hostility when first suggested to him. The debates in Congress have also been adverse to the question, though it has some warm supporters who may revive it under more favorable auspices. (*See also page* 286.)

Mahone and the Readjusters.

In 1878 General WILLIAM MAHONE, a Brigadier in the Confederate army during the Civil War, founded in Virginia a new party styled READJUSTERS. Mahone, who is of Scotch-

Irish descent, is a man of very small stature, but of most remarkable energy. In the construction and development of Southern railroads he has acquired much wealth and influence.

By creating a revolt against the "Bourbon rule of Virginia," he divided the Democratic party in Virginia, on the question of the State debt. He charged that the Bourbons were repudiating the debt by making no provision for its payment, either in appropriations or the levying of taxes needed for the purpose. He and his followers have since advocated full payment, less the proportion equitably assigned to West Virginia, whose Constitution evades responsibility by declaring that the State should not contract a debt except one created to resist invasion, or in a war for the Government. General Mahone had been very persistent in pressing this claim, and had urged a funding of the debt of his State at a 3 per cent. rate, on the ground that the State is unable to pay more, and that this is in accord with proper rates of interest on the bonds of State Governments.

The BOURBON DEMOCRATS—so styled by Mahone—proclaimed in favor of full payment of the debt. In this respect they differed from their party associates in most other Southern States as to ante-war debts. The revolt of the Readjusters was rapidly organized. Mahone, by advocating in a platform free schools for the blacks and a full enforcement of the National laws pertaining to their civil rights, effected an alliance with the Republican party in Virginia, then in hopeless minority. Thus winning the Legislature, Mahone was elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat in March, 1881.

In the Presidential campaign of 1880, the Readjusters supported General Hancock, while the Republicans supported Garfield on an electoral ticket of their own selection. This arrangement was pursuant to an understanding endorsed by Mahone.

At the time of its beginning, the Readjuster movement had only local designs, but after its organization there was a de-

sire on the part of the leading Republicans to break the "Solid South," and every possible expedient to that end was suggested. It was solid for the Democratic party, and standing thus it could, with the aid of New York, Indiana, and New Jersey, assure the election of a Democratic President. President Hayes's scheme to break the "Solid South," was a complete failure. He first tried conciliatory speeches, but these threatened divisions in unexpected quarters. He next endeavored to resurrect and reorganize the old Whig element of the South, but this was also futile.

In the great State campaign of 1881, when the Bourbon and anti-Bourbon candidates for Governor were stumping the State, Senator Mahone found that a large portion of his colored friends were handicapped by their inability to pay the taxes imposed upon them by the laws of Virginia. He sought aid from the National Administration. President Garfield favored the combination, and by judicious measures prevented a disastrous division in the Republican party. "The tax question remained, and this was first met by Senator J. Don Cameron, who, while summering at Manhattan Island, was really daily engaged in New York City raising funds for Mahone with which to pay their taxes. Still this aid was insufficient, and in the heat of the battle the revenue officers throughout the whole United States were asked to contribute. Many of them did so, and on the eve of election all taxes were paid and the result was the election of William E. Cameron (Readjuster) as Governor by about 20,000 majority, with other State officers divided between the old Readjusters and Republicans. The combination also carried the Legislature."

This anti-Bourbon movement (Readjuster) has taken root in South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi. In 1882 the Union War Democrats in Kentucky, at a State Convention, separated from the Bourbon wing of the party.

Thomas L. James, Postmaster General in the Cabinet of

President Garfield, discovered a great amount of extravagance in the mangement of the mail service known as the STAR ROUTES. "Star Routes," or "Star Service," include all the postal routes other than those by railway and steamboat on which the service is performed by contract. The term arises from the fact that the printed contract forms are headed with *three groups of stars* to distinguish them from other contracts. The three groups represent the three words, "celerity, certainty, security," to realize which in perfection is the great aim of the Postoffice Department. These routes, which were authorized by act of Congress to further extend the mail facilities and promote the more rapid transmission of the mails, proved to be very popular in the West and Southwest. To prevent undue cost and extravagance in conducting these routes, required close watching.

The Star Route Scandal.

It was alleged that a "ring" was formed headed by General BRADY, one of the Assistant Postmasters General under General Key, "by which routes were established with the sole view of defrauding the Government—that false bonds were given and enormous and fraudulent sums paid for little or no service." At the time of the assassination of President Garfield this scandal was at its height. Postmaster General James and Attorney-General MacVeagh, assisted by other officials, prepared for the prosecution of all charged with the fraud. President Arthur, upon his succession, insisted upon a full prosecution. After the resignation of MacVeagh, Attorney-General Brewster pushed the prosecution. In March, 1882, the Grand Jury at Washington presented indictments for conspiracy in connection with the Star Route mail service against Brady, Dorsey, and others. The indictments were very voluminous and formidable. Others were made against persons in Philadelphia and other cities, who were charged with complicity in these Star Route frauds, in giving straw bonds, etc.

The Star Route service still continues, the Postoffice De-

partment under the law having sent out several thousand notifications since to contractors, officially accepting their proposals, and some of these contractors are the same named in the indictment mentioned. "This exemplifies the maxim of the law relative to innocence until guilt be shown."

The Chinese Question Again.

The agitation of the prohibition of Chinese immigration in California and other States and Territories on the Pacific slope has, within the last seven years, been very great. (*See also Hayes's Administration.*) There have been some violence and bloodshed. DENNIS KEARNEY led the Workingmen's party in San Francisco, and Kalloch, an agitator, was elected Mayor. In the Legislature, on the vote for a Constitutional amendment, it was found that not only the laboring classes, but also nearly all classes in California were opposed to the Chinese and to their further immigration. The Constitutional amendment did not, however, meet the sanction of the higher courts. As we have seen (*page* 661),

The Anti-Chinese Bill.

President Hayes, in 1879, vetoed the Chinese Immigration Bill passed by Congress. At the session of 1881–'82 a new and more radical measure was introduced, prohibiting immigration to Chinese or coolie laborers for twenty years. Senator Miller, the author of the bill, in a powerful speech, showed the later views entertained by the people of the Pacific slope. After an elaborate debate, the bill passed both Houses of Congress, March 23, 1882. California and Nevada made a holiday, and devoted it to mass meetings which said "the Chinese must go."

Provisions of the Anti-Chinese Bill.

The ANTI-CHINESE Bill, as passed, provided that from and after the expiration of ninety days from its passage and until the expiration of twenty years after its passage, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States shall be suspended, and prescribed a penalty of imprisonment not exceeding one year and a fine of not more than $500

against the master of any vessel who shall bring any Chinese laborer to this country during that period. It further provides that the classes of Chinese excepted by the treaty from such prohibition—such as merchants, teachers, students, travelers, diplomatic agents, and Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the 17th of November, 1880—shall be required, as a condition for their admission, to procure passports from the Government of China, personally identifying them and showing that they individually belong to one of the permitted classes, which passports must have been endorsed by the diplomatic representative of the United States in China or by the United States Consul at the port of departure. The words "Chinese laborers" were construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.

Chinese immigration, and the attempt to restrict it, presents a question of the gravest importance, and was so treated in the great debate.

Elections in the Fall of 1882.

In November, 1882, elections were held in thirty-three States, fifteen of them electing Governors—thirteen of whom were Democrats. Members of the XLVIIIth Congress were elected in all the States and delegates in all the Territories. Legislatures were elected in twenty-two States and Constitutional Amendments voted on in seven. The Congressional result throughout the country was a sweeping Democratic victory, the XLVIIIth Congress, beginning March 4, 1883, showing a Democratic majority of 71 in a total membership of 325.

Pendleton's Civil Service Reform Bill.

In January, 1883, President Arthur signed the PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM BILL. This was the most notable law passed in the closing session of the XLVIIth Congress. This bill was supported by the Republicans and opposed by the Democrats. It passed both Houses with almost a solid Republican

vote, a few Democrats in each House voting with them. The basic principles of the bill are fixed tenure in minor places, competitive examinations, and non-partisan selections. (*See also Hayes's Administration.*)

Reduction of Postage.

A law reducing postage on first-class sealed matter was approved March 3, 1883. It provided that on and after October 1, 1883, all sealed first-class matter which heretofore required three cents for each half ounce or fraction thereof, shall be charged at the rate of *two cents* for each *half ounce* or fraction thereof. The other rates of postage are not affected by the act.

The Fitz-John Porter Case.

During the first session of the XLVIIIth Congress, in the early part of 1884, the FITZ-JOHN PORTER BILL—reinstating General Porter to his rank in the army—was passed. The case was briefly this: At the time of the second battle of Bull Run—during the Civil War—General Fitz-John Porter was in command of the Fifth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, under General Pope, and was ordered to advance to the attack, but for some reason he failed to obey the order. For this offense he was tried by Court Martial, sentenced to be cashiered, and "forever disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the Government of the United States." This verdict was a subject of much controversy. It was alleged that there was sufficient reason for his failure to carry out the command of his superior officer. A bill was presented to Congress from time to time, asking for the reinstatement of Porter. Congress at last, in March, 1884, passed the bill, but it was vetoed by President Arthur. The House, however, on July 2d, passed it over his veto, and thus the matter stands.

Bismarck and the Lasker Resolutions.

In January, 1884, EDWARD LASKER, an eminent German statesman, died at Washington, and Congress passed resolutions of condolence, intended as an expression of sympathy

and amity toward Germany, the country Lasker represented. Through Mr. Sargent, American Minister at Berlin, the resolutions were delivered to the German Government. PRINCE BISMARCK, as Chancellor, at the head of the German Reichstag, or Parliament, declined to receive or recognize the resolutions, intimating that their import was interference with the political affairs of Germany. Following are the resolutions:

Resolved, That this House has heard with deep regret of the death of the eminent German statesman, Edward Lasker. That his loss is not alone to be mourned by the people of his native land, where his firm and constant exposition of and devotion to free and liberal ideas have materially advanced the social, political, and economic conditions of those people, but by the lovers of liberty throughout the world.

That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the family of the deceased, as well as to the Minister of the United States resident at the capital of the German Empire, to be by him communicated through the legitimate channels to the presiding officer of the Legislative body of which he was a member.

On the death of the Czar of Russia, in 1881, the Senate passed resolutions of condolence, and they were received by the Russian Government with profound respect and appreciation. Similar resolutions, on other occasions, have been passed by Congress, and were properly received; but, in the following communication to Mr. Von Eisendecker, German Minister in Washington, Bismarck defines his position in rejecting the Lasker Resolutions:

FRIEDRICHSRUHE, February 9, 1884.

[Translation.]

The envoy of the United States of America has communicated with a note, dated the 1st instant, the text of a resolution of the American House of Representatives, dated the 9th of January, in which the House expresses its regret at the death of Dr. Edward Lasker.

Every appreciation which the personal qualities of a German receive in a foreign country can not but be pleasing to our national feelings, especially when emanating from such an important body as the American House of Representatives.

I should, therefore, have gratefully received Mr. Sargent's communication, and should have asked His Majesty the Emperor to empower me to present it to the Reichstag if the resolution of the 9th of January did not at the same time contain an opinion on the direction and the effects of the

political action of Representative Lasker which is opposed to my convictions.

In the resolution it is said in relation to the deceased that "his firm and constant exposition of free and liberal ideas *have materially advanced* the social, political, and economic condition of those people."

From my knowledge of the course the political and economic development of the German people has taken, I can not regard this opinion as one in accordance with the facts I have witnessed. I would not venture to oppose my judgment to that of an illustrious assembly like the House of Representatives of the United States if I had not gained, during an active participation in German internal politics of more than thirty years, an experience which encourages me to attach also to my opinion a certain competency *within these limits.*

I can not make up my mind to ask his Majesty the Emperor for the necessary authorization to communicate the resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States to the German Reichstag, because I should therewith have to officially indorse myself and also to indorse with His Majesty the Emperor an opinion which I am unable to recognize as just. VON BISMARCK.

This course of the head of the German Reichstag was regarded in the United States as discourteous, if not insulting; but a compliment to the late Herr Lasker was a rebuke to Bismarck, for Lasker was personally and politically the opposer of the German Prince. Hence, the rejection of the resolutions.

The Morrison Tariff Bill Defeated.

In May, 1884, the MORRISON TARIFF BILL, which had been under discussion during the first session of the XLVIIIth Congress, was defeated. The bill was a Democratic measure, aiming at revenue reform, but about twenty per cent. of the Democratic members voted against it. On account of the failure of this measure to become a law it is predicted by many politicians that the interests of the Democratic party will be seriously jeopardized in the present (1884) Presidential campaign. The purpose of the Morrison bill was "to reduce all unnecessary taxation," and for "economical administration of the Government." For lack of union and harmony among the Demo-

cratic members—the great cause of disaster to that party—the measure was defeated.

The opening declaration of Mr. Morrison's speech in favor of his bill is as follows:

"Should the motion soon to be made, prevail, it will cut off all legislation for reduction of taxes proposed by the bill in its present form, or as it may be amended. It will be a declaration of this Congress, at least, that tariff taxes are not too high and ought to be continued; it will mean an appeal from Congress to the country, and the people will so understand it."

The latter part of Mr. Morrison's speech, which was addressed to Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania (who advocated revision of the bill), and the bolters, is as follows:

The gentleman from Pennsylvania was once in favor, or professed to be in favor, of a substantial reduction of high tariff taxes. He said so in a speech to the convention which nominated him for the place he holds in this Congress. It is true that since then the commission scheme of revision, procured by his assistance, has been made, but I think it is substantially conceded by all that this is not such a revision as was promised by him and his associate advocates of that measure, for they promised relief which it did not afford, and which is still refused.

The gentleman, with his associates in that work, reduced the tax on silks from 60 per cent. to 50 per cent., or 16 per cent.; on the cheaper woolen goods, some of them taxed as high as 100 per cent., he voted with the other revisers and tariff adjusters to add another 30 per cent. I ask him now to help me to reduce this enormous tax that was already too high, and his answer is, not that it is not too high; he does not say that; but he says he does not like the horizontal cut. Then why does he not offer a proper plan—another cut? He claims to have the power to strike out the enacting clause of this bill, and thereby defeat any legislation. If he and his Democratic adherents have the power to do that, they have the power to amend the bill and make it what they desire it to be. But this is not a horizontal cut; it removes part of the monstrous tax put by him on woolen and other goods, but leaves silks taxed as he taxed them. I do not propose an indiscriminate reduction. When 20 per cent. is taken off those now as high as 100 per cent. there will still be 80 per cent. Another provision of the bill reduces them to 60 per cent. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the Democrats who act with him think 60 per cent. on woolen goods too low? In God's name, how much would you take as bounty for those for whom you have spoken here to-day? Do you know there are a million women to-day in this country earning with their

needles dresses made of goods thus highly taxed, and that when they buy ten yards for a dress, even with this second cut, they must give the price of six to the Government! Is that not enough? Gentlemen do but deceive themselves if they expect to avoid responsibility with a pretense that a bill open to amendment is objectionable in form or in detail.

The pretense that the advocates of this bill, or any bill reducing tariff taxes, would resort to direct taxation is meaningless subterfuge. The assertion that the friends of tariff reform would abandon tariff taxes as a principal source of revenue is a weak invention of those who would hide their own rightly distrusted purposes and evasions of public duty. But there is the horizontal cut into the bounty-fed Congressional favorites, and, therefore, I can not have the assistance of the gentlemen to amend the bill or to legislate upon the subject of taxation, because for the purposes of those by whom it is opposed it cuts wrong in cutting at all; and yet most of them, I believe the gentleman from Pennsylvania does not pretend to believe, take too high, and assume a willingness to reduce them while voting to prevent the reduction.

Civil Government for Alaska.

In May, 1884, Congress passed a bill giving to ALASKA a Civil Government. The bill provides that the Territory shall constitute a Civil and Judicial District, the temporary seat of Government being at Sitka. The Governor is authorized to enforce all laws enacted for the District, and to be, *ex officio*, commander-in-chief of the militia, with power to call it out, when necessary, to the due execution of law. The general laws of the State of Oregon are declared to be the laws of the District, so far as the same may be applicable.

Progress.

Over 7,000 miles of **railroad** were built in the United States during the year 1883, the largest number in any one State being 469 miles in Michigan; Pennsylvania followed with 417, and New York with 405. Railroad operations are particularly active west of the Mississippi. These new lines—two from the Missouri river and one from the Rio Grande—now reach the Pacific coast, and several are in progress across Mexico. These convenient public highways are the great agents of material progress and civilization. They are solving the "Indian" and

many other National questions. There will soon be ten transcontinental lines in North America.

It is predicted that at the close of the present century, the United States will approximate a population of 100,000,000. The entire great West is being rapidly developed and built up. The Southern States have grown and improved wonderfully in the last fifteen years; and there is no reason why they should not be, at the end of the century, the leading manufacturing section, particularly in cotton fabrics and iron in all forms.

Contemplated Constitutional Amendments.

Thoughtful men maintain that the emergencies of the age and welfare of the Nation demand several amendments to the Constitution, among which we mention the following:

(1) That the Presidential term should be **seven** years instead of four, with a provision that the President be made ineligible to reëlection. This is an important question, and such an amendment would, no doubt, promote the general prosperity of the country; for all know how much embarrassment is caused to business by these contests every four years, and how much the public is absorbed in them. Under our present system we have only about two years of partisan peace and quiet out of the four years' Presidential term. By having the President elected for seven years the elections would cause much less disturbance to the business of the country.

(2) That in the event of a failure of Congress, within one year, to pass any regular appropriations, then, appropriations corresponding with those of the previous year be continued until such time as they may be passed.

(3) That the President be empowered to approve a portion of any act of Congress and to withhold his approval from all other portions of the act, returning the same to the House in which the bill originated, with his objections, when, before

becoming a law, it shall receive two-thirds of the votes of both Houses.

(4) As to immigration, that the period before which citizenship can be acquired, should be changed, and the ceremony thereof be such that the privilege would be appreciated when obtained; that citizenship should not be extended to any immigrant unable to speak, read, and write the English language, or whose moral character is questioned at the time of becoming a citizen.

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS, 1884.

In the Presidential campaign of 1884 politics presents no great issues before the people. The Democrats have much to say about extravagance and corruption of Republican administration and necessity of reform in National affairs. The Republicans maintain that the history of the Democratic party for the last forty-five years shows it to be unfit to control the affairs of the Nation.

Presidential Nominations, 1884.

The NATIONAL ANTI-MONOPOLISTS met in Chicago, May 14, 1884, and nominated BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, of Massachusetts, as their candidate for the Presidency in the ensuing November election. The Convention decided to make no nomination for Vice President, but to refer the matter to a committee with the expectation that the candidate acceptable to the Anti-Monopolists would be nominated at the Greenback Convention at Indianapolis, May 28th. (*See page* 726.)

1884—NATIONAL ANTI-MONOPOLY PLATFORM.

CHICAGO, MAY 14.

1. We declare that labor and capital should be allies, not enemies; that justice for both is demanded by protecting the rights of all against privileges for few.

2. That corporations are creatures of law and should be controlled by law.

3. That we propose the greatest reduction practicable in public expenses.

4. That in the enactment of a vigorous execution of the just laws, the equality of privileges of all citizens will be secured; to this end we further declare,

5. That it is the duty of the Government to exercise immediately its Constitutional prerogative to regulate commerce among States. The great instruments by which commerce is carried on are the transportation of money and the transmission of intelligence. They are now mercilessly controlled by great monopolies to the impoverishment of labor, the crushing of healthful competition, and the destruction of business securities. We hold it, therefore, to be the imperative duty of Congress to pass all needful laws for the control and regulation of these great agents of commerce in accordance with the oft-repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. These monopolies, which have exacted such heavy tributes, have also inflicted countless wrongs upon the toiling millions in the United States. No system of reform should commend itself to the support of the people which does not protect the man who earns his living by the sweat of his face.

7. That we favor inter-State commerce; that navigable rivers should be improved by the Government and made free.

8. We demand the payment of the bonded debt as it falls due; the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of their respective States; a graduated income tax; a tariff which is a tax upon the people. This should be so levied as to bear as lightly as possible upon the necessaries. We denounce the present tariff as being largely in the interest of monopolies, and demand that it be speedily and radically reformed in the interest of labor, instead of capital.

9. That we deprecate discrimination of American legislation against the greatest of American industries, agriculture, by which it has been deprived of nearly all beneficial legislation.

Greenback Labor Convention (1884).

The NATIONAL GREENBACK LABOR Convention met at Indianapolis, May 28th, and on the 29th nominated BENJAMIN F. BUTLER (the nominee of the Anti-Monopolists) for Presidential candidate, and General A. M. WEST, of Mississippi, for Vice President. Following is the

1884—GREENBACK LABOR PLATFORM—INDIANAPOLIS, MAY 29.

1. We declare that we hold the late decision of the Supreme Court on the legal tender question to be a full vindication of the theory which this party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of legal tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold

said decision and to defend the Constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive people of any rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demand of trade and commerce in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of Greenbacks for National Bank notes, and the prompt payment of the public debt; we want that money which saved our country in times of war, and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of fractional currency and small denominations of Greenbacks, and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hordes of money now locked up in the United States Treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

2. We denounce as dangerous to our republican institutions those methods and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties which have sanctioned or permitted the establishment of land, railroad, money, and other gigantic corporate monopolies, and we demand such Governmental action as may be necessary to take from such monopolies the powers which they have corruptly and unjustly usurped, and restore them to the people, to whom they belong.

3. The public lands being the natural inheritance of the people, we denounce that policy which has granted to corporations vast tracts of lands, and we demand that immediate and vigorous measures be taken to reclaim from such corporations for the people's use and benefit, all such land grants as have been forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract, or that may have been wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation, and that such reclaimed lands and other public domain be henceforth held as a sacred trust, to be granted only to actual settlers in limited quantities, and we demand that alien ownership of land, individual or corporate, shall be prohibited.

4. We demand Congressional regulation of inter-State commerce. We denounce "pooling," stock-watering, discrimination in rates and charges, and that Congress shall correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of National railroads. We also demand the establishment of a Government postal telegraph system.

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money should bear their just proportion of public taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

6. We demand an amelioration of the condition of labor by enforcing sanitary laws in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict labor system, by the rigid inspection of mines and factories, by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial establishments, by fostering educational institutions, and by abolishing child labor.

7. We condemn all importations of contract labor, made with a view

of reducing to starvation wages the workingmen of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

8. We insist upon a Constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States Senators one-half, and making them elective directly by the people; also making the President ineligible to reëlection.

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all Representatives of the people upon an equal footing and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of President.

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated, quarreled over, and has divided communities for nearly a hundred years. It is not now, and never will be settled, unless by the abolition of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue, always raised when the people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws with a view of raising revenue from luxuries rather than necessities, we insist that, as an economic question its importance is insignificant as compared with the financial issue; for whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also high tariffs, we have never suffered from a panic or seen our factories and workshops closed while the volume of our money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor and compete with the whole world.

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the subjects, we are in favor of submitting to a vote of the people an amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage, regardless of sex, and also on the subject of the liquor traffic.

12. All disabled soldiers of the late war should be equally pensioned; and we denounce the policy of keeping a small army of officeholders whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the Government they helped to save.

13. As our name indicates, we are a National party, knowing no East, no West, no North, no South. Having no sectional prejudice, we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of State men from any section of the Union.

14. We appeal to all people who believe in our principles to aid us by voice and pen and votes.

National Republican Convention (1884).

General Sherman.

The National Republican Convention met at Chicago, June 3, 1884. The several candidates put forward in nomination for President were Blaine, Arthur, Edmunds, Lincoln, Hawley, Sherman, Logan, and The decision was made June 6th, on the

fourth ballot, resulting in the nomination of JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine. Following is a

SUMMARY OF THE BALLOTS.

Candidates.	First Ballot.	Second Ballot.	Third Ballot.	Fourth Ballot
Blaine	334½	349	375	544
Arthur	278	276	275	207
Edmunds	93	85	78	41
Lincoln	4	4	8	2
Hawley	13	13	13	15
Sherman	30	28	4	.....
Logan	61½	61	69	7
General Sherman	2	2	1	.....

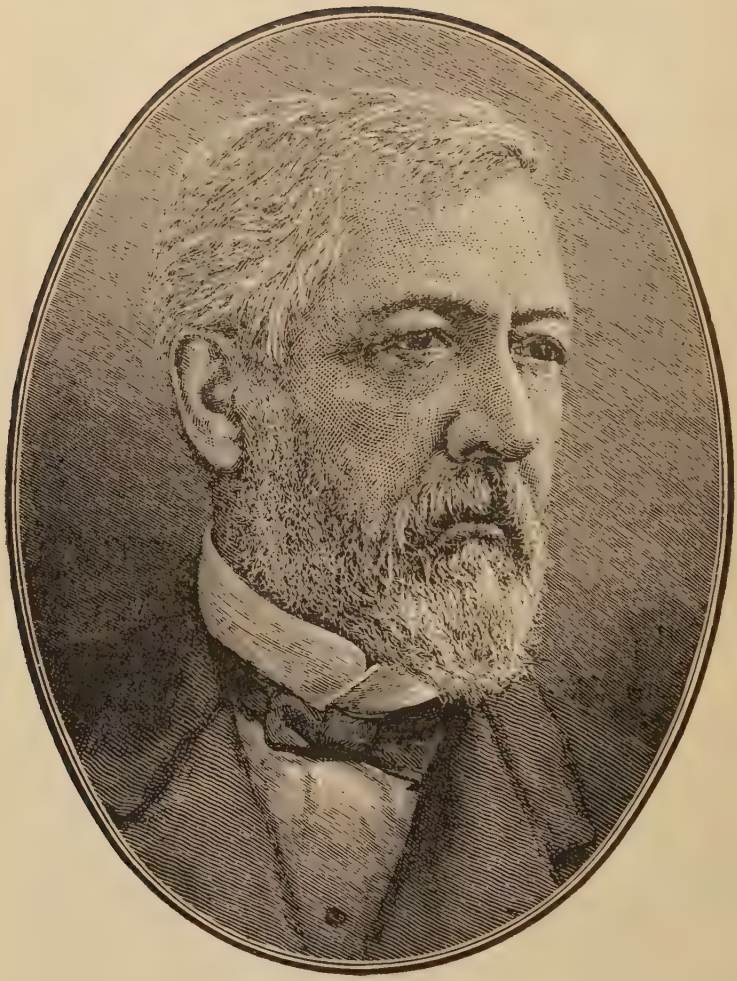
There were 820 delegates to the Convention, thus making 411 votes necessary to a choice. As shown above, Blaine received 544, and Arthur 207—the rest scattering.

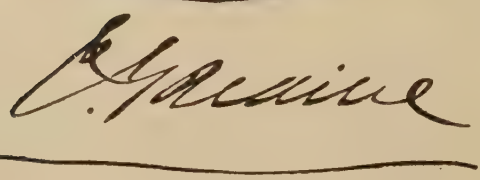
The roll of States being called for nominations for Vice President, General JOHN A. LOGAN, of Illinois, was unanimously nominated.

JAMES G. BLAINE,

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, 1884.

James Gillespie Blaine was born in Union township, Washington county, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1830. He received his education at Washington and Jefferson College, a Presbyterian institution in his native county. After his graduation, in 1847, he went to Kentucky, and entered the Western Military Institute at Blue Lick Springs, as Professor of Mathematics. In 1851 he was married to Miss Harriet Stanwood. He removed to Maine in 1853. Entering upon the field of journalism, he assisted for a time in editing the Portland *Daily Advertiser,* and afterward assumed editorial control of the *Kennebec Journal.* Through his paper and otherwise he worked in the interest of the Republican party, with so much energy and ability as to insure his election to the Maine Legislature in 1858, and his reëlection and par-





ticipation in the sessions of 1859–'62. During his last two terms he was Speaker. In this position he faithfully represented the interests of his State, and in 1862 he was elected to represent the Kennebec district in the XXXVIIIth Congress. He was reëlected by the Republicans to the six succeeding terms of Congress. In 1869 he was chosen Speaker of the House, retaining this office for about six years, when the Democrats came into power and he succumbed to partisan pressure.

The Maine Legislature, in 1875, elected him to the United States Senate, as the successor of Hon. Lot Morrill, who had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury. He was reëlected for the term ending March 4, 1883.

In the beginning of the Presidential campaign of 1876, Mr. Blaine came prominently before the people as the possible successor of General Grant. At the Cincinnati Convention his friends were very sanguine of his nomination. It was on that occasion that Robert G. Ingersoll, in advocating the claims of the Senator from Maine, gave expression to the following eloquent and now famous language:

> Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor. (*See Ingersoll's Speech, page* 650.)

The Convention, however, nominated Mr. Hayes.

In 1880, at the Chicago National Republican Convention to nominate another candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Blaine's friends again pressed his claims for that office with so much vigor as to defeat the nomination of General Grant, without securing the prize for their favorite, for very unexpectedly the convention declared for the nomination of Garfield. President Garfield invited Mr. Blaine into his Cabinet as Secretary of State.

Mr. Blaine is remarkable for his thorough understanding of parliamentary usages and tactics, by his knowledge of which he is capable of circumventing his opponents in their

arts and designs against the measures that he advocates. It is chiefly this faculty that has made him successful as a Congressman.

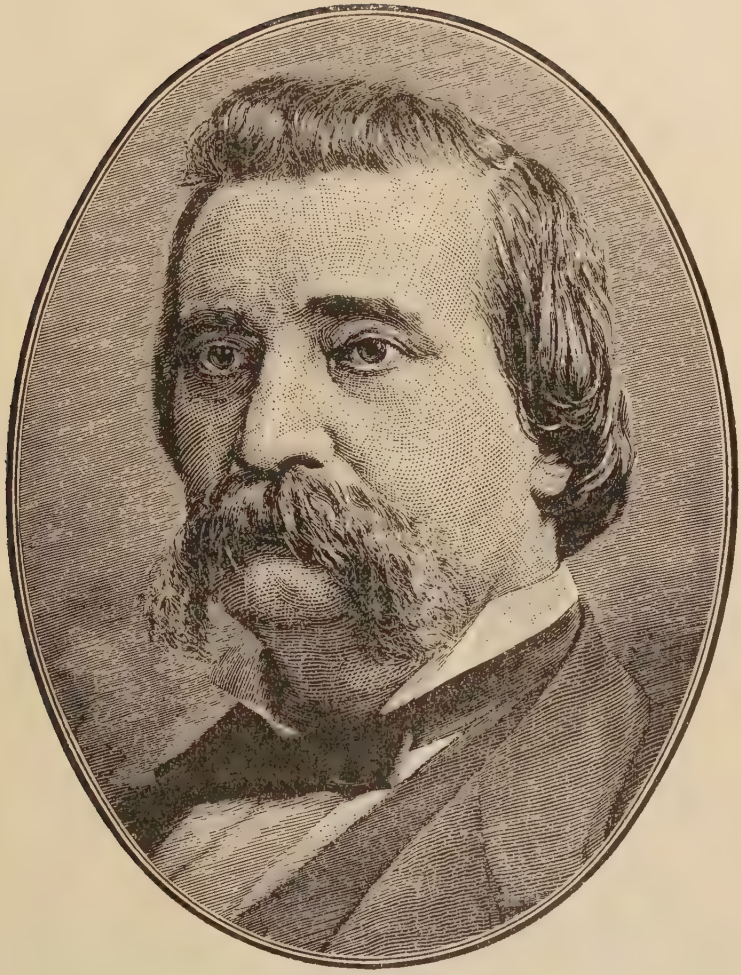
JOHN A. LOGAN,

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT (1884).

John A. Logan, United States Senator from Illinois, was born in Jackson county, Illinois, February 9, 1829. His early education was derived from home teaching, in such local schools as those pioneer days provided, and a course at the Louisville (Ky.) University. He served acceptably in the Mexican War, as private, lieutenant, quartermaster, and adjutant. After the war (1848) he studied law, and a year later was elected County Clerk of Jackson county. In 1852 he was chosen Prosecuting Attorney in the third district, and the same year was elected a member of the Legislature. To this last position he was three times successively reëlected. In 1856 he was Presidential elector, and in the following year he entered upon the practice of law with A. M. Jenkins, his uncle. In 1858 he was elected to Congress, and in 1860 was reëlected.

As a soldier in the Union Army, he fought at Bull Run, became Colonel of the 31st regiment Illinois Infantry, fought at Belmont, Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson, being temporarily disabled in the latter fight. He afterwards joined General Grant at Pittsburg Landing, and in 1862 was appointed a Brigadier-General. For good generalship he was promoted to Major-General. In the subsequent progress of the war, he achieved new distinction at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, and Champion Hill, and participated in the siege of Vicksburg. In 1863 he had command of the Army of the Tennessee. By his skill and gallantry he maintained his high military fame through the subsequent struggles of the war.

In 1865 he was elected to the XLth Congress, and afterwards reëlected to the XLIst and XLIId. In 1871 he suc-



John A. Logan

ceeded Governor Yates as United States Senator, a position that he still retains with much popularity. In the sessions of 1881–'82 he became prominent by introducing a measure to devote the revenue derived by the Government from the tax on ardent spirits to the support of the educational institutions of the country. In June, 1884, the National Republican Convention nominated him as a candidate for the Vice Presidency.

1884—REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—CHICAGO, JUNE 5.

The Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficial, the safeguard of liberty, and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful responses to the demands of the people, for the freedom and equality of all men, for a united Nation, assuring the rights of all citizens, for the elevation of labor, for an honest currency, for purity of legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful Administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the Administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good Government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, "not for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its reward and the laboring man his full share in the public prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Demo-

cratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our solemn protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious, indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer, or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity, and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial Nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign Nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the American Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently recognize Constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a judicious system of general education by adequate appropriations from the National revenues wherever the same is needed.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of National differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense againt the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican

administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage to the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens; and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiting of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the condition of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war.

The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of the application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs. The policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, especially with those of the Western hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our Navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may on any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interest of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a Navy which takes no law from a superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the Territories.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political party from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation, and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its National duty, but the States

have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of Government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

The popularity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race or color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all political rights.

PROHIBITION CONVENTION.

At the National Convention of the American Prohibition party, held at Chicago, June 20, 1884, S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, was nominated for President, and J. A. Conant, of Connecticut, for Vice President. These candidates were afterwards withdrawn in favor of the Prohibition Convention held at Pittsburgh, in July. (*See page* 750.)

The Platform declares that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government; favors the use of the Bible in the schools; asserts that God requires and man needs a Sabbath; demands strict prohibition laws; the withdrawal of all charters to secret lodges, and their oaths to be prohibited by law; opposes prison and imported contract labor; favors the revision of the patent laws; pledges the party to vote for woman suffrage; asserts that the civil equality granted by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments should be extended to Indians and Chinamen; that international differences should be settled by arbitration; that land and other monopolies should be discouraged; that Government should furnish sound currency; that the tariff should be reduced as fast as necessity for revenue and vested business interests will allow; that the "Republican party is censurable for the long neglect of its duty in respect to this evil;" demands a direct vote for President and Vice President of the United States.

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS, 1884.

The **Democratic National Convention** met at Chicago, July 8–11, and adopted a conservative platform, which, however, maintains the fundamental principles of the Democracy. (*See Platform, page* 742.) The prominent Presidential candidates for nomination were Grover Cleveland, of New York; Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana; Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; A. G. Thurman, of Ohio; Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, and S. J. Randall, of Pennsylvania. The whole number of votes cast was 820; the number necessary to a choice was 547. The second ballot for President resulted (July 11) in the nomination of GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York, who received 683 votes, the rest being scattering. A motion to make the nomination unanimous was carried. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, of Indiana, was then unanimously nominated for the Vice Presidency.

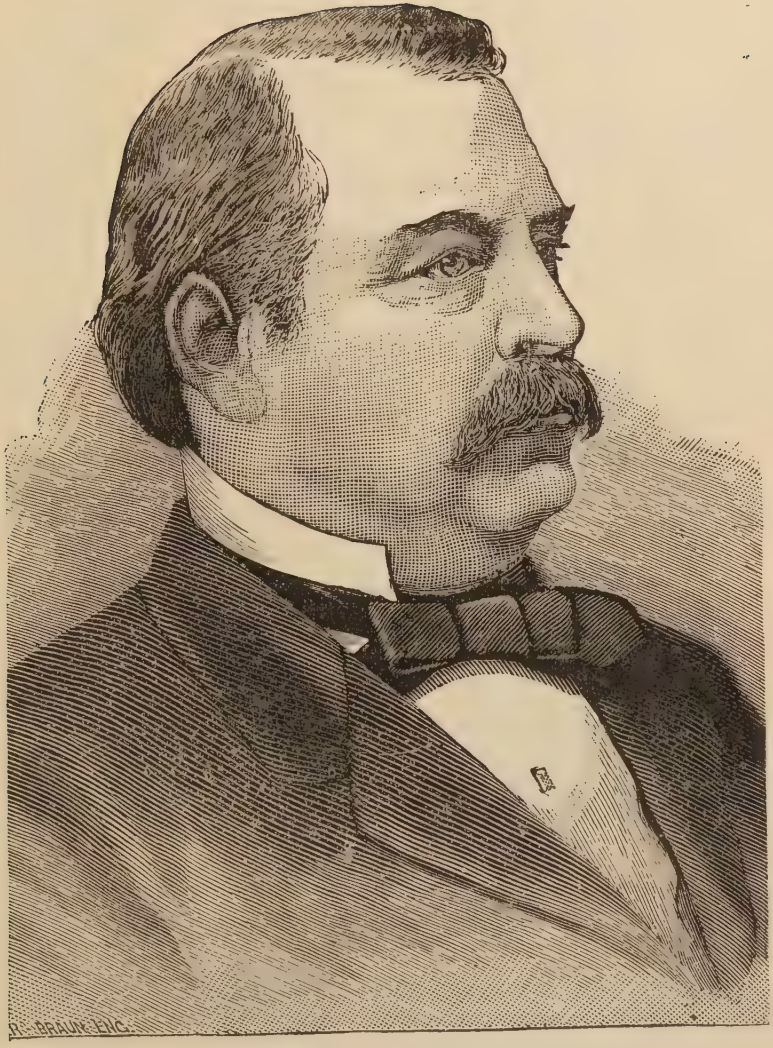
Unanimity characterized the proceedings of the Democratic National Convention of 1884.

GROVER CLEVELAND,

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, 1884.

Grover Cleveland, present Governor of New York, was born in the town of Essex, New Jersey, on May 18, 1837. He is a descendant of a new England family, which has been in this country two hundred years. The family is noted for its piety and religious zeal, having had for many generations distinguished representatives in the clerical profession. His father was educated for the ministry, in the Presbyterian faith.

Governor Cleveland's educational advantages embraced attendance at the common schools and an academy at Clinton, Oneida county, New York. After leaving school, he served as clerk in a New York City eleemosynary institution for a brief season, and then removed to Buffalo, N. Y., where he studied law. In 1859 he was admitted to the bar, passing



Grover Cleveland

most creditably a rigid examination. After four years of thorough study and legal experience, he was appointed Assistant District Attorney for the county of Erie, which position he filled for three years. In 1865 he was nominated by the Democratic County Convention for District Attorney, but was defeated. In 1870 he was elected Sheriff of Erie county, and at the close of that service became a member of the law firm of Bass, Cleveland & Bissell, at once commanding a very lucrative practice.

In 1881 Mr. Cleveland was elected Mayor of Buffalo, and before the expiration of his term, was chosen Governor of the Empire State. He was elected to that high office by the largest majority ever given to any candidate.

Mr. Cleveland is one of a family of nine children—four sons and five daughters—all living, except two sons burned at sea. His widowed mother died in the summer of 1882.

As Governor of New York, Mr. Cleveland has won the good opinion of the great mass of worthy citizens, irrespective of party, and has been opposed to all venal, hasty, or extravagant legislation.

Mr. Cleveland is a bachelor; a man of large stature, and vigorous constitution. He possesses a nervous, emphatic temperament, a light complexion, and brown hair, with slight baldness.

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS,

Democratic Candidate for Vice President, 1884.

Thomas A. Hendricks was born September 7, 1819, on a farm, near Zanesville, Ohio. His father, John Hendricks, was a member of one of the first settlers of Western Pennsylvania, serving his neighbors in town and county offices, as well as in the State Legislature, with credit to them and himself. His mother was of Scotch descent. In 1822 his parents removed to Shelby county, Indiana.

Mr. Hendricks received his education at South Hanover College, from which he graduated in 1841. Two years later

Thos. Simonds

he was admitted to the bar, and practiced at Shelbyville, Indiana. In 1848 he was elected a member of the State Legislature, and, in 1850, a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention. From 1851 to 1855 he served two terms as member of Congress, and from 1855 to 1859 was Commissioner of the State land-office. As a Democrat he was chosen United States Senator for the term ending March 3, 1869. In 1868 he was prominent as an aspirant for the Presidency, as a Democrat, but failed to receive the nomination. Twice—in 1860 and 1868—he was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor of the State, but in 1872 he was elected to that office, which he held till 1877. In 1876 he was the Democratic candidate for Vice President.

Since the expiration of his term as Governor he has resided at Indianapolis, engaged in the practice of the law.

1884—DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—CHICAGO, JULY 10.

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the Nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free Government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuse grows, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country. Hence, a change is demanded.

The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light

in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office. The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls on Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed, and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holders by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions, and tries to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than 20 per cent. reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than 4 per cent. It professes the protection of American manufacturers. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor. It has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law, attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, and the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its own courts. It accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform. Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecutions, and, honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proven by an existing sur-

plus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward. The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with a due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to creditors and pensioners, knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands. The Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making a reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the Custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in execution to this plain dictate of justice. All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. A sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from Custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff. We demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered. The system of direct taxation, known as the "internal revenue," is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom shall be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, and a like fund for the sailors, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

We favor an American continental policy, based upon a more intimate commercial and political relation with the fifteen sister Republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money; all the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution and the circulating medium convertible to such money without loss, and asserting the equality of all men before the law.

We hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nationality, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order. The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously residents therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty. We favor honest civil service reform and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries, the separation of Church and State, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuse, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law. We believe that labor is the best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should, therefore, be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, so be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees. We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, will convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which made ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been the cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred, for absorption into the

general body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed. The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and to demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried, therefore, on her own soil and according to her laws, and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act. This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interest of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that, as the result of this policy, we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water. Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy, our merchant marine was fast overtaking, and on the point of outstripping, that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy; under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors were flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searching out a market for the varied products of American industry. Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantages over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all the United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventuresome of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of that Republican rule and policy, have managed to surrender to

Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand in behalf of the American Democracy an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the supremacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by that venerable statesman, through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principles of Republics (acquiescence in the will of the majority), that he can not permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong was righted in his person for the Democracy of the United States, we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that the best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in Administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

Benjamin F. Butler was born at Deerfield, New Hampshire, in 1818. He was educated at the Lowell high school and at the Waterville, Maine, College; was admitted to the bar in 1841, and became a prosperous attorney, being especially successful in criminal cases. In 1853 he was elected a member of the lower house of the Massachusetts Legislature, and in 1859 a State Senator. In 1860 he was chosen a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Charleston, S. C., and when the convention divided he went to Baltimore with the seceders, but withdrew because he would not remain in a convention that approvingly advocated the slave-trade. In 1860 he was also Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, but was defeated.

At the first call for Union troops, in 1861, he took command of a Massachusetts regiment and was placed in charge of the military district extending from Annapolis to Baltimore, Md. In May, 1861, he became commander of the department of Virginia; in August of that year he commanded the Union troops at the capture of Fort Hatteras, and organized the expedition against New Orleans. The Federal fleet, under Admiral Farragut, having virtually captured New Orleans in the following spring, General Butler took possession of the city in May, and governed it with a firm discipline until November, 1862, when he was recalled. In November, 1863, he became commander of the eighteenth army corps, and, in 1864, of the troops operating on the James river, in Virginia, in conjunction with Grant's campaign against Richmond. From this last-named command he was relieved in 1865. Since then he has represented his State in Congress for several terms. After several unsuccessful efforts to secure the governorship of Massachusetts, he was elected to that position in 1882.

The National Anti-Monopolists' Convention, held at Chicago, May, 1884 (*page* 725), nominated Mr. Butler as their candidate for the Presidency in the ensuing November elec-

tion. He was also nominated for the Presidency at the National Greenback Labor Convention, held at Indianapolis in May, 1884. (*See page* 726.)

THE PITTSBURGH PROHIBITION CONVENTION.

Nominations by the New Political Party (1884).

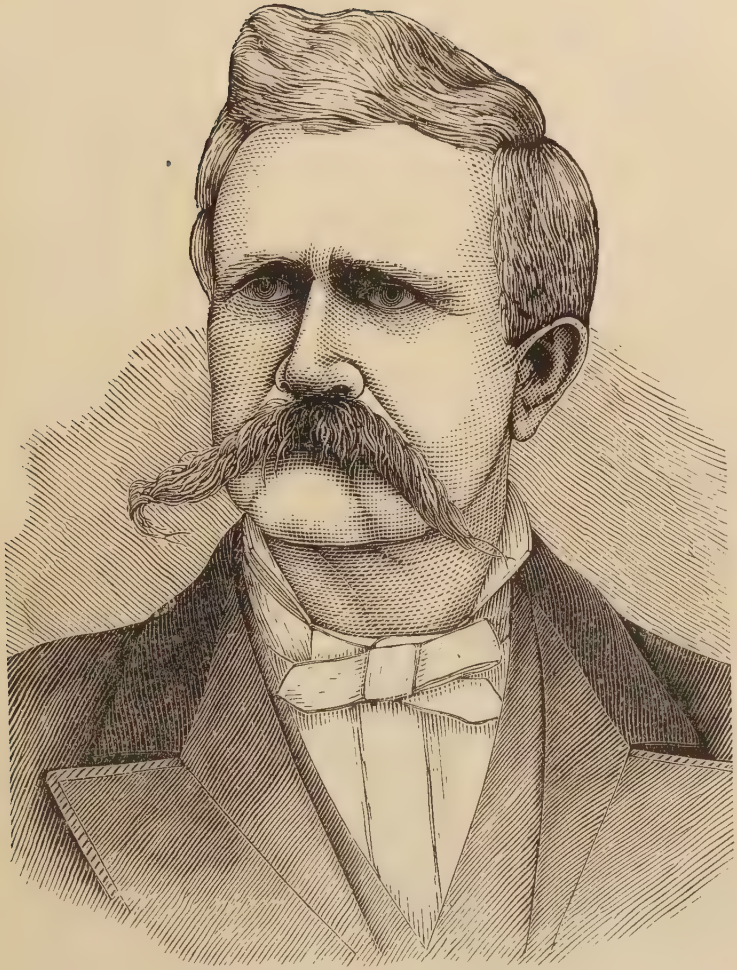
The Prohibitionists met in convention at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 24, 1884, and nominated JOHN P. ST. JOHN, of Kansas, for Presidential candidate, and WILLIAM DANIEL, of Maryland, for the Vice Presidency. The names of the other candidates nominated at previous conventions (*page* 737) were withdrawn, and the nominations of St. John and Daniel were made unanimous.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

John P. St. John was born at Brookville, Franklin county, Indiana, February 25, 1833. His early education embraced only the meager advantages afforded by a country school in a log school-house, in a new settlement, but a natural thirst for knowledge led him to employ his spare time so usefully that he repaired, in a large measure, his early deficiencies.

During the prevalence of the "gold fever," before he had reached his twentieth year, he went to California, but fortune did not favor him, and he was obliged to turn his hand to almost anything to make a living. He chopped wood, cleaned decks, served in stores, and did whatever else he could find to do. During his stay on the Pacific Coast, he made voyages to South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Sandwich Islands; and in 1852 and 1853 he was engaged in the Indian wars in Northern California and Southern Oregon.

In 1860 he returned to Illinois, and went into the law office of Starkweather & McLean, in Charleston. A year or two later, he became a member of the firm. At the opening of



JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

the war he enlisted as a private in the Sixty-eighth Illinois Volunteers, and at the election of officers was unanimously chosen Captain of Company C. At Alexandria he was detached from his command and assigned to duty as assistant Adjutant-General. He was afterwards placed in command of the troops at Camp Mattoon, Illinois. Upon the organization of the One Hundred and Forty-third Regiment he was elected its Lieutenant-Colonel. The services of the regiment were confined mainly to the Mississippi Valley. After Lee's surrender he returned to the practice of law at Charleston. His next move was to Independence, Missouri, where he practiced law with much success for eight years. He won his first reputation there as a temperance orator. In May, 1869, he removed to Olathe, Kansas. Three years afterward he was elected to the State Senate, where he distinguished himself as a debater and man of marked general ability. In 1878 he received the Republican nomination for Governor, and was elected by a very complimentary majority.

In 1879 the temperance agitation was at its height. The blue-ribbon excitement swept all over the State. In the Legislature a large number of bills were introduced for the restriction of the liquor traffic. They crystallized finally into a constitutional amendment which, the next year, was adopted by nearly 8,000 majority. St. John became a candidate for re-election, supported by Republicans and Prohibitionists, and after an exciting campaign, that attracted general attention, he was elected for a second term. Two years later he was again a candidate, and was beaten by over 8,000 votes. He has since taken an active part in the general prohibition movement, being especially active at State conventions and delivering temperance speeches everywhere.

1884.—PROHIBITION PLATFORM—PITTSBURGH, JULY 24.

The Prohibition Home Protection party in National convention assembled acknowledges Almighty God as the rightful Sovereign of all men from whom the just powers of government are derived, to whose laws human

enactments should conform, and that peace, prosperity, and happiness only can come to the people when the laws of the National and State governments are in accord with the Divine will.

The importation, manufacture, supply, and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the National and State governments during the entire history of such laws is everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism, making large demands upon public and private charity, imposing large and unjust taxation and public burdens for penal and sheltering institutions upon thrift, industry, manufacture, and commerce; endangering the public peace, desecration of the Sabbath, corrupting our politics, legislation, and administration of laws; shortening lives, injuring health and diminishing productive industry; causing education to be neglected and despised; nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the church and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth under God of our widely-extended country, and which, imperiling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberty, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are contrary to God's laws and contravene our happiness; and we call upon our fellow-citizens to aid in the repeal of those laws, and the signal suppression of this baleful liquor traffic.

The fact that the twenty-eight years in which the Republican party has controlled the General Government, and that of many of these States, no effort has been made to change this policy; Territories have been created from the national domain, and governments for them established, and States from them admitted to the Union; in no instance in either of which has this traffic been forbidden or the people of these Territories or States been permitted to prohibit; that there are now over 200,000 distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in drink, holding certificates and claiming the authority of the government for the continuation of a business so destructive to moral and material welfare of the people; together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of these abuses of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican party is insensible to, or impotent for, redress of those wrongs, and should no longer be intrusted with the powers and responsibilities of government. That, although this party, in its late National Convention, was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past Mr. Blaine has publicly recommended that the revenue derived from the liquor traffic shall be distributed among the States, and Senator Logan had a bill proposed to devote these revenues to the support of schools. Thus both virtually recommended the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the States and their citizens shall become partners in the liquor crime.

The fact that the Democratic party has, in its national deliverances of party policy, arrayed itself on the side of the drink-makers and sellers, by

declaring against the policy of prohibition of such traffic under the false name "sumptuary laws," and when in power, in some of the States, in refusing remedial legislation, and in Congress, in refusing to permit the creation of a board of inquiry to investigate and report upon the effects of the traffic, proves that the Democratic party should not be intrusted with power or place.

That there can be no greater peril to the Nation than the existing competition of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot and every trust and object of good government, for party success, and patriots and good citizens should find in this practice sufficient cause for immediate withdrawal from all connection with their party.

That while we favor reforms in the administration of the government, in the abolition of all sinecures, useless offices and officers, we favor the election of the postoffice officers of the Government instead of their appointment by the President; that competency, honesty, and sobriety are essential qualifications for holding civil office, and we oppose removal of such persons from merely administrative office, except so far as it may be absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness to the vital issues on which the general administration of the Government is intrusted to a party.

That the collection of revenues from alcoholic liquors and tobacco should be abolished, as the vices of men are not a proper subject for taxation.

That revenue for customs duties should be levied for the support of the Government, economically administered, and, when so levied, the fostering of American labor, manufactures, and industries should constantly be held in view.

That the public land should be held for homes for the people, and not for gifts to corporations, or to be held in large bodies for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers.

That all money, coin and paper shall be made, issued, and regulated by the General Government, and shall be a legal tender for all debts, public and private.

That grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors disabled in the service of the country, and their dependent widows and orphans.

That we repudiate as un-American, contrary to and subversive of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, from which our Government has grown to be the government of 55,000,000 of people and a recognized power among the nations, that any persons or people shall or may be excluded from residence or citizenship with all others who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations.

That while there are important reforms which are demanded for the

purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the reform of the drink traffic, which annually wastes $800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift, and drags down thousands of families from comfort to poverty; which fills the jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals, and institutions for dependency; which destroys the health, saps the industry, and causes loss of life and property to thousands in the land; lowers intellectual and physical vigor, dulls the cunning hand of the artisan; a traffic which is the chief cause of bankruptcy, insolvency, and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangers the perpetuity of free institutions; that Congress should exercise its undoubted power and prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, the Territories of the United States, and in all places over which the Government has exclusive jurisdiction.

That hereafter no State shall be admitted into the Union until its Constitution shall expressly prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

We earnestly call the attention of the laborer and the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer, and ask an investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry caused by the liquor business, which will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, the destroyer of the happiness of the family and the welfare of the laboring man. Labor and all legitimate industry demand deliverance from the taxation and loss which this traffic imposes, and no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production or increase a demand for capital and labor, or produce so much comfort as the suppressing of this traffic would bring to the laboring man, the mechanic, and the employers of labor throughout our land.

That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has, in all the history of the past, been a strength and encouragement which we gracefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phases of the movement for prohibition of the license traffic by the abolition of drinking saloons, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, zeal, intelligence, and devotion of the mothers and daughters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union has been eminently blessed by God. Kansas and Iowa have been given her as sheaves of rejoicing, and the education and arousing of the public mind, and the demand for Constitutional amendment now prevailing, are largely the fruit of her prayers and labors, and we rejoice to have our Christian women a unit with us, that, sharing in the labor that shall bring the abolition of the traffic, at the polls she shall join in a grand "Praise God from Whom all Blessings Flow," when, by law, our boys and friends shall be free from legal drink temptation.

That, believing in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hand of woman is right for her protection, and would

prove a powerful ally for the abolition of drinking saloons and the execution of law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, and the removal of corruption in public life, and so believing, we relegate the practical outworking of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition party in the several States, according to the condition of public sentiment in those States.

That gratefully we acknowledge and praise God for the presence of his spirit, guiding the counsels and granting the success which has been vouchsafed in the progress of the temperance reform, and looking to him from whom all wisdom and help come, we ask the voters of the United States to make the principles of the above declarations a ruling principle in the government of the Nation and of the States.

Resolved, That henceforth, the Prohibition Home-protection party, shall be called by the name of the Prohibition party.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1884.

The Presidential canvass of 1884, though presenting no great issues, was conducted with more than usual interest and demonstration by the people. Though the rivalry of parties ran high, yet there was little disorder. Partisan conflict, though unrelenting, was, in the main, good humored, and intolerance had no place.

Character of the Canvass.

The November election resulted in a Democratic victory. Democratic electors were chosen by all the Southern States, and by New York, Indiana, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland and New Jersey; all the other States chose Republican electors. The election of Cleveland was announced by an electoral vote of 219 to 182 for Blaine, as follows:

Cleveland and Hendricks Elected.

CLEVELAND.		BLAINE.	
States.	*Votes.*	*States.*	*Votes.*
Alabama	10	California	8
Arkansas	7	Colorado	3
Connecticut	6	Illinois	22
Delaware	3	Iowa	13
Florida	4	Kansas	9
Georgia	12	Maine	6

CLEVELAND.		BLAINE.	
States.	*Votes.*	*States.*	*Votes.*
Indiana	15	Massachusetts	14
Kentucky	13	Michigan	13
Louisiana	8	Minnesota	7
Maryland	8	Nebraska	5
Mississippi	9	Nevada	3
Missouri	16	New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	9	Ohio	23
New York	36	Oregon	3
North Carolina	11	Pennsylvania	30
South Carolina	9	Rhode Island	4
Tennessee	12	Vermont	4
Texas	13	Wisconsin	11
Virginia	12		
West Virginia	6	Total	182
Total	219		

So close was the election in New York that it required the announcement of the official vote by the State Board of Canvassers to decide it. The report of the Board, November 21st, gave the highest Democratic elector a plurality of 1,147 over the highest Republican elector, and a difference of 1,077 between the lowest electors.

The campaign was marked by enthusiastic demonstrations and celebrations by both the leading parties in all the large cities of the country. Though the election results bring about a change of executive administration, yet the two great political parties are so nearly balanced that one stands guard over the other, and no great change in any vital question of public policy is likely soon to be brought about.

INDEX.

ABOLITION Society (1790), . . . 125
the Government and, . . . 382
Resolutions (1839), . . . 397
Platforms (1840), ... 397
National Convention (1843), . . 421
party opposes Mexican War, . 430
Abolitionists first appear, . . . 381
Ackerman, Amos T., Att'y Gen'l, . 583
Adams, John, Vice President . 115–127
his Cabinet, ... 190
candidate for President, . . 183
elected President, ... 184
biography and portrait, . 185–186
defeated for re-election, . . 200
death of, ... 298
Adams, John Quincy—
on the Embargo Act, . . . 244
Secretary of State, ... 258
elected President, ... 280
biography and portrait, . . 281–282
spirit of his Administration, . 284
his Cabinet, ... 283
policy of his Administration, . 286
supports "American System," . 287
defeated for re-election, . . 308
Adams, Samuel, ... 184
Adams, Charles F., can. for Vice Pres., 435
Administrations, the
first (Washington's), . . 113
second (Washington's), . . 127
third (John Adams's), . . 183
fourth (Jefferson's), . . . 200
fifth (Jefferson's), . . . 215
sixth (Madison's), ... 238
seventh (Madison's), . . . 249
eighth (Monroe's), ... 253
ninth (Monroe's), ... 266
tenth (J. Q. Adams's), . . 280
eleventh (Jackson's), . . . 307
twelfth (Jackson's), . . . 378
thirteenth (Van Buren's), . . 386
fourteenth (Harrison and Tyler's), 401
fifteenth (Polk's), ... 425
sixteenth (Taylor and Fillmore's), 442
seventeenth (Pierce's), . . . 459
eighteenth (Buchanan's), . . 486
nineteenth (Lincoln's), . . . 524
twentieth (Lincoln and Johnson's) 546
twenty-first (Grant's), . . . 576
twenty-second (Grant's), . . 614
twenty-third (Hayes's), . . . 652
twenty-fourth (Garfield and Arthur's), ... 692
Agriculture, Department of—
design of, ... 111
commissioner of, ... 111
Alabama admitted, ... 259
Alabama, the cruiser, . . . 537
claims settled, ... 588
Alaska purchased, ... 558
Civil Government for, . . . 723
Alien and Sedition Laws, . . . 188
Livingston's speech on, . . 192
Amelia Island, Buccaneers on, . 262
Ames, Fisher, leader of Federalists, . 132
speech on the British treaty, . 158
sketch of, ... 158
Amendments to the Constitution, . 67
when proposed, ... 71
first ten, ... 122
some proposed, ... 724
Amendment, the XIth, ... 130
the XIIth, ... 202–209
the XIIIth, ... 539–554
the XIVth, ... 560
the XVth, ... 112–584–588
Morton's proposed, ... 618
America, United States of, the name, 28
American States—
proposed Congress of, . . 286–713
American Party, the, ... 467
National Convention (1856), . 468
" " (1860), . 496
American National Platform (1875), 637
American System, meaning of, . 252–318
Clay's speech on, ... 335
opposed by Jackson, ... 287
Amnesty Bill, an unlimited, . . 627
Amnesty Proclamation, . . 554–557
text of Johnson's, ... 562
Anderson, Major—
defends Fort Sumter, . . 498
surrenders Fort Sumter, . . 530
Anti-Federalists, policy of the . 121
Anti-Monopoly Convention (1884), . 725
Platform (1884), . . . 725–726
Anti-Masonic Party, Resolutions of, 316
Presidential Convention (1832), 378
Anti-Polygamy Bill, Edmunds' . 709–710
Anti-Slavery Society, National, . 381
Appropriations, committee on, . 113
Arkansas admitted, ... 311
Armstrong, John, Secretary of War, 243
Army Appropriation Bill—
vetoed by Hayes, ... 662
Articles of Confederation—
full text, ... 38
defects of, ... 46
Arthur, Chester A., Vice Pres., 668–670
his casting vote, ... 695
becomes President, ... 703
his Cabinet, ... 704
biography and portrait, . 705–706
calls special session of Senate, . 707

Arthur Chester A., his first Message, 708
his pacific course, ... 708
appoints Conkling to the Supreme Bench, ... 708
approves anti-Polygamy Bill, . 710
opposes Cong. Am. Nations, . 713
prosecutes Star Route "ring," . 716
defeated for nomination (1884), 729
Assistance, Writs of, ... 22
Associate Justices, ... 111
Atchison, David R., Vice President, . 461
Attorney-General, duties of, . . . 110
Auditor, State, ... 112

BABCOCK, E. O., Grant's private sec'y, 626
Badger, Geo. E., Sec'y Navy, . 407–408
Ball, Mary, mother of Washington, 118
Ballot, vote by, ... 14
Baltimore (Dem.) Con. (1860), . 495–496
Bancroft, George, Secretary of War, 427
Bank, National, created, ... 124
Hamilton's, ... 124
Bank, first United States, . . 323–324
opposed by Democratic-Republicans, ... 324
favored by Hamilton, ... 324
bill vetoed by Jackson, . . . 324
Tyler's veto, ... 411
Bankruptcy—
uniform system of, act for, . 410
Bankrupt Law, repeal of the . . 660
Banks, Nathaniel, Speaker House, 462
Barbour, Philip P., Speaker House, . 258
Barbour, James, Secretary of War, 284
Barry, Wm. T., Postmaster-General, 311
Bayard, Senator, President of Senate, 707
Bell, Liberty, history of, ... 34
cut of, ... 35
Bell, John, Speaker House, . . . 311
Secretary of War, ... 407–408
candidate for President (1860), . 496
Belknap, Wm. W., Secretary of War, 583
tried and acquitted, ... 627
Beauregard, G. T.—
Confederate Commander, . . 499
takes Fort Sumter, ... 530
Benjamin, Judah P., sketch of, . . 506
speech on Slavery, ... 506
Benton, Thomas H., sketch of, . 458
Berrien, John M., Attorney-General, 311
Bibb, George M., Secretary Treasury, 408
Bill of Rights, ... 122
Birney, James B., can. for Pres., 396–421
Bismarck and Lasker Resolutions, 719–720
Black Hawk's War, ... 317
Black, Jeremiah S., Sec'y of State . 489
Attorney-General, ... 490
Blaine, James G.—
Speaker House, . . 583–584–590
proposed for President (1876), . 628
speech on a "False Issue," . . 682
proposed for President (1880), . 691
Secretary of State, . . . 695–704
proposes Cong. Am. Nations, . 713
candidate for President (1884), . 729
biography and portrait, . 729–730
Blair, Francis P., can. for Vice Pres., 561
Bland Silver Bill, the, ... 660
Blennerhassett and Burr 216
Blue Lodges in Missouri, . . . 466
Booth, J. Wilkes, assassinates Lincoln, 546
Border State conspiracies, . . . 533
Borie, Adolph E., Secretary Navy, . 583
Boston Port Bill, the, ... 22

Boundary Question, Northern, . . 429
Texas and Mexico, ... 44
Northwestern settled, ... 583
Bourbon rule in Virginia, . . . 714
Boutwell, George S., Sec'y Treasury, 583
Boyd, Lynn, Speaker House, . 457–462
Bradford, Wm., Attorney-General, . 133
Brady, General—
connected with Star Route "ring," 716
Branch, John, Secretary Navy, . 311
Brandywine—(Lafayette's vessel), . 270
Breckenridge, John, Att'y-General, 206
Breckenridge, John C., Vice Pres. . 462
nominated for President, . 496
vacates seat in Congress, . . 532
sketch of, ... 520
Breckenridge Convention (1860), . 496
Platform (1860), ... 505
Breed's Hill, obelisk on, ... 289
Brewster, Benj. H., Sec'y Treasury, 583
Attorney-General, ... 704
Bright, Jesse D, acting Vice Pres., 459
British Board of Trade, ... 16
Navigation Acts, ... 129
Orders in Council, ... 217
outrages on the seas, . . 218–245
emissaries excite war, ... 245
Brooks, Preston H., assaults Sumner, 468
Brown, John, leader of Free-Soilers, 466
seizes Harper's Ferry, . . . 494
executed, ... 494
Brown, Aaron V., Postmaster-General, 489
Brown, B. Gratz—
head of "Liberal" Republicans, . 591
candidate for Vice President, . 591
Browning, Orville, Sec'y Interior, . 551
Attorney-General (*ad interim*), 552
Bucaneers, the, ... 262
Buchanan, James, Secretary of State, 427
elected President, ... 469
his message, ... 486
biography and portrait, . 486–487
sympathizes with secession, . 501
his Cabinet, ... 489
Buffalo Platform (1848), ... 439
Bunker Hill, monument at, . 270–289
Webster's speech at, ... 289
Bureau of the Mint, ... 110
of Statistics, ... 110
Freedmen's, ... 554
Signal Service, ... 616
Burgesses, Council of, ... 13–22
Burlingame, Anson, Minister to China, 560
Burr, Aaron, can. for Pres., . 127–183–200
Vice President, ... 200–201
kills Hamilton, ... 210
his conspiracy, ... 216
Burt, Armistead, Speaker House, . 428
Butler, Wm. O., can. for Vice Pres., . 434
delivers eulogy on Calhoun, . 448
Butler, Benj. F., Att'y-General, . 311–391
announces slaves "contrabands," 532–535
enlists negro troops, ... 536
candidate for President (1884), 725–726

CABINET, Washington's, . . . 122–132
John Adams's, ... 190
Jefferson's, ... 206
Madison's, ... 242
Monroe's, ... 258
J. Q. Adams's, ... 283
Jackson's, ... 310
Van Buren's, ... 390

Cabinet, Harrison's, ... 407
Tyler's, ... 408
Polk's, ... 427
Taylor's, ... 445
Fillmore's, ... 450
Pierce's, ... 461
Buchanan's, ... 489
Lincoln's, ... 527
Johnson's, ... 551
Grant's, ... 582
Hayes's, ... 655
Garfield's, ... 695
Arthur's, ... 704
Cabot, John, Secretary Navy, . . 190
Calhoun, John C., leader in Congress, 247
position on the Tariff, . . 251
Secretary of War, ... 258
opposes Protective Tariff, . . 287
Vice President, ... 308
opposes Jackson's policy, . . 315
criticises Seminole war, . . 315
resigns the Vice Presidency, . 323
elected Senator from S. Carolina, 323
biography and portrait, . 325–326
speech on "Rights of the States," 328
his wing of Democratic party, . 384
Secretary of State, . . . 408
favors admission of Texas, . 420–423
opposes Mexican war policy, . 430
opposes Wilmot Proviso, . . 431
his slavery Resolutions, . . 431
advocates Secession, . . . 433
his death, ... 448
Webster's opinion of him, . . 448
California applies for admission, . 446
the gold of, ... 435
admitted, ... 447–451
Cameron, J. Don, Secretary War, . 583
favors third term for Grant, . 668
supports Mahone, ... 715
Campbell, Geo. W., Sec'y Treasury, 243
Campbell, James, Postmaster-General, 462
Canning, suggested Monroe Doctrine, 267
Cannon, Utah Delegate, . . . 709
Capitals of United States, the several, 29
Carpenter's Hall, Congress at, . . 28
"Carpet-baggers," 585
Cary, Samuel F., can. for V. Pres., . 628
Cass, Lewis, Secretary of War, . 311
candidate for President, . . 434
speech on Missouri Compromise, 475
sketch of, ... 475
Secretary of State, ... 489
resigns, ... 497
Casting Vote, Vice President's, 115–695
Caucuses, Congressional, . . . 238
Census, the first, ... 146
population at the third, . . 219
the ninth, ... 586
the tenth (last). 663
Centennial Exposition; the, . . . 617
Cession, Louisiana, ... 208
Florida, ... 263
Mexican, ... 432–435
Gadsden, ... 462
Alaska, ... 558
Chamberlain, can. for Gov. (S. C.), . 656
Chambers, Jas. B., nom. for V. P. (1880), 669
Chandler, Zach., Sec'y Interior, . 583
Chandler, Wm. E., Sec'y Navy, . 704
Charleston (Dem.) Convention (1860), 495
Charter, a liberal, ... 13
Chase, Salmon P., Sec'y Treasury . 527
his National currency, . . 537
biography and portrait, . . 599–600
Cherokee Indians, removal of, . 317
Chesapeake, capture of the, . . 218–245
Chief Justice, powers, etc., of, . 111
China, treaty with (1868), . . . 560
Chinese Question (1879), . . . 661
in 1882, ... 717–718
"Cipher Dispatches," . . 630–661
Circuit Court, province of . . . 111
Judge of, ... 111
Circuits, Judicial, ... 111
"Citizen" Genet, ... 128
Citizenship, how declared, . . . 151
Civil Rights Bill passed, . . . 555
text of bill of 1866, . . . 564
text of bill of 1875, . . . 647
Civil Service Reform, Hayes's, . . 657
Pendleton's Bill (1883), . . 718
Civil War, germ of the, . . . 263
forerunners of, . . . 321–494
heraldings of, ... 465
summary of causes, . . . 499
crisis—the first shot, . . . 529
the people weary of, . . . 538
ended, ... 546
political results of, . . . 552
cost of, ... 553
Clay, Henry, Speaker House, 243–247–258
advocates War of 1812, . . 248
political course of, . . . 261
introduces Missouri Compromise, 265
favors South American Republics, 267
on tariff revision, . . . 269
candidate for President (1824), . 280
Secretary of State, . . . 283
in J. Q. Adams's Cabinet, . . 285
leader of the Whigs, . . . 314
effects Compromise of 1833, . 321–323
speech on "American System," 335
candidate for President (1832), 378–417
supports State Banks, . . . 383
opposes Sub-Treasury Scheme, . 393
as the people's choice ignored, 395
speech on Public Lands Bill, . 399
his opinion of Tyler, . . . 411
retires from the Senate, . . 413
address on retirement, . . . 414
character and abilities, . . 414
biography and portrait, . . 415–416
nominated by the Whigs (1844), . 421
cause of his defeat, . . . 421
his Omnibus Bill, ... 446
debates Fugitive Slave Law, . 447
Clayton, John M., Sec'y of State . 445–451
Clifford, Nathan, Attorney-General, . 428
Clinton, Geo., can. for Vice Pres. 127–184
elected, ... 216
again nominated, ... 238
Clinton, De Witt—
proposed for nomination, . 247–249
Clubs, Democratic (1794), . . . 128
Cobb, Howell, Speaker House, . 445–451
Secretary of the Treasury, . 489
resigns, ... 497
Cochrane, John C., can. for Pres. . 538
Coffee, T. J., Attorney-General, . 528
Colfax, Schuyler, Speaker House, 528–552
Vice President, ... 561
Collamer, Jacob, Postmaster-Gen., 445–451
College, Electoral, the, . . . 109
Colonies, Union of New England, . 14
Colinization Society founds Liberia, 253
Colonial Union, plans for, . . 15
Colorado admitted, ... 583
Columbia, District of, limits, . . 29
government, ... 30

Columbia, District of, slavery abolished, . . . 447-535
Commissioner of Internal Revenue, . 110
General Land Office, . . . 110
Indian Affairs, ... 110
Customs, ... 110
Pensions, ... 111
Patents, ... 111
Education, ... 111
Commission, Electoral (note), . 114
Confederate, ... 528
Electoral Act, ... 632-633
Committee—
on Privileges and Elections, . 113
Finance, ... 113
Commerce, ... 113
Naval Affairs, ... 113
Postoffices, ... 113
Foreign Affairs, ... 113
Compromise, Missouri (1820), . . 265
of 1833, ... 321-323
Omnibus (1850), ... 446
Lecompton, ... 492
Crittenden's (1860), . . 497-499
Comptrollers of the currency, . 110
Conant, J. A., can. Vice Pres. (1884), 737
Confederacy, Southern, Congress of, 499
Confederate Commissioners visit Washington, ... 528
intercepted, ... 533
Confederation of the Colonies, . 28
articles of, ... 28
Conference, Peace (1861), . . . 499
Congress of American States, . 286-713
Congress, first Continental, . . 23
resolutions of, ... 28
Presidents of Continental, . 29-105
places of meeting, ... 29
branches, ... 107
salary of members, . . . 108
sessions of, ... 108
powers of, ... 108
meeting of the first, . . . 112
duration of, ... 112
first under the Constitution, . 113
declares War of 1812, . . . 247
declares Mexican War, . . 430
bitter debates on Slavery, . . 492
war issues in, ... 532
at variance with President, . . 556
extra session of the XLIst, . 584
" " " XLIId, . 590
" " " XLVth, . 662
bills left over by the XLVIth, . 666
bitter debates in (1879), . . 663
proceedings in (1881), . . . 708
Congresses, Ist and IId, . . . 113
IIId and IVth, ... 127
Vth and VIth, ... 183
VIIth and VIIIth, ... 200
IXth and Xth, ... 215
XIth and XIIth, ... 238
XIIIth and XIVth, ... 249
XVth and XVIth, ... 253
XVIIth and XVIIIth, . . . 266
XIXth and XXth, ... 280
XXIst and XXIId, ... 307
XXIIId and XXIVth, . . . 378
XXVth and XXVIth, . . . 386
XXVIIth and XXVIIIth, . . 401
XXIXth and XXXth, . . . 425
XXXIst and XXXIId, . . . 442
XXXIIId and XXXIVth, . . 459
XXXVth and XXXVIth, . . 486
XXXVIIth and XXXVIIIth, . 524
Congresses, XXXIXth and XLth, . 546
XLIst and XLIId, ... 576
XLIIId and XLIVth, ... 614
XLVth and XLVIth, ... 652
XLVIIth and XLVIIIth, . . . 692
Congressional debate, importance of, 156
committees, ... 113
caucuses decide election, . . 308
Congressmen, status of our, . . 157
province of, ... 157
Conkling, Senator, opposes removal of troops from the South . . 657
favors third term for Grant, . 668
resigns seat in Senate, . . . 696
biography and portrait, . 701-702
Associate Justice, ... 708
Connecticut refuses aid in War of 1812, 250
Conrad, Charles M., Secretary War, 451
Conscription Act riots, ... 536
Conspiracy, Burr's, ... 216
Conspiracies, border State, . . 533
Constitution, first written, . . . 13
for Connecticut Colony, . . 14
history of our Federal, . . . 47
text of our, ... 57
adopted in Convention (1789), . 49
Amendments to the, . . 67-122
ratified, ... 71
Patrick Henry's Speech on the, . 72
Edmund Randolph's Speech on, 88
comments on the, ... 105
objects of the, ... 106
Webster's support of the, . . 322
basis of written, ... 106
functions of, ... 155
proposed Amendments to the, . 724
Constitutional Convention (1787), . 49
Union Party, Convention of (1860), 496
Platform (1860), ... 501
Constructionists, loose, . 280-285-314
strict, ... 285
"Contrabands," 531
Convention of 1787, Constitutional, 49
Hartford (1816), ... 251
Conventions, National (1832), . . 378
(1836), ... 386
(1840), ... 395
(1844), ... 420
(1848), ... 434
(1852), ... 454
(1856), ... 468
(1860), ... 495
(1864), ... 538
(1868), ... 561
(1872), ... 591
(1876), ... 628
(1880), ... 667
(1884), ... 725
Cooke & Co., J., failure of, . . 614
Cooper, Peter, candidate for Pres., . 628
Corwin, Thomas, Secretary Treasury, 451
Cotton Gin, the, ... 264
Council of Burgesses, ... 13-22
Council, British Orders in, . . 217
Courts, Territorial, ... 111
Federal, ... 111
District, ... 111
Supreme, ... 111
Circuit, ... 111
minor, ... 156
Cox, Jacob D., Secretary Interior, . 583
Crawford, Wm. H., Sec'y Treasury 258
candidate for President, . 254-280
Secretary War, ... 243
Senator, ... 247

Crawford, George W., Sec'y War, 445–451
Credit Mobilier, investigation, . . 589
Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, 246
join the Seminoles, . . . 262
Cresswell, John A. J.—
Postmaster General, . . . 583
Crittenden, John J.—
Attorney-General, . 407–409–451
his Compromise (1860), . . 497–499
Crowninshield, Jacob, Sec'y Navy, . 206
Crowninshield, B. W., Sec'y War, 243–258
Crystal Palace, the, ... 463
Currency Question, the, ... 660
Comptroller of the, . . . 110
the Federal, ... 539
Chase's National, ... 537
Curtis, Mrs. Martha, ... 120
Cushing, Caleb, Attorney-General, 462
at Charleston Convention, . . 495
Customs, Commissioner of, . . 110
Czar of Russia, mediation of (1814), . 251

DALLAS, ALEX. J., Sec'y Treasury, . 243
Dallas, Geo. M., Vice President, 420–421
Davis, John W., Speaker House, . 428
Davis, Jefferson, Sec'y of War, . 461
Pres. Southern Confederacy, . 499
biography and portrait, . 509–510
speech on leaving U. S. Senate, . 512
offers letters of marque, . . 531
Davis, David, President of Senate, . 707
Dayton, Jonathan, Speaker House, 133–191
Dayton, Wm. L., can. for Vice Pres., 469
Dearborn, Henry, Secretary of War, 206
Debt, National, discussed (1790), . 123
Hamilton's report, . . . 123
imprisonment for, abolished, . 381
Declaration of Independence, the, 30
signers of, ... 33–36
of Rights, ... 22–239
Deficiency Appropriation Bill vetoed, 667
Delano, Columbus, Sec'y Interior, . 583
Delegates, Territorial, ... 108
Democrat, the name, ... 126
term first used (note), . . . 238
Democratic-Republicans, . 126–128–255–314
Democrats— [324–347
favor National Bank, . . . 324
Conservative, ... 393
Douglas, ... 495
Northern, ... 496
a war party (1812), ... 247
Platform (1832), ... 325
party crippled, ... 383
Calhoun wing of party, . . . 384
policy with the Whigs, . . . 384
in National Convention (1832), . 378
" " " (1836), . 386
" " " (1840), . 396
Platform (1840), ... 397
in National Convention (1844), . 420
Platform (1844), ... 424
party cry of 1844, ... 429
in National Convention (1848), . 434
Platform (1848), ... 436
in National Convention (1852), . 454
" " " (1856), . 468
" " " (1860), . 495
Platform (Douglas), 1860, . . 504
" (Breckenridge), 1860, . 505
in National Convention (1864), . 539
Platform (1864), ... 542
in National Convention (1868), . 561
Platform (1868), ... 572
in National Convention (1872), . 592
Democrats—
Platform (1872), ... 613
in National Convention (1876), . 628
Platform (1876), ... 643
in National Convention (1880), . 668
Platform (1880), ... 681
orators (1880), ... 669
Bourbons of Virginia, . . . 714
Union War Party (1882), . . 715
in National Convention (1884), . 738
Platform (1884), ... 742
Democracy, a pure, ... 51
Dennison, Wm., Postmaster-Gen., 527–552
Dent, George, Speaker of the House, . 191
Deseret, Mormon, Utah, . . . 493
Devens, Charles, Attorney-General, . 656
Dexter, Samuel, Sec'y Treasury, 190–206
Dickerson, Mahlon, Sec'y Navy, 311–390
District Judge, office of, . . . 111
District of Columbia, limits of, . 29
government, ... 30
slavery abolished in, . . 447–535
Dix, John A., Secretary Treasury, . 489
Dobbin, James C., Secretary Navy, 461
Documents, public, Superintendent of, 111
Donelson, Andrew J.—
nominated by Know-Nothings, 468
Dougherty, Daniel—
speech nominating Hancock, . 691
Douglas, Stephen A.—
introduces Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 465
his Democratic adherents, . . 495
nominated for President (1860), 496
biography and portrait, . . 514–515
speech on Secession, . . . 516
Dred Scott Decision, the, . . 490–491
Duane, Wm. J., Secretary Treasury, 311

EATON, JOHN H., Secretary of War, . 311
Edmunds's Anti-Polygamy Bill, 709–710
Elective Body, first, ... 13
Election Presidential, former mode, 114–184
present mode, ... 114
modes discussed, ... 288
first contested, ... 183
Election Law, general, . . . 664
Electoral College, the, . . . 109
subject for criticism, . . . 269
Electoral Count, (1877), . . . 629
Electoral Commission (note), . . 114
Electoral Commission Act, . 632–633
Ellmaker, Amos, can. for V. P. (1832), 378
Ellsworth, Oliver, can. for President, 184
Emancipation Petition, Dr. Franklin's, 125
Proclamation, Lincoln's, . . 535
text of, ... 544
Embargo Act, the, ... 218–238
threatens disunion, ... 244
Enforcement Act, the, ... 585
English, Wm. H., can. for V. P. (1880), 669
"Era of Good Feeling," . . . 259
Erie Canal, the, ... 262
Eustis, Wm., Secretary of War, . 243
Evarts, Wm. M., Attorney-General, . 552
Centennial Orator, . . . 618
Secretary State, ... 655
Everett, Edward, Secretary State, . 451
sets forth "Monroe Doctrine," . 453
candidate for Vice President, . 496
sketch of, ... 520
Ewing, Thomas, Sec'y Treasury, 407–408
first Secretary Interior, . 436–445–451
Excise Laws, the, ... 125–130
Executive, power of the, . . . 109
modes of electing, . . 114–183–288

Executive, chief officers, . . . 154
Exodus, Negro, ... 662

FAREWELL ADDRESS—
Washington's, ... 133–183
"Feather-heads," 696
Federalists, the, ... 121–347
papers, ... 241
and the Republicans, . 183–184–347
oppose the Embargo Act, . . 244
Hamilton, leader, ... 126
Fisher Ames, leader, ... 132
position in War of 1812, . . 248
position on the tariff, . . . 252
fall of the party, ... 208–253
Federal Currency, ... 539
Federal Courts, ... 111
Federal Republic defined, . . . 107
Federal Constitution, history of our, 47
text of, ... 57
adoption in Convention, . . 49
ratification, ... 71
Amendments, ... 67–122
Patrick Henry's speech on, . 72
Edmund Randolph's speech on, 88
comments on, ... 105
objects of, ... 106
Webster's support of, . . . 322
proposed Amendments to, . 724
Fenians, the, ... 558
Fessenden, Wm. P., Sec'y Treasury, 527
Fillibusters, Cuban (1851), . . . 453
Fillmore, Millard, can. for Vice Pres., 734
Vice President, ... 435–442
becomes President, ... 448
nominated by Know-Nothings, . 468
his Cabinet, ... 450
Biography and portrait, . . 448–449
Finance Committee, ... 113
Financial Panic of 1837, . . . 334–392
of 1873, ... 614
Fish, Hamilton, Secretary of State, . 582
Florida ceded to the U. S., . . . 263
admitted, ... 409
Florida, the privateer, ... 537
Floyd, General, ... 268–498
Floyd, John, candidate for Pres. (1832), 378
Floyd, James B., Secretary War, . . 489
Folger, Charles J., Sec'y Treasury, . 704
Foot, Senator, Nullification Res. of, 313
on the tariff, ... 318
Force Bill passed, the, ... 590
Fort Sumter captured, ... 530
Forsyth, John, Secretary State, 311–390
Forward, Walter, Sec'y Treasury, . 408
Foster, Lafayette S., Acting Vice Pres. 551
Fox and Sacs Indians, . . . 317
Franklin, Benjamin—
at Constitutional Convention, . 49
biography and portrait, . . 19–20
his Plan of Union, ... 16
his Emancipation Petition, . 125
Franklin, Sir John, in search of, . 463
France, relations with (1795), . . 131
difficulties with (1797), . . . 187
Free Masonry opposed, ... 316
Freedmen's Bureau Bill, . . . 554
Free-Soilers, the, ... 435
Convention (1852), ... 454
Platform (1852), ... 455
denounce Compromise of 1850, . 454
in Kansas, ... 466
Frelinghuysen, Theodore—
candidate for Vice President. . 421
Secretary of State, ... 704
French Revolution, the, . . . 126–128
Fremont, John C., nominated for Pres. 469
declares slaves in Missouri free, 531
candidate for President, . . 538
his Platform, ... 541
Frye, speech nominating Blaine (1880), 691
Fugitive Slave Law passed, . . . 447
provisions of, ... 447
endorsed by Whigs, ... 454
question of, ... 531
Fulton, Robt., constructs first steamb't. 219

GADSDEN PURCHASE, the, . . . 462
Gallatin, Albert, ... 131
Secretary of the Treasury, . 206–207–243
Garfield, James A., nominated for Pres. 668
elected, ... 670
resigns as Senator, ... 670
speech nominating Sherman (1880), 688
inaugurated, ... 692
inaugural address, ... 693
trials and anxieties, ... 693
tries to avoid "nepotism," . . 694
his Cabinet, ... 695
shot by Guiteau, ... 696
effect of the assassination, . 697–698
biography and portrait, . . 698–699
his pacific intentions, . . . 708
Garrison, Wm Loyd, sketch of, . . 508
speech on Slavery, ... 508
Geneva Award, the, ... 588
Genet, "Citizen," 128
Germany, Emperor of, in arbitration, 589
Gerry, Elbridge, envoy to France, . 188
Vice President, ... 242–249
Ghent, Treaty of, ... 251
Gilmer, Thos. W., Secretary Navy, 408
Gilpin, Henry D., Attorney-General, 391
Goff, Jr., Nathan, Secretary Navy, . 655
Gold in California, ... 435
Golden Circle, Knights of the, . . 533
Government, seats of, ... 29
first Territorial, ... 48
the three branches, ... 107
State and Territorial, . . . 111–112
in the people, ... 285
Graham, Geo., Secretary War, . . 258
Graham, Wm., Secretary Navy, . 451
candidate for Vice President, . 454
Granger, Gideon, Postmaster Gen., 206–243
Granger, Francis, Postmaster Gen., . 407
Grangers, the, ... 615
Grant, Ulysses S., Secretary War, . 551
elected President, ... 561
inaugurated, ... 576
biography and portrait, . . 576–577
his Cabinet, ... 582
re-elected (1872), ... 591–592
his Indian policy, ... 614
mentioned for a third term (1876), 628
defeated for third term nomination (1880), ... 668
Gray, Horace, Justice Supreme Court, 708
Greeley, Horace, candidate for Pres., 591
biography and portrait, . . 596–597
Greenback Party, rise of the, . . 628
Platform (1876), ... 639
National Convention (1880), . 669
Platform (1880), ... 675
National Convention (1884), . . 726
Platform (1884), ... 726
"Greenback" issued, ... 532
the only currency, ... 534
Gresham, Walter Q., Postmaster Gen., 704
Grinnell, Henry, ... 463

Griswold, Roger, Secretary War, . 190
Grow, Galusha A., Speaker House, . 528
Grundy, Felix, Attorney-General, . 391
Guiteau, Chas J., assassinates President Garfield, ... 696
tried and executed, . . . 698-707
Guthrie, James, Sec'y Treasury, . 461

HABERSHAM, JOSEPH—
Postmaster General, . . 132-191-206
Hale, John P., candidate for Pres., . 454
"**Half-breeds**," the term, . . . 696-709
Halifax Award, the, ... 660
Hall, Independence, ... 34
Hall, Nathan K., Postmaster Gen'l, . 451
Hamilton, Alexander, Sec'y Treasury, 122
report on public debt, ... 123
his National Bank, ... 124
leader of the Federalists, . . 126
plan of internal taxation, . 131
his integrity, ... 207
duel with Burr, ... 210
biography and portrait, . . 210-211
in Convention at Annapolis, . 212
in Convention at New York, . 212
Secretary of State, ... 213
favors United States Bank, . 324
Hamilton, Paul, Secretary Navy, . 243
Hamlin, Hannibal, Vice Pres., 497-524-527
Hampton, candidate for Gov. S. C., . 656
Hancock, W. S, can. for Pres. (1880), 669-670
supported by Readjusters, . . 713
Harlan, James, Secretary Interior, 551
Harper's Ferry seized by John Brown, 494
seized by Confederates, . . 531
Harrison, Wm. H., Gov. Indiana Ter., 246
at Tippecanoe, ... 246
candidate for President (1836), . 386
nominated by the Whigs (1840), . 395
elected President, ... 397
inauguration and death, . . 402
biography and portrait, . 403-404
his Cabinet, ... 407
bill for his widow, ... 410
Hartford Convention, the, ... 251
Hartranft, Gov., ... 638
Hayes, Rutherford B., can. for Pres., 621
elected (1877), ... 636
inaugurated, ... 652
biography and portrait, . 652-653
his Cabinet, ... 655
his Southern policy, ... 656
his civil service reform, . . . 657
his political situation, ... 658
vetoes Chinese immigration bill, 661
vetoes Appropriation bills, . . 662
vetoes Judiciary bill, ... 662
his last message, ... 664
his Indian policy, ... 665
vetoes Deficiency bill, . . . 667
close of his Administration, . 666
fails to break the "Solid South," 715
Hayne, R. Y., speech on Public Lands, 342
sketch of, ... 377
on the tariff, ... 318
debate with Webster, . . . 318-350
Hendricks, Thos. A., can. for V. Pres., 628
Henry, Patrick, biog. and portrait, 22-23
speech on British tyranny (1775), 25
" " the Constitution (1788), 72
Henshaw. David, Secretary Navy, . 408
Hermitage, Jackson at the, . . . 387
High Protective Tariff discussed, . 287
Hoar, E. Rockwood, Attorney-Gen., 583
Holy Alliance, the, ... 268
Holt Joseph, Secretary of War, . 489
Postmaster-General, ... 489
Homestead Bill, opposition to a (1859), 495
passed (1861), ... 532
text of, ... 543
Hopkins, Geo. W., Speaker House, . 409
House of Representatives, . . . 108
elects President (1804), . . . 201
decides Pres. election (1824), . 280
Howe, Timothy O., Postmaster-Gen., 704
Hubbard, Henry, Speaker House, . 311
Hubbard, Saml. D., Postmaster-Gen., 451
Hunt, Wm. H., Secretary Navy, 695-704
Hunter, General, proclaims freedom to slaves in Missouri, . . . 535
Hunter, R. M. T., Speaker House, 391-394
Husbandry, Patrons of, ... 615

ILLINOIS admitted, ... 259
Impeachment trial of Pres. Johnson, 557
Imperial Decrees, . . 217-246-247
Impressment of American seamen, 218-245
Inaugural Address, Washington's, . 115
Independence, Declaration of, . . 30
signers of, ... 33-36
Hall of, ... 34
Independent National Con. (1876), . 627
(Greenback) Platform (1876), . 639
Independent Treasury Act repealed, . 410
"**Independents**," the term, . . . 709
Indian Policy, Jackson's, ... 317
Grant's, ... 614
Hayes's, ... 665
Indian war in the Northwest (1811), 245
Indian Territory organized, . . 317
Indian Schools, ... 665-666
Indian Affairs, Commissioner of, . 110
Indiana admitted, ... 243-253
Industry, Sovereigns of, ... 615
Ingersoll, Jared, nominated for Vice President, ... 249
Ingersoll, Robert G., sketch of, . . 650
speech nominating Blaine (1876) 650
Ingham, Samuel D., Sec'y Treasury, 311
Interior Department established, . 435
Secretary of, duties, ... 110
Internal Taxation, ... 131-431
Iowa admitted, ... 409
Iredell, James, candidate for Pres., . 184
Ironclad Oath, the, ... 532

JACKSON, ANDREW, advice to Monroe, 260
subdues the Seminoles, . . . 262
candidate for President, . . . 280
opposes "American System," . 287
his first Administration, . . . 307
biography and portrait, . 308-309
his Cabinet, ... 310
results of his election, . . . 312
dissolves and reconstructs Cabinet, 316
his Indian policy, ... 317
proclamation to Nullifiers, . . 320
vetoes U. S. Bank Bill, ... 324
character of his Administration, 384
progress in his Administration, . 385
re-elected, ... 378
his Message (1835), ... 383
his character, ... 384
his retirement, ... 387
James, Thos. L., Postmaster-Gen., 695-704
exposes "Star Route" frauds, . 716
Japan, treaty with (1853), . . . 464
Jay, John, Chief Justice, ... 122
Envoy Extraordinary, . . . 129
makes treaty with France, . . 130

Jay, John, candidate for President, 184
Jefferson, Thomas, Sec'y State, 122–132
Anti-Federalist, ... 126
candidate for President, . . 127
Vice President, ... 183–184
writes "Ky. Resolutions," . . 189
elected President, ... 200
inaugurated (first term,) . . 202
his republican simplicity, . 203
biography and portrait, . 203–204
his Cabinet, ... 206
his first Message, ... 208
re-elected President, ... 215
declines third term, ... 219
progress in his Administration, 219
his death, ... 298
Webster's eulogy on, . . . 298
Jewell, Marshall, Postmaster-Gen., . 583
Johnson, Col. R. M., Vice Pres., . 387
his bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, ... 381
Johnson, Reverdy, Att'y-Gen., . 445–451
Johnson, Cave, Postmaster-Gen., . 427
Johnson, Herschel, nominated for Vice President, ... 496
Johnson, Andrew, Vice Pres., 527–538–539
becomes President, . . . 547
biography and portrait, . 547–548
his Cabinet, ... 551
vetoes Civil Rights Bill, . . 555
at variance with his Cabinet, . 556
vetoes Tenure-of-office Bill, . 556
removes Secretary Stanton, . . 556
impeachment trial, ... 557
warns the Fenians, ... 558
Johnston, Samuel, candidate for Pres., 184
Johnston, Albert Sidney, in Utah, . 494
Joint High Commission, the, . . . 588
Jones, John W., Speaker House, . 409

KANE, DR. ELISHA KENT, . . 463
Kansas-Nebraska Bill introduced, . 465
Kansas, civil war in, ... 466
admitted, ... 490–493
Keifer, General, Speaker House, . 704–708
Kellogg, W. P., Governor, . 592–615
Kelly, John, Tammany leader, . 628
Kendall Amos, Postmaster-Gen., 311–391
Kennedy, John P., Secretary Navy, 451
Kentucky admitted, ... 133
Resolutions (1798), . . 189–190
neutrality, ... 531
Kerr, M. C., Speaker House, . . 583
Key, David M., Postmaster-General, 656
King, Rufus, candidate for Vice President (1804), ... 216
candidate for Vice Pres. (1808), . 238
candidate for President (1816), 254
King, Horatio, Postmaster-Gen., . 489
King, Wm. R., nominated for Vice Pres., 454
Kirkwood, Samuel J., Secretary Interior, ... 695–704
Knights of the Golden Circle, . 533
Knox, General, Secretary War, . 122–132
Know-Nothing party, the, . . . 466
National Convention (1856), . . 468
" " (1860), . . 496
Know-Nothingism, speech of Henry A. Wise against, ... 480
Kossuth, Louis, Hungarian patriot, 454
Koszta, Martin, affair of, . . . 462
Ku-Klux-Klans, the, ... 585
Ku-Klux Act passed, ... 585

LABOR REFORM PLATFORM (1872), 606
Lafayette, "the Nation's Guest," . 270
at Bunker Hill Monument, . 289
Land Office, General, commissioner of, 110
Lane, Joseph, nominated for Vice President (1860), ... 496
Langdon, John, Pres. Senate, *pro tem.*, 114
Lasker Resolutions, the, . . 719–720
Law-Makers, our, ... 156
Lecompton Compromise, the, . . 492
Lee, Charles, Attorney-General, 133–191
Lee, Gen'l Henry, in com. of army, . 131
candidate for Vice Pres. (1832), . 378
Legare, Hugh S., Secretary State and Attorney-General, . . 408–409
Legislature, the National, . . 107
Legislative Branch, the, . . . 156
checks on power of, . . . 156
bill vetoed by Hayes, . . 662
Legislators, status of our, . . . 157
province of our, ... 157
Lemoyne, Francis, can. for Vice Pres., 390
Leopard and Chesapeake, . . 218–245
Lewis and Clarke's explorations, . 217
Liberties, body of, ... 14
Liberia founded, ... 253
Liberty, germ of, ... 16
Bell (history and cut), . . 34–35
Personal Laws, ... 447
Liberty, or Abolition party (1840), . 396
in Convention (1843), . . . 421
Liberal Republican Convention (1872), 591
Platform (1872), ... 612
Liberal, National, Platform (1879), . 671
Liberals in Mexico, ... 559
Lincoln, Levi, Attorney-General, . 206
Lincoln, Abraham, elected Pres. (1860), 497
inaugurated, ... 524
biography and portrait, . 525–526
his Cabinet, ... 527
inaugural address, ... 528
calls for troops, ... 530
issues Emancipation Proclamation, 535
re-elected, ... 538–539
inaugural address, ... 546
assassinated, ... 546
Lincoln, Robert T., Secretary War, 695–704
"Little Belt" captured, . . . 270
Livingston, Edward, sketch of, . . 191
speech on Alien Law, . . . 192
Secretary State, ... 311
Livingston, Robert, opposes purchase of Louisiana, ... 209
"Locofoco" Platform (1836), . . 385
Logan, John, Senator, ... 657
opposes removal of troops from the South, ... 657
names Grant for third term. . 668
candidate for Vice Pres. (1884), . 729
biography and portrait, . 732–733
Loose Constructionists, . . 280–314
Lopez, filibuster, ... 453
Louisiana, Territory, purchase of, . 208
benefits of the purchase, . . 208
State admitted, ... 243–253
political troubles in, . . . 615–656

"MACHINE MEN," 696
MacVeagh, Wayne, Att'y-Gen., 695–704–716
McClellan, Geo. B., can. for Pres., . 539
McHenry, James, Secretary War, 132–190
McLean, John, Postmaster-Gen., 258–284
Sec'y State, War and Treasury, . 311

McCulloch, Hugh, Sec'y Treasury, 527–551
McClelland, Robert, Sec'y Interior, . 462
McEnery, John, Gov., . . 592–615
and the Returning Board, . . 630
McCrary, Geo. W., Sec'y of War, . 655
Macon, Nathaniel, Speaker House, . 206
Madison, James, writes Va. Resolut's, 189
Secretary of State, ... 206
candidate for President, . . 238
elected President, ... 239
biography and portrait, . 239–240
"Memorial and Remonstrance," 241
Report in defense of Resolutions, 242
Papers, ... 242
his Cabinet, ... 242
ability as President, . . . 244
his war policy, ... 246
declares War of 1812, . . . 247
his Message (1812), ... 247
re-elected, ... 250
Maffat, Captain, ... 537
Mahone and the Readjusters, . 713–714
Maine admitted, ... 259
Majorities and Minorities, . . . 154
Mangum, W. P., his Presidential vote, 386
acting Vice President, . . . 408
Manifesto, Ostend, ... 464
Marcy, Wm. L., Secretary of War, . 427
Secretary of State, . . . 461–463
Marshall, Jno., spec'l envoy to France, 188
Secretary of State, ... 190
tries Burr, ... 217
administers Pres. oath, . . . 255
Mason and Dixon's Line, ... 264
Mason and Slidell affair, . . . 533
Mason, John Y., Sec'y Navy, . 408–427
Attorney-General, . . . 409–428
Maximilian executed, . . . 559
Maynard, Horace, Postmaster-Gen., . 656
Maysville Turnpike Road, the, . . 323
Meade, R. J., sent to the frontier (1866), 558
Meigs, R. J., Postmaster-General, . 243
Meredith, Wm. M., Sec'y Treasury, 445–451
Message, President's, origin of, . . 208
Mexico, War with, causes, . . . 429
opposed by Abolitionists, . . 430
results of, ... 432
treaty of, ... 432
discussion about, ... 446
Mexico and Napoleon III, ... 559
Mexican Cessions, value of, . . . 435
Michigan admitted, ... 311
Militia, requisitions upon (1812), . 250
Ministers to foreign countries, . . 112
Minnesota admitted, ... 490
Mint, Bureau of the, ... 110
Mississippi admitted, ... 259
Missouri applies for admission, . 263
the question contested, . . . 263
admitted, ... 256–259
Compromise and Slavery, . 264–265
Monetary Crisis (1837), . . 384–391–392
(1873), ... 614
Monroe, James, Ambassador to France
(note), ... 187
effects purchase of Louisiana, . 209
Secretary of State, . . . 242–243
elected President (1816), . . 254
inaugural address, ... 255
biography and portrait, . . 255–256
his Cabinet, ... 258
"Era of Good Feeling," . . . 259
his tour, ... 260
politics of his Cabinet, . . . 260
import of first Message, . . 261
Monroe, James, re-elected, . . . 266
Monroe Doctrine, the, ... 267
objects of, ... 286
set forth by Everett, ... 453
Morgan, Wm., exposes Free Masonry, 316
Mormons, history of the, . . . 493
Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Bill, 710
Morton, Oliver P., advocates Enforcement Act, ... 585
his proposed Amendment, . . 618
biography and portrait, . . 619–620
speech on the National Idea, . 622
Morris, Robert, in Convention (1787), 49
Morris, Thos., candidate for Vice Pres., 421
Morrill, Lot M., Sec'y Treasury, . 583
Morrison's Tariff Bill, . . 721–722
Morse, Prof., invents the Telegraph
(note), ... 421
Muhlenberg, F. A., Speaker House, 133
Mutiny Act, the, ... 22

NAPOLEON, EMPEROR, sells Louisiana, ... 208
Napoleon III. and Mexico, . . . 559
Nashville Convention (1850), . . 452
National Bank created, ... 124
recharter defeated, ... 244
at Philadelphia founded, . . 253
rechartered, ... 324
National Republicans, or Whigs,
285–314–348
nominations (1832), ... 378
Nativism, ... 467
Naturalization of foreigners, . . 245
Naval policy (1842), ... 419
Navigation Acts, the, . . . 22–129
Navy, Secretary of the, ... 110
Nebraska admitted, ... 552–558
Negro troops, the, ... 536
Exodus, ... 662
Nelson, John, Attorney-General, . 409
Nepotism, Garfield avoids, . . 694
Neutrality proclaimed by Washington, 128
in Kentucky, ... 531
Nevada admitted, ... 528
New Mexico erected into a Territory, 447
Nichols sustained as Gov. Louisiana, 656
Niles, John M., Postmaster General, 391
Non-Importation Act, the, . . . 218
North German Confederation, treaty, 559
Northwest Territory, history of the, 50
Northwestern Coast, the, ... 268
Northwestern Boundary settled, . . 589
Nullification debated, ... 313
doctrine of, ... 318
great debate in the Senate, . . 318
in South Carolina, ... 319
Nullifiers, Jackson's proclamation to, 320

OATH, Iron-clad, the, ... 532
Officers, election of Executive, . . 154
election of subordinate, . . 152
that should not be elected, . 151
Office, rotation in, ... 312
Ohio admitted, ... 206
Ohio, Territory South of the, . . 125
Omnibus Bill, Clay's, ... 446–447
Orders in Council, ... 217–246–247
revoked, ... 248
Ordinance of 1787, history of, . . 50
text of, ... 51
Oregon explored and named, . . 268
admitted, ... 490
Orr, James L., Speaker House, . . 490
Osgood, Samuel, Postmaster-General, 132

Ostend Manifesto, the, . . 464
Otis, Samuel Alyne, Sec'y of Senate, 114

PACIFIC RAILROAD, the, . . . 586
Packard on the Returning Board, . 630
sustained by the people, . . 656
Panic of 1837, financial, . . 384–392
of 1873, financial, ... 614
Parliamentary Rules, new set, . 667
Parties, about political, . . . 146
in a free Government, . . 146
of Adams's Administration, 183–184
necessity for, ... 219
war and anti-war, ... 219
condition of (1840), . . 394
Party organization, first, . . . 126
government necessary, . . 147
holding balance of power, . . 147
the *French* and the *British*, . 219
the *Peace*, ... 250
spirit in J. Q. Adams's Adm'n., 284
Parsons, Theophilus, Attorney-Gen., 191
Patents, Commissioner of, . . . 111
Patrons of Husbandry, . . . 615
Paulding, J. K., Secretary Navy, . 390
Peace Conference (1861), . . . 499
Pendleton, Geo. H., can. for V. Pres., 539
Pendleton's Civil Service Bill (1883), 718
Penn, Wm., ...
Pennington, Wm., Speaker House, 490
Pensions, Commissioner of, . . 111
Perry, Commodore, in Japan, . 464
Personal Liberty Laws, . . . 447
Pickering, Timothy, Sec'y State, 132–190
Pierce, Franklin, candidate for Pres., 454
elected and inaugurated, . . 459
biography and portrait, . 459–460
his Cabinet, ... 461
nature of his Administration, 462
Pierrepont, Edward, Att'y-General, 583
Pinckney, Thos., nominated for Prés., (1800), ... 183–184
Pinckney, Charles C., candidate for Pres. (1800), . . 184–200–216–238
ambassador to France, . 187–188
Pinckney, Wm., Attorney-General, . 243
draws Act of war (1812), . . 248
Piracy in West Indies, ... 266
Plantation of Rhode Island, . . 15
Platform, Republican (1800), . . 214
Democratic (1832), . . . 325
Whig Resolutions (1836), . . 385
"Locofoco" (1836), ... 385
Abolition Resolutions (1839), 397
Democratic (1840), . . . 397
Whig (1844), ... 424
Democratic (1844), . . . 424
" (1848), ... 436
Buffalo (1848), ... 439
Free-Soil (1852), ... 455
Republican (1856), ... 473
Constitutional Union (1860), . 501
Republican (1860) . . . 502
Democratic (Douglas) 1860, . 504
" (Breckenridge) 1860, 505
Union (1864), ... 540
Fremont (1864), ... 541
Democratic (1864), ... 542
Republican (1868), ... 570
Democratic (1868), ... 572
Labor Reform (1872), ... 606
Prohibition (1872), ... 608
Republican (1872), ... 609
Liberal Republican (1872), . . 612
Democratic (1872), ... 613
Platform, American National (1875), 637
Prohibition Reform (1876), . 637
Independent (Greenback) 1876, . 639
Republican (1876), ... 640
Democratic (1876), ... 642
National Liberal (1879), . . 671
Independent Republican (1880), . 671
Republican (1880), ... 672
National (Greenback) 1880, . . 675
Prohibition Reform (1880), . 678
Democratic (1880), ... 681
Anti-Monopoly (1884), . . . 725
Greenback-Labor (1884), . . 726
Republican (1884), ... 735
Prohibition (1884), ... 737
Democratic (1884), ... 743
Platt, Senator, resigns, . . . 696
Poinsett, Joel, Secretary of War, . 390
Politics, American, . . 146–207–253
Politics of the XXVIIIth Congress, . 419
status of, in 1847, ... 431
" " 1876, ... 627
" " 1882, ... 718
" " 1884, ... 725
Political Constitutions, . . . 154
revolutions, first great, . . 207
convulsions (1850), ... 446
situation (1850), ... 452
situation (1860), ... 497
disabilities removed (1872), . 590
Polk, James K., Speaker House, 311–382–391
candidate for President (1840), . 397
elected (1844), ... 421
inaugurated, ... 425
biography and portrait, . 425–426
his Cabinet, ... 427
first Message, ... 428
Message (1848), ... 434
Polygamy in Utah, ... 493–709
Edmunds's Bill, as to, . . . 710
Pomeroy, Theodore F., Speaker House, 552
Pomeroy, S. C., can. for Pres. (1884), 737
Pope, General, ... 719
Porter, Commodore, breaks up piracy, 267
Porter, Peter B., Secretary War, . 284
Porter, James M., Secretary War, . 408
Porter, Fitz-John, case of, . . . 719
Postage on letters reduced (1883), . 719
Postal Money Order System, . . 538
Post Offices, committee on, . . 113
Postmaster-General, office of, . . 110
Postmasters, elected or appointed, 152
Potter Committee, the, . . . 661
President of the Senate, who is, 107–113
President, election of, ... 109
duties, salary, ... 110
modes of electing, ... 114
eligibility, ... 115
first contested election of, . . 183
origin of Message. 208
modes of electing discussed, . 288
veto of the, ... 110
Presidential Election (1788–'92), . 115–118
(1796), ... 184
(1800), by House, ... 201
(1804), ... 215
nominations and election (1808), 238
" " (1812), 249
" " (1816), 254
" " (1820), 266
House decides election (1824) . 280
nominations and election (1828), 308
first National Convention (1832), 378
nominations and election (1836), 386
" " (1840), 395–396

Presidential Election—
nominations and election (1844), 420–421
" " (1848), 434–435
" " (1852), 454–455
" " (1856), 468–469
" " (1860), 495–496
" " (1864), 538–539
" " (1868), 561–562
" " (1872), 591–592
" " (1876), 628–629
electoral count (1877), . . 629–632
nominations and election (1880), 669–670
nominations (1884), . . 725–738
Preston, Wm. B., Sec'y Navy, . 445–451
Privileges and Elections, Com. on, . 113
Proclamation, Jackson's to Nullifiers, 320
Lincoln's Emancipation, . 535–544
Johnson's Amnesty, . 554–557–562
Johnson's Peace, ... 564
Prohibitionists, Platform (1872), . 608
" (1876), . 637
" (1880), . 678
" (1884), . 737
Protective Tariff discussed, . 252–287–721
Provisional Governors, . . . 554
Public Lands. Hayne's speech on, . . 342
Clay's speech on his Bill, . . 399

QUAKER Liberality, ... 15
Quincy, Josiah, sketch of, . . 228
speech on British edicts, . . 228

RADICALS, the, ... 538–591
Railroad "Strikers," 659
Railroads, progress in building, . 723
Ramsey, Alex., Secretary War, . . 655
Randall, Alex. W., Postmaster-Gen'l, 552
Randall, Sam'l J., Speaker House, 583–656
Randolph, Edmund, resolutions of, . 49
speech on the Constitution, . 88
sketch of, ... 88
Attorney-General, ... 122
Randolph, John, speech on importation, ... 220
speech on the Tariff, ... 270
sketch of, ... 220
Rawlins, John A., Secretary War, . 583
Readjusters, the, . . . 713–714–715
Reconstruction begun, . . . 554–560
completed, ... 587–591
"Regulars," the term, ... 709
Representatives, apportionment of, 108
election of, ... 108
Republicans, the name, . . 126–347
Platform (1800), ... 214
their policy (1801), . . . 207
now and formerly (note), . . 238
and the Federalists, . 183–184–347
or Anti-Federalists, . . 314–347
(old) oppose a Navy (1842), . 419
(National) origin of, . . . 285
rise of the party, . . . 465–468
first National Convention (1856), 469
Association of Washington, . . 470
Platform (1856), ... 473
National Convention (1860), . 496
Platform (1860), ... 502
National Convention (1864), . 538
Platform (1864), ... 541
National Convention (1868), . 561
Platform (1868), ... 570
split in the party (1870), . . 591
"Radical" wing, ... 591
"Liberal" wing, ... 591
"Liberal" Convention (1872), . 591
Republicans, National Convent'n (1872) 591
Platform (1872), . . . 609–612
National Convention (1876), . 628
Platform (1876), ... 540
National Convention (1880), . . 667
orators (1880), ... 669
(Independent) Platform (1880), . 671
discord (1881), ... 694
factions, ... 695
National Convention (1884), . 728
Platform (1884), ... 735
Republics of America, proposed Congress of, ... 286–713
Republic, a Federal, ... 107
Resolutions of 1798–'99, . . 189–241
Anti-Masonic, ... 316
Virginia, ... 189
the Lasker, ... 719
Resumption, Specie, . . 617–661
Returning Boards, the, . 530–592–627–630
Revenue, Internal, commissioner of, 110
Revolution, American, forerunners of, 22
French, ... 126–128
Rhode Island Plantation, . . . 15
Richardson, Wm. A., Sec'y Treasury, 583
Rights, Declaration of, . . 22–239
Robeson, Geo. M., Secretary Navy, . 583
Rodgers, Capt., captures "Little Belt," 270
Rodney, Cæsar A., Att'y-Gen'l, . 206–243
Rush, Richard, Att'y-Gen'l, . 243–258
Secretary Treasury, . . . 284

SAILORS, impressment of Am'can, 218–245
"Saints," Latter Day, ... 493
Salary Act of 1873, . . . 593–595
San Domingo applies for admission, . 588
Scheme, Texas, ... 422
Schofield, Gen. John M., Sec'y War, 551–583
Schurz, Carl, Secretary Interior, . 656
head of "Liberal" Republicans, 591
Scott, Gen., defeats Black Hawk, . 317
proposed for President, . . 432
nominated by Whigs, . . . 452
Scott, Dred, decision, . . 490–491
Seceded States readmitted, . . 552–560
Secession, mutterings of, . . . 422
advocated, ... 433
incipiency of, ... 491
declared, ... 498
mistaken sectional views, . 500
speech of Douglas on, . . . 516
Sedgwick, Theodore, Speaker House, 191
Sedition and Alien Laws, . . . 188
Seminoles, war with the, . . . 262
Semmes, Capt., ... 537
Senate, of what composed, . . 107
President of, ... 107–113
Sergeant, John, can. for V. P. (1832), 378
Seward, Wm. H., biog. and port., 521–522
Secretary of State, . . . 527–551
wounded by assassin, . . . 547
Seymour, Horatio, can. for Pres., . 561
Shawnee, "Prophet," . . . 245
Shelby, Isaac, Sec'y War (declined), 258
Sherman, John, Sec'y Treasury, 655–670
nominated for President, . . 688
Sherman, Wm. T., Secretary War, . 583
Signal Service Bureau, . . . 616
Silver Bill, the Bland, . . . 660
the Warner, ... 662
Slavery, Society to abolish, . . 125
the question looms up, . . . 264
Missouri Compromise on, . . 265
and the Abolitionists, . . . 381
Compromise of 1833, . . 321–323

Slavery, the question in 1840, . . 394
agitation in 1848, ... 432
Compromise of 1850, ... 446
agitation in 1857, . . . 490–491–492
Dred Scott decision, . . 490–491
Convention at Lecompton, . 492
debated in Congress, . . 492–493
emancipation proclamation, 535–544
enactments (1862), ... 534
abolished in Dist. Columbia, 447–535
abolished in United States, . 535–544
Vallandigham's speech on, . 476
Toombs' speech on, ... 483
Benjamin's speech on, . . . 506
Garrison's speech on, . . . 508
Calhoun's Resolutions, . . . 431
question of Fugitives, . . . 531
Smith, Caleb B., Sec'y Interior, . 527
Smith, Robt., Sec'y Navy and At. Gen. 206
Secretary of State, ... 242
Smith, Joseph, Mormon "Prophet," . 493
Smith, Green Clay, Prohibition can. 629
South, the "Solid," 668–715
South Am. Republics favored by Clay, 267
Southard, Saml. L., Sec'y Navy, 258–284
acting Vice President, . . . 408
Southern Confederacy, the, . . . 499
Sovereigns of Industry, ... 615
Speakers of the House, . . . 108–113
Speakers of Ist, IId, IIId and IVth Con. 133
Vth and VIth Congresses, . . 191
VIIth and VIIIth Congresses, . 206
IXth and Xth Congresses, . . 206
XIth and XIIth Congresses, . 243
XIIIth and XIVth Congresses, . 243
XVth and XVIth Congresses, . 258
XVIIth and XVIIIth Congresses, 258
XIXth and XXth Congresses, . 284
XXIst and XXIId Congresses, . 311
XXIIId, XXIVth, XXVth Congs., 311
XXVIth and XXVIIth Congresses, 391
XXVIIIth Congress, ... 407
XXVIIIth and XXIXth Congresses, 409
XXIXth and XXXth Congresses, 428
XXXIst and XXXIId " 445–451
XXXIId and XXXIVth " . 462
XXXVth and XXXVIth " . 490
XXXVIIth and XXXVIIIth, . 528
XXXIXth and XLth Congresses, 552
XLIst and XLIId Congresses, . 583
XLIIId and XLIVth Congresses, 583
XLVth and XLVIth Congresses, . 656
XLVIIth and XLVIIIth " . 705
Specie Circular, the, ... 391
Specie Resumption Act, . . . 617–661
text of the Act, ... 648
Speech, Patrick Henry, on British tyranny, ... 25
Patrick Henry, on the Constitution, 72
Edmund Randolph, on the Constitution, ... 88
Fisher Ames, on the British Treaty, 158
Edward Livingston, on the Alien Law, ... 192
John Randolph, on Importation, 220
" " " the Tariff, . 270
Josiah Quincy, on British Policy, 228
Webster, at Bunker Hill Monum't, 289
" on Adams and Jefferson, 298
Calhoun, on "Rights of the States," 328
great debate on Nullification, 318–350
Hayne, on Public Lands, . . 342
Clay, on the "American System," 335
" on his Public Lands Bill, . 399
Vallandigham, on Slavery, . . 476
Speech, Cass, on Missouri Compromise, 475
Wise, against Know-Nothingism, 480
Toombs, on Slavery, ... 483
Benjamin, on Slavery, ... 506
Garrison, on Slavery, . . . 508
Jeff. Davis, on retiring from U. S. Senate, ... 512
Douglas, on Secession, . . . 516
Wilson, in canvass against Greeley, 602
Morton, on National Idea, . . 622
Ingersoll, nominat'g Blaine (1876), 650
Blaine, on a False Issue, . . 682
Garfield, nominating Sherman, . 688
Dougherty, nominating Hancock, 691
Morrison, on his Tariff Bill (extracts), ... 722
Speed, James, Attorney-General, 528–552
Spencer, John C., Sec'y Trea. and War, 408
"Squatter Sovereignty,", . . . 465
"Stalwarts," the term, . . 696–710
Stamp Act, the, ... 22
Stanbery, Henry, Att'y-General, . 552
Stanton, Edwin M., Atty-General, . 491
Secretary of War, . . 527–551
troubles with the President, . 556
Star of the West fired upon, . 498–501
Star Route Scandal, the, . . 716–717
State, powers of each, ... 107
Secretary of, duties, ... 110
Auditor of, duties, ... 112
government of, ... 111
power as to franchise, . . . 150
suffrage, ... 151
Banks supported by Clay, . . 383
States Rights advocates by Calhoun, 448
States, Confederate, ... 499
States admitted—
Vermont, Kentucky, and Tenn., 133
Ohio, ... 206
Louisiana and Indiana, . . 243–253
Mississippi and Illinois, . . 259
Alabama and Maine, ... 259
Missouri, ... 256–259
Arkansas and Michigan, . . 311
Florida and Iowa, ... 409
Texas, ... 409–419–428
Wisconsin, ... 428
California, ... 447–451
Minnesota and Oregon, . . 490
Kansas, ... 490–493
West Virginia and Nevada, . . 528
Nebraska, ... 552–558
Colorado, ... 583
the seceded, readmitted, . 552–560
American, proposed Cong. of, 286–713
Statesmen, "visiting," 630
Statistics, Bureau of, ... 110
Steam first applied to navigation, . 219
Stewart, H. A. A., Sec'y Interior, . 451
Stewart, A. T., Sec'y Treasury, 583–584
St. Clair, Gen., Gov. N. W. Territory 51
Stevens, Alex. H., V. P. So. Conf'cy, 499
Stevenson, Andrew, Sp'ker House, 284–311
Stoddard, Benj., Secretary Navy, 190–206
Strict Constructionists, ... 280
Sub-Treasury Scheme, the, . . . 393
Suffrage, Federal, ... 151
State, ... 151
Sumner, Chas., assaulted by Brooks, 468
Supreme Courts, ... 111
System, American, Clay's speech on, 335

TAFT, ALPHONSO, Sec'y War, At-Gen. 583
Tallmadge and Mo. Compromise, . 263
Tammany leaders, ... 628

Taney, Roger B., Sec'y Trea., At-Gen. 311
Report as Sec'y Treasury, . . 379
decision in "Dred Scott" case, . 490
sketch of, ... 519
Tariff (first Congress), ... 122
Protective, question raised, . . 252
(new) passed, ... 268
revised (1824), ... 268
High Protective (1828), . . . 287
political and sectional, . . 307–318
of 1842, ... 418
act passed over President's veto, . 418
Morrison's Bill (1884), . . 721–722
Taylor, John W., Speaker House, 258–284
and Missouri Compromise, . . 263
Taylor, Gen. Zachary, enters Mexico, 429
builds Fort Brown, ... 429
nominated and elected Pres., 434–435
biography and portrait, . 442–443
his Cabinet, ... 445
his death, ... 448
Taxation, indirect, ... 130
plan of internal, ... 131
Tazewell, L. M., can. for Vice Pres., 397
Tecumseh, ... 246
Telegraph invented (note), . . . 421
the first dispatch, ... 421
Teller, Henry M., Sec'y Interior, . 704
Tennessee admitted, ... 133
Tenure-of-office discussed (1825), . 289
bill passed over President's veto, 556
text of bill, ... 568
Term, one, principle of, ... 155
third, precedent, ... 155
Territory defined (note), ... 50
Territory, Northwest, history of, . 50
Territorial Delegates, ... 108
Courts, ... 111
Government, first, ... 48–112
Bill (1848), ... 432
Territories, the, ... 559
Texan Question, the, ... 447
Texas applies for admission, . . 420
question of annexation, . . 419
admitted, ... 409–428
"scheme," 422
boundary question, ... 447
Thomas, Philip F., Sec'y Treasury, 489
Thomas, Gen'l L., Sec'y War, . 551–557
Thompson, Smith, Sec'y Navy, . 258
Thompson, Jacob, Sec'y Interior, . 489
Thompson, Richard W., Sec'y Navy, 655
Tilden, Samuel J., can. for Pres. (1876), 628
and the "cipher" dispatches, . 661
placed in nomination (1880), . 669
Tippecanoe, Harrison at, ... 246
Toasts, counter political, . . . 315
Tompkins, D. D., elected Vice Pres., 254
re-elected, ... 266
Toombs, Robert, sketch of, . . . 483
speech on Slavery, ... 483
Topeka Convention, the, . . . 466
Toucy, Isaac, Attorney-General, . 428
Secretary Navy, ... 489
Treaty with France, Jay's, ... 130
of Ghent, ... 251
with Mexico, ... 432
with Japan (1853), ... 464
with North German Confederation, 559
with China (1868), ... 560
the Geneva Award, ... 588
Northwestern boundary, . . 589
Halifax Award, ... 660
Treasury, Secretary of, duties, . . 110
Treasury, Independent Act, repealed, 410
Trent Affair, the, ... 533
Troops removed from the South, . 657
Trumbull, Jonathan, Speaker House, 133
Tyler, John, Vice Pres., becomes Pres., 402
his oath, ... 402
biography and portrait, . . 405
his Cabinet, ... 408
position as President, . . 409–411
vetoes U. S. Bank Bill, . . . 411
his inconsistency, ... 412
his Cabinet resign, ... 412
renounced by his party, . . 412
Tyner, Jas. M., Postmaster-Gen'l, . 583

UNION, Colonial, plans for, . . 15
Unions, incipient, ... 14
Union, Franklin's Plan of, . . . 463
Union Party, Convention (1860), . 496
Platform (1864), ... 540
"United States of America," the name, 28
"United States South," . . . 453
United States Bank, ... 323
Bill vetoed, ... 411
Upshur, Abel P., Sec'y State and Navy, 408
Usher, John P., Sec'y Interior, . 527–551
Utah erected into a Territory, . . 447
Troubles with the Mormons, 493–709
called *Deseret*, ... 493
Anti-Polygamy Bill for, . 709–710
proposed government, . . . 710

VALLANDIGHAM, C. L., sketch of, . 476
speech on Slavery, ... 476
Van Buren, Martin, Sec'y State, . . 310
Vice President, ... 378
elected President, ... 386
his policy, ... 387
financial troubles, ... 384–392
biography and portrait, . 388–389
his Cabinet, ... 390
defeated for re-election, . . 420
again nominated (by Democrats), 435
Varnum Joseph B., Speaker House, 206–243
Vermont admitted, ... 133
Vest, Senator, opposes Anti-Polygamy Bill, ... 709
Veto, the Executive, ... 156
a "pocket," 323
Vice President, duties of, ... 109
his casting vote, ... 115
Virginia Resolutions, ... 189
Virginius affair, the, ... 617
Voice of the people in 1644, . . . 15
Vote by ballot, ... 14
Vice President's casting, . . 115
President's tie (1800 and 1824), 201–280
Voters, qualifications of, . 112–149–150
who and who are not, . . . 149

WADE, BENJ. F., acting V. Pres., . 551
Walker, Robt. J., Sec'y Treasury, . 427
Walker, Wm., filibuster in Mexico, 453
in South America, ... 464
War, Secretary of, ... 110
War Issues in Congress (Civil War), . 532
War of 1812, causes, ... 217–245
Act declaring, ... 247–248
position of Federalists, . . 248
Connecticut refuses aid, . . 250
closed by treaty of Ghent, . . 251
condition of country after. . 250–253
results of, ... 253
War with the Seminoles, ... 262
War with Black Hawk, ... 317
War with Mexico, causes, . . . 429

War with Mexico, results, territory ceded, ... 432
discussions about, ... 446
War, the Civil, germ of, ... 263
forerunners of, ... 321–494
heraldings of, ... 465
summary of causes, ... 499
crisis—first shot, ... 529
the people weary of, ... 538
end of the, ... 546
political results of, ... 552
cost of, ... 553
Warner's Silver Bill, ... 662
Washburne, Elihu B., Sec'y State, 582
Washington, Augustine, ... 118
Washington, George, acceptance of command, ... 45
resignation of command, . . . 46
biography and portrait, . . 118–119
elected President, ... 115
re-elected, ... 118
Farewell Address, . . . 133–183
political parties of his Adm'n, 121–127
results of his Administration, . 145
declines a third term, . . . 183
again appointed to comm'd (1798), 88
Watterson's boast (1880), ... 631
Weaver, James B., can. for Pres., . 669
Webster, Daniel, position on Tariff, . 252
favors Protective Tariff, . 269–288
speech at Bunker Hill, ... 289
speech on Adams and Jefferson, 298
debate on the Tariff, ... 318
his support of the Constitution, 322
his great reply to Hayne, . . . 350
biography and portrait, . . 373–374
voted for, for President, . . . 386
Sec'y State, ... 407–408–448–451
debates Fugitive Slave Law, . 447
his opinion of Calhoun, . . . 448
Welles, Gideon, Sec'y Navy, . . 527–551
Wells, J. Madison, on Returning Board, 530
West Virginia admitted, ... 528
Wheeler, Wm. A., can. for Vice Pres., 628
elected, ... 636
Whigs, origin of, ... 285–313
Whigs, favor protective tariff, . . 269
oppose Cherokee removal, . . 317
led by Clay, ... 314
Presidential nominations (1832), 378
Resolutions (1836), ... 385
policy with the Democrats, . 384
National Convention (1840), . . 395
Platform (1840), ... 424
favor a Navy, ... 419
National Convention (1844), . 421
Platform (1844), ... 424
opposed to Mexican War, . . 430
National Convention (1848), . . 434
" " (1852), . 454
" " (1856), . . 469
Whisky Insurrection, the, . . . 130
Whisky "Ring," the, ... 626
White, Hugh L., candidate for Pres., 386
White, John, Speaker House, . 407–409
White League, the, ... 586
Wickliffe, Chas. A., Postmaster-Gen'l, 409
Wilkes, Capt. Chas., intercepts Confederate Commissioners, . . 533
Wilkins, Wm., Sec'y War, . . . 408
Wilkinson, Gen'l, exposes Burr's Conspiracy, ... 216
Williams, Roger, obtains a charter, 15
Williams, Geo. H., Attorney-Gen'l. . 583
Wilmot Proviso, the, ... 430
Wilson, Henry, elected Vice Pres., . 592
biography, ... 602
speech against Greeley, . . . 602
Windom, Wm., Sec'y Treasury, . 695–704
Winthrop, Robert C., Speaker House, 428–431–451
Wirt, Wm., Attorney-General, . 258–284
candidate for President, . . . 378
Wise, Henry A., sketch of, ... 480
speech against Know-Nothingism, 480
Wisconsin admitted, ... 428
Woodbury, Levi, Secretary of War, . 311
Secretary of the Treasury, . 311–390
Wyandot Constitution, the, . . . 493

YEARDLEY, SIR GEO., ... 13
Young, Brigham, Gov. of Utah 493–494

WITHDRAWN FROM
OHIO NORTHERN
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

DATE DUE

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

HETERICK MEMORIAL LIBRARY
320.973 H525f onuu
Henry, W. H. F./The voice of the people;
3 5111 00055 5338

DO NOT REMOVE FROM THE BOOK POCKET
A FEE WILL BE CHARGED FOR LOSS OF OR
DAMAGE TO THIS CARD.

ASTER

HETERICK MEMORIAL LIBRARY
ADA, OHIO 45810

OCLC

Heterick Memorial Library
Ohio Northern University
Ada, Ohio 45810

DEMCO